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Index to Mr Mann's dispatches.

No.	1846	
1	Apl. 30.	Credentials presented to Min. for For: Affs. of Hanover on 30 Apl. Treaty negotiations to be entered into at once. Early & favorable termination of them expected.
2	May 15.	Taxes on American commerce. Favorable prospects for abolition of transit duty & Sound dues by certain States. Course which should be pursued.
3	" 30	Commercial treaty with Hanover. Progress of negotiations for. Hanover will conclude a satisfactory treaty though certain concessions asked for by U.S. will not be granted. Sails for U.S. on 19 prox. with treaty signed by Min. for For: Affs. and to be signed by Mr Mann at Wash. if Dept. approves it. Course which should be pursued to relieve our commerce from burdensome taxes
4	June 17.	Commercial treaty with Hanover. Has signed and forwarded same. Summary of its provisions. Oldenburg ready to accede to it. Reasons why Min. has not visited either of the Mecklenburgs. This treaty if ratified will greatly facilitate future commercial relations of the U.S.
5	" 27	Taxes on American commerce. Transit duty system explained. Course of action for abolition of said duty suggested.

No.	1846	
6	Aug 29.	Gun Cotton. Particulars respecting invention of. [Missing].
✓ 7	Sept. 16.	Commercial treaty concluded with Hanover. Disappointment at delay of Senate to ratify it. Benefits to the U.S. contained in the treaty set forth. Free entry into Hanover of Paddy. Termination of Mr. Mann's mission. Modification in treaty desired by Senate assented to by Hanover
Private	Oct. 12	Gun cotton an explosive material recently invented. States how it is made. Commends it as a substitute for gunpowder.
Private 2	Nov. 10.	Commercial treaty with Hanover. Reasons why Senate should ratify it. Benefits resulting to U.S. from the treaty. On the event of his being sent to conclude similar treaties with the Mecklenburgs he would like to be instructed to remonstrate to those Duchies agt. deportation of criminals to the U.S.
	1847	
✓ 8	Feb. 26.	Commercial treaty with Hanover. Expects to exchange ratifications on 3rd March. Treaty is now before the Hanoverian Chambers for approval. After exchange of ratifications he will proceed to Oldenburg & the Mecklenburgs. Expects to reach Washington about 20 Apl.

No.	1847	
✓ 1	Aug 2.	Emigration from Europe. Reports his movements in search of information rel. to.
Private 1	" 3.	Emigration from Europe. Has been quite successful thus far in obtaining information rel. to. Ship Fever in U.S. Many people dying of it in Ireland. The disease engendered by lack of food. Funeral oration pronounced in Rome by the first orator in Italy over remains of Daniel O'Connell. Injury done U.S. by her own citizens in publishing falsehoods in London. Political. Abolition of British Navigation Laws. Opportunity to negotiate a navigation treaty with Gt. Britain advantageous to the U.S.
	1848.	
19	May 1.	Sound dues (Danish.) U.S. should move for abolishment of. Mr Mann will endeavor to have period for exchange of ratification of the Mecklenburg treaty extended. Rumor that U.S. is to be asked to protect coasts of Germany. Predicts defeat of the Danes in the pending war. obliteration of Denmark inevitable. Gt. Britain though obligated by treaty will not be able to succor Denmark. General peace of Europe will be maintained. Meeting of

No. 1848

German constitutional convention postponed until 18 inst. This convention will be clothed with legislative & executive powers. & will establish a general import tariff for Germany. Insurrection of Hecker has greatly injured reform movement in Germany.

✓ 20 May 8 Blockade of German ports by Deamark. Capture of Danish fortress by the Germans. Defeat of Austrians in Lombardey. Probability of war bet. Austria & France. Injury done republican cause in Germany by Hecker's insurrection. Representation in coming Constitutional convention.

✓ 21 " 15 Mediation of Gt. Britain bet Germany & Denmark has been accepted by Prussia as the organ of the German Diet. Results of this mediation will be but little benefit to Denmark outside of soothing her wounded pride. and no injury to Germany Public sentiment in Germany reverting in favor of monarchy. Republican cause injured by communism. Mission of Baron von Rome to U.S. postponed. Blockade of German ports to be raised soon. Sclavonian opposition to Austria. Peace of Europe

No.	1847	
2	Aug. 30.	Emigration from Europe. Reports his movements in search of information rel. to. Commercial. As soon as Mecklenburg gives its adhesion to our treaty with Hanover, Hamburgh will abolish transit tolls now levied on our four chief staples.
3	Sept. 13.	Emigration from Europe. Report on.
4	Oct. 12.	Commercial. Reports his efforts to have Hanover & Oldenburg abolish import duty on Paddy. Thinks these efforts will be successful
#	" 18	Reply of Min. for For. Affs. of Hanover to Mr Mann's credentials.
5	" 20	Tare on tobacco in hogsheads and rice in tierces imported into States belonging to the Zollverein
6	" 28	Commercial. Reports negotiations for adhesion of Mecklenburg Schwerin to our treaty with Hanover. Matter to be submitted to Mecklenburg legislature next month. Instructions as to entering upon similar negotiations with the Hanseatic Republics requested.
#	" 28	Commercial. Prussia is doing her utmost to prevent accession of Mecklenburg to our treaty with Hanover. Encs. a Bill which he would like Congress to pass depriving German States of privileges in navigation they now enjoy under laws of U.S., if they refuse to reduce transit tolls. Enquiries as to construction of 6th art. of treaty with Hanover. Construction of treaty with Belgium

No.	1847	
#	Nov. 18	Italian States. Desires to be commissioned to negotiate commercial treaties with
✓ 7	Dec. 7	Commercial treaty with Mecklenburg Schwerin Declaration of accession of Mecklenburg Schwerin to treaty bet. Hanover & the U.S. transmitted with comments. Commercial advantages enjoyed by Belgium over Hanover. Transit tolls in Germany will probably soon cease to exist. Difficulties which Mr. Mann has to overcome to gain Mecklenburg's accession. Prussias opposition.
#	" 14	Illegal exaction of transit duty on U.S. products by Hanover Interviews with Min. for For. Affs. + Min. of Finance. Hanover will faithfully observe treaty. Reduction of transit duty by Hanover on all articles. Reduction is from 13¢ per 100 lbs. to 3¢.
✓ 8	" 20	Transit duty. Illegal exaction of, by Hanover on American products. Reports presentation of matter to govt. of Hanover and that govt's explanation. Liberal construction of treaty by Hanover in favor of U.S.
✓ 9	1848 Jan. 8	Commercial. Transit duty system likely to be abolished by all the German States within a year. Reduction of import duty on American tobacco should be demanded of the Zollverein

No.	1848.	
✓ 10	Feb. 5	Duty on American tobacco. Bavaria is opposed to reduction of, not on grounds of protection but of revenue, argument which Mr. Mann will use for reduction. Bavaria, Saxony & Brunswick disposed to abolish transit duties. Policy which should be observed by U.S. in commercial negotiations with Prussia. Movements of Mr. Mann. Expects to terminate his mission by 1st May.
✓ 11	Feb. 12	Postal Congress at Dresden. Proceedings of, Transmitted. System of cheap postage has been adopted. Proposes to publish articles in German newspapers explanatory of future policy of U.S. in regard to commercial & navigation treaties. Very anxious to be informed as to ratification of Mecklenberg's accession to our treaty with Hanover.
12	Mar 2	Commercial & political. Important that accession of Mecklenberg to our treaty with Hanover should be published in Europe. British Parliament is to pass an emigrant law at its present session. Would like to have several printed copies of his report on Emigration to lay them before British Parliament. Emigration statistics. Abdication of King of France & formation of a provisional govt. Speculations as to policy of France and the peace of Europe. Asks whether he should attend session of the Frankfort Congress. Hopes enact a war [illegible]

No.	1848.	
13	Mar. 13.	Political situations of various European States. Revolutionary movements. Republican tendencies & demonstrations. Monarchical concessions. Speculations. Confident we shall succeed in obtaining a reduction by the Zollverein of duty on our tobacco, & that the tobacco Regie in France will soon be broken up. Ovation to the Papal Nuncio in Constantinople.
14	Apl. 1.	Duty on American tobacco. Efforts of Mr. Mann to procure reduction of, in Germany. Dissolution of the Zollverein inevitable & will soon occur. U.S. should take steps now for abrogation of the Sound dues. Political events & speculations. Unification of Germany.
15	" 11	Commercial benefits soon to accrue to the U.S. from Germany & Great Britain. Political Repartitioning of Europe. Deplorable condition of European finances Unification of Germany. Schleswig question. Present depressed condition of trade in Europe will not last long.

No.	1848.	
✓16	Apl. 15.	Duties levied by European Govts on tobacco and governmental tobacco monoplies. Information rel. to, Chagrin of Mr. Mann at delay in ratification by U.S. of the Mecklenberg treaty. Duties in Germany on American tobacco will be reduced to a moderate rate. Statistics as to production of tobacco in Europe, and consumption in Europe & importation into Europe of American unmanufactured tobacco. Mr. Mann's high regard for Senate of the U.S.
17	" 17	War bet. Germany & Denmark. Mediation by England wholly impractiable. U.S. war vessels should be sent to the North & Baltic seas.
18	" 24	War bet. Germany & Denmark. Endorses cause of Germany, viz. the wresting of Schleswig from Denmark. Political reform in Germany. Insurrection in Baden. A republic proclaimed by one Hecker. The insurrection crushed. Peace of Europe will be preserved. Urges ratification by U.S. of the Mecklenberg treaty.
#	" 25	Political. Schleswig question analogous to the Texas question. Commendation of the German people. No probability of mediation by England bet. Germany & Denmark. Political situation of Russia. Mr. von Roune is to succeed Baron Gerolt at Washington. Commercial benefits to accrue to U.S.

No. 1848.

✓ 22	May 22	Constitutional Convention or German Parliament as it is generally called. Organization, & composition of. Difficulty of work before the convention. Encroachment of German Diet upon right of the Convention to draw up a tariff. Conspiracy in Paris. Retention of Ledro Rollin in French Ministry by Lamartine. Peace of Europe. Mecklenburg treaty. Austrian Affairs. Hostilities bet. Denmark & Germany about Ended.
✓ 23	" 29	German Parliament. Its supersedure after the Bundesversammlung. Its proceedings. Foreign representatives at Frankfort. Austria threatened by Russia. Disheartened at failure of Senate to ratify the Mecklenburg treaty.
24	June 5	Deportation of criminal from German States to the U.S. Encs. note from some of the States of Germany saying that they do not deport criminals to U.S. Has learned that none of the other German States practice such deportation
✓ 25	" 18	Commercial. Bitter disappointment at failure of Senate to ratify Mecklenburg Declaration expressed. Recommendations as to commercial policy which U.S. should pursue towards Germany. Accounts.

No.	1848	
25	June 10.	Schleswig question. Proposed submission of, to arbitration of the Pres^t of the U.S. Gratification. Hopes it will be decided to so submit the question. Notice given by Denmark of blockade of certain German rivers.
26	July 1	Commercial treaty with Mecklenburg. Enthusiastic gratification of Mr. Mann at ratification of, by Senate. Exchange of ratifications reported. Revolution in public opinion in Europe in favorable of the U.S. Peace with Mexico.
27	" 4	Proceedings at Frankfort. Selecting of Arch Duke John Recognition of Provisional Govt. at Frankfort. Removal of Legation from Berlin thither. Question who supplied money for the late outbreak in France? Louis Philippe, Metternich &c. The war with Denmark. Cholera in Russia.
28	" 14	Has repaired to London with the Declaration, in hopes something may be gained in Brit. navigation laws. Mr Bancroft absent. If the Declaration had reached Europe 2 months earlier the navigation laws would have been abolished and a favorable treaty would have been effected before next Congress meets.

No. 1848

29 July 18 In recognizing the new Provisional Govt. of the U.S. of Germany he hopes care will be taken to do nothing to prejudice our conventions with Hanover, Oldenburg & Neck. Schwerin. Reasons for making this suggestion. Views of King of Hanover, in joining the German Union. Transmits copy of a plan prepared by him for a German Union, with remarks. Copy of it prepared for a distinguished German. Sends printed pamphlet embracing his views. wh. was submitted to the Assembly

30 July 19 Transmits translation made by his Son of the act organizing the Provisional Govt., also the address of the Vicar Archduke John to the Germans. Course pursued by King of Hanover. Renews the caution given in his No. 29 in reference to our Hanover treaty. Character of Arch Duke John. Definitive action in Parliament on the navigation bill suspend until next session. Regrets this result. He will proceed to France & write tho' his mission closes next day.

" 20 Acct dispatch 3 July. Explains why he cant furnish vouchers for all items in his Dc. Cts. Hopes they will be settled as his former acc.ts were. Explanations in regard to their settlement. &c

No.	1848	
Private 3	Aug. 17.	Sends translation of Manifesto of Prince Leiningen Pres^t of German Council. Its character. State Germany. Austria. France. Republic in danger Cavaignac. Theirs. Republic not popular reasons. State of Germany. Prospects of the Empire. &c.
4	Aug 24.	Decline of liberty. Protocol reconstruction of the Throne. Causes. Cavaignacs high character. La Martinee & Ledru Rollin. Navigation laws of G. Britain. Consular systems.
Private 5	Aug. 31.	Pernicious character of the Commercial system of France. Tobacco Regie. Monopolies. Octroi re-established. Commercial intercourse with the U.S. Constitution. Monarchy. Germany G. Britain. Our breadstuffs &c.
Private 6	Sept: 7.	Chances of a republic brighter. Debate on the Constitution. Regrets that Mr. Buchanan's dispatch to Mr. Rush could not be published with delicacy at this moment. Cavaignac's high standing & bearing. Bold stand for a Republic. Tribute in the times to our Constitution. Lamartine's vindication. Germany & Denmark. Armistice rejected. Causes. Is preparing a paper on our commercial & navigation policy with foreign States. Has not seen Mr. Rush

No. 1848

Private 1 Aug 3. Conversation with Mr Bancroft on Subject of treaty navig. & Commerce with Gt. Britain. Mr Bancroft's mistake in proposing to confer the privilege of our coasting trades in this treaty - Objection to this concession. Slavery. Immense advantages of a reciprocity treaty with England, giving our flag the priveleges of the foreign indirect carrying to & from Gt B., & to & from the B. colonies & Dependencies, for like priveleges in carrying from all the world to one port in B. bottoms. We can build cheaper than any nation! Commercial & war Marine of England. Navig. laws will not be modified until middle of next parliament, & it is not likely we will be permitted to participate by treaty in the indirect trade. Motives for writing this dispatch Mr. Bancroft.

Private Aug 10. Hanseatown papers propose to refer the Schleswig question to arbitrament of Pres. U.S. Importance of this

Private 2 Aug. 10. State of France. Parties. Cavaignac - La Martine. Thiers. Prospects of France. Italian affairs. Germany Russia. England. Suggests that Tuscany might be bound to low duties like Hanover. Baron Rœnne will be sent to the U.S.

No. 1849

\# Feb. 5 Refers to letter 25 Jan.y. Transmits two communications from For.n Aff.s Min. of Oldenberg. Recommends caution to our Govt. not to lose the advantage already gained in Germany.

\# May 10. Complies with Secty's request to Dept. on the affairs of Europe. Great Britain. Navigation act. Sends copy of his letter to Mr Buchanan. (private) of 3 Aug. 1848. on reciprocity in coasting trade. Objections stated. France, our commercial relations with. Inequality - Tobacco Regie. Its effects. Ought to and could be abolished. German States. Hanover. Oldenburg & Mecklenburg. Course to be pursued. His views stated as presented in his correspondence with Mr B. Character of the Central Govt. Suggests, 1st. That we make an effort to continue low duties on our staples with the 7 States that do not belong to the Zollverein. 2nd That Congress terminate the treaty with Russia & the Hanetown. 3rd That Congress repeal or amend the act of 1824, 1828, wh. provides for the bestowing of direct & indirect carrying by proclamation. Effects of this course. Remarks on reciprocity system. Refers to his No. 7 & form of a bill he proposed for Congress to pass. Italian Commercial Leagues. Zollverein. Denmark & Sweden. On treaties prejudicial to us. Ought to be terminated

No.		
Private	1849	
	May 10.	Conversation with Mr. Bancroft on subject of Treaty of Commerce & Navigation England: Mr. B's mistake in proposing to Congress our coasting trade on English flag &c. Remarks & objections. Value of a fair reciprocity treaty with England. Encs. of extract of his dispatch of June 10. 1848, on our relations with Germany &c.
	1850	
✓ 1	July 6.	The Swiss National Assembly has met at Berne; will immediately proceed thither. Peace between Denmark & Russia. Russian fleet in the Baltic; its object. Rumored resignation of the Czar. Russia & France. Political mood of the Spanish Min. at Paris. European alliance
✓ 2	" 13	Has delivered his credentials; cordial reception; political conditions of Switzerland; opinions entertained by the people of Europe of the United States; The Hungarian Message & Austria; will prepare shortly the draft of a constitution.
✓ 3	" 22	Commercial proceedings in Federal Assembly relative to his mission. Transmits letter from the Pres't. of the Confederation. Republicanism in Europe Prosperous condition of Switzerland Austria and her destiny. "Her protest" against the United States

No.	1850	
✓ 4	Sept. 26.	Has transmitted to the Swiss Govt. an outline of a convention; expects that it will soon be acted on by the Swiss Govt.
✓ 5	Oct. 7	The position of Switzerland; her prosperous condition. History of Switzerland during the last 50 years. The new constitution and form of Govt. The Neuchâtel question. Early termination of his duties expected.
6	Nov. 25.	Transmits a copy of a convention concluded with Switzerland.
7	" 30	Transmits another and better copy of Convention; explains its general features, importance of a mission to Switzerland: her position. (Inserted Copy Oct. 29. '98 in proper place).
8	Dec. 26	Stating reasons for delaying departure from Berne; letter of the President of the Republic. Unanimous ratification of the Convention; exchange of ratifications. Message accompanying Treaty.
✓ 9	" 27	Transmits Message of the President of the Swiss Confederation and reports of both Houses of Swiss Federal Assembly.
10	" 31	Transmits further documents relative to the Convention.
	1851	
✓	Aug. 2	Transmits the Report of the Political Department of the Swiss Confederation for 1850, also copy of the Swiss Constitution
11		missing

x No. 7 obtained from Confidential Archives (Swiss Leg. 2nd Series)

✓ Sent to Oct. 98 in a dispatch to Libby

No	1831	
12	Nov. 13	Reports arrival of Mr. Sargent; also steps taken towards negotiation of Convention.
13	Dec. 10	Usurpation of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte deprecated.
14	" 15	Diplomatic service of U.S. Suggestions for modification of.
15	1832 Jan 3.	Delay required by Switzerland to consider amendments to Convention. Recommends rupture of diplomatic relations with France.
16	" 4	Political condition of France, described.
17	Feb. 5	Same subject.
17½	" 19	Political Refugees. Statement of expenses on ⅔c. of. Instability of French Gov't. comments upon.
18	Mar. 4	French demands for expulsion of French refugees commented upon.
19	" 18	French demands as above withdrawn.
20	" 22	French hatred of U.S. A warning of.
21	Apl. 20	Trade bet. Switzerland & U.S. Dangers threatening same by action of France & other countries reported.
22	June 5	Substitutes to Arts I to XII of Convention proposed by Switzerland. Prejudice agt. U.S. reported.
23	" 12	Neuchatel. Exec. protocol signed by Great Powers rel. to.
24	" 21	Has notified Federal Council that he can no longer delay his departure.
25	July 18	Washington designated as place for exchange of ratification of treaty & time extended.
—	Sept. 2	Refusal of Russian Legn. to visa his passport. Will prefer claim for $100,000.

Memorandum.

Mr. A. Dudley Mann's diplomatic Services commenced March 27, 1846, and terminated July 13th 1852.

During this time Mr. Mann was employed on four different missions— the first to Hanover, Oldenburg, and the two Mecklenburg's,—which lasted eight months and nine days: The second to the State of the Germanic Confederation, or the more important ones thereof. (wherein the United States had no Minister)—which lasted one year and twenty four days: The third to Hungary— which lasted three months and twenty five days: He was consequently, in a period of Six years two months and eighteen days, employed four years three months and fifteen days.

He received

Memorandum -

Dr. Gwin of the Senate wrote a letter to Mr. Marcy 15 Jan.y 1854 (mistake for 1855) requesting a copy of a dispatch from Col. Mann relative to the Collins Line of Steamers.

Mr. Marcy authorised Mr. M. to place the dispatch in Mr. Gwin's hands but was accordingly done. In consequence of this effect made on Senator Gwin's letter which was filed in the proper bureau -

This Mem. made at request of Col. Mann

No. 9.

Hanover, April 30, 1846.

Sir; —

I have the honor to inform you that I this day presented my credentials to his excellency the Baron von Falke, Hanoverean Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The Baron von Falke remarked that he would immediately announce my arrival to His Majesty, King Ernst, and that he was prepared to receive any communication which I might think proper to make, with reference to the formation of a new treaty between the United States and the Kingdom of Hanover.

On Monday I shall open negotiations formally; and I am encouraged to believe, from the identity of interests to be secured between the two countries, that I will succeed in conducting them to a favorable and speedy termination.

In the mean time be assured of my continued estimation and regard.

A. Dudley Mann.

Hon. James Buchanan,
Secretary of State.
City of Washington.

A. D. Ream, (Special Agent),

Hanover, April 30th 1846.

Hanover, May 15, 1846.

Sir; —

Since I had the honor of addressing you, on the 30th ultimo, I have visited Bremen, where I had respected interviews with the chief functionaries, Senators and others, of the republic. You are aware, that a transit duty is exacted there, upon several of our staple products; — a duty amounting to about four cents per 100lbs. I have urged the abolition of this, as due to the United States, on account of their liberal policy towards the Hanse-Towns, and I am happy to inform you, that I received an assurance, that my wishes should be speedily complied with, from a source upon which I can rely.

It is obviously our interest to remove these transit, and other kindred duties, — relics of the feudal ages, — wherever they exist; and I feel quite certain that if Hanover and Oldenburg, whose receipts from them are very considerable, can be influenced to stipulate for their discontinuance, that the states composing the Zollverein, can be readily <u>induced</u> to follow their example. Such a measure would extend the consumption of our principal staples in Austria and in Switzerland, to a considerable degree; and, in my opinion, we have but to seriously threaten Prussia, with our intention to terminate the reciprocity Treaty, under which she enjoys a large <u>indirect</u> trade with the United States, to hasten its consummation. — Nor should our government stop here: Denmark derives more benefits from her navigation with the United States than any state in Europe, and gives comparatively nothing in return. She should be notified that unless she abolishes the "Sound or Belt tolls," the Treaty which we concluded with her in 1826 should be of no longer duration, after the expiration of the twelve-months, from the date of the notice for its cessation. These tolls amount, on a cargo of 2000 bales of cotton wool, although the prime cost may not have been more than five cents per pound, to about $3200!

I regret that I am unable to state definitively, in this despatch, how far Hanover and Oldenburg are prepared to meet our views in the conventions which I am authorized to conclude. The Minister

of Foreign Affairs remarked to me to-day, that next week should be devoted exclusively to the subject. I shall not proceed to the Mecklenburgs, until I ascertain the probable result of my mission to this court.

In the mean time, be assured, that I will make every effort, consistent with strict propriety, to bring negotiations to a favorable and speedy conclusion.

I have the honor to be, with the highest consideration, your obedient servant.

A. Dudley Mann.

Hon. James Buchanan,
Secretary of State,
Washington.

N. D. March. — May 15. Re
ed. June 16.

No 3

Hanover, May 30, 1846.

Sir; —

Since I had the honor of addressing you, two weeks since I have had frequent interviews with the Hanoverian Minister of Foreign Affairs; and I have ascertained that, although the King is exceedingly anxious to conclude a new Treaty with the United States, upon a basis of the most extended liberality, yet nevertheless he is unwilling to enter into an obligation not to increase the existing import duty on Tobacco. The 19th article of the Treaty, forming the Germanic Confederation, renders it somewhat questionable in his opinion — notwithstanding it is generally admitted to be a dead letter — whether any German state has a right to subscribe to such a stipulation; and he studiously avoids giving the slightest cause for offence to the Diet at Frankfort.

The King, I understand, as well as his Ministers, with several of whom — and particularly the premier — I have conversed upon the subject, entertain views similar to those expressed in your letter of instructions, relative to the Zollverein; but it is feared that if Hanover were to place herself in a position of apparent hostility to this association, by any overt act, a sympathy would be engendered, however false, in its behalf, that might result adversely to her wishes. — If let alone, a recent palpable departure from the principles upon which the Zollverein was established — at least the professed principles — will hasten the dissolution of the bond which heretofore has held it together. The Director General of Customs of Prussia has stated officially that its object is financial, not commercial — a fact that I never doubted, and which I freely expressed to yourself during the first audience you honored me with, and also to one or more of your predecessors.

The King of Hanover will agree to abolish the transit duty upon Tobacco, Cotton, Rice, and Whale Oil; but for the purpose of maintaining efficient police regulations he will reserve the right of levying a tax of, not exceeding, two cents per 100lbs weight of each:

He will likewise consent to abolish the import duty upon raw cotton. He will further stipulate to place our vessels upon an entire equality, both with respect to their tonnage and their cargoes, with Hanoverian vessels at Stade or Brunshausen; and to collect no "Weser Tolls" on the four articles afore-mentioned destined for Hanoverian ports and landings on the Weser: And he has intimated, at my urgent solicitation, his readiness to abolish the "Weser Tolls" on the said articles passing into other states bordering upon this river as soon as such states — Prussia &c. — shall consent to abolish their Weser Tolls on the same articles passing into Hanover. These Tolls are prerogatives of the crown, and they are in perfect keeping with the Rhine Tolls, the Elbe Tolls, and the Danish Sound Tolls. I conceive it consequently, an object of primary importance to get an expression, by Treaty agreement, of King Ernest's desire to remove them, whenever a similar liberality prevails in the states of the Zollverein, and if he shall yield to my request the preliminary measure will have been taken for the utter abrogation of all these relics of the feudal customs, of robber knights and barons, so detrimental to an extension of our commerce in central and Northern Europe. Our country, whose influence is extending almost with the rapidity of light, will thus have the honor, and the present administration the credit, of breaking up a most unjustifiable system of exactions upon the products of industry; a system which battles against the discoveries by science for facilitating intercourse between nations, and against the genius of the age in which it is our good fortune to live.

The Zollverein has repeatedly taken occasion to speak of its exceeding liberality towards the United States. The hour is hastening, if I be not deceived, when that liberality will be subjected to a searching ordeal! Can it retain its transit duties — on one or more routes three times as oppressive, (and on none less than double) as those in Hanover; its Elbe tolls; its Rhine tolls; and its Weser tolls, after the generous demonstrations of its sea-board neighbor, covenanted for by formal compacts?

If, however, the example of the kingdom of Hanover is lost upon the Zollverein; if it should persist in burdening our chief staples, transiting its territory, to our customers beyond,

or outside, its limits with duties and tolls we should not hesitate in my opinion to retaliate by terminating, after giving the requisite notice, the convention of commerce and navigation with Prussia; a convention which sustains in an eminent degree the shipping of that Kingdom, from her large indirect carrying under it; and the privileges of which she is desirous of extending to the other states of the league, as a lignment to bind them more closely to, and identify them more intimately with, her own financial destiny.

Although I cannot, acting under explicit obedience to my instructions, as you will already have observed, conclude a Treaty with Hanover, yet I feel quite confident that I will perfect one, as far as that government is concerned, that will be equally satisfactory to you, as the one which you authorized me to make. To obviate the difficulty with regard to the import duty on Tobacco, Her Majesty proposed the following article: —

"It is hereby expressly stipulated and agreed that "if the Kingdom of Hanover shall determine, during the said term "of twelve years, to augment the existing import duty upon leaves, "strips, or stems of Tobacco, imported in hogsheads or casks — a "duty which does not exceed one Thaler and one Gutengroschen per "one hundred pounds Hanoverian currency and weight (seventy cents "per one hundred pounds United States currency and weight) it "shall give a notice of one year to the United States before proceed: "ing to do so; and at the expiration of that time, or any time sub: "sequently, the United States shall have full power and right to ab: "rogate the present treaty by giving a previous notice of six months "to the Kingdom of Hanover, or to continue it, at their option, un: "til it shall have been terminated by limitation."

This provision will, doubtless, have a great tendency to perpetuate the present moderate Tobacco duty. Such a positive obligation on the part of Hanover not to increase it. The transit duties and tolls, once off, can never be re-established, and this much, therefore, we secure at the out-set, while the Crown, upon whomsoever it may descend, will not likely join any league unless the present duty on our staple is continued; ~~and will not augmented~~ It will not consent either during the present King's reign, or afterwards, to risk such an expedient for the sake of

revenue when its navigation is to suffer materially thereby. — Should the King agree to insert the clause respecting the Wezer Tolls, I shall carry with me a Treaty perfected by Hanover, with the liberty to sign or not, as you may determine, after I reach Washington. My signature there is to be regarded as valid, as if executed here. This arrangement I shall the more willingly agree to, as I cannot receive additional instructions from you in time to get the Treaty before the Senate previous to the adjournment of Congress.

I shall be ready, I imagine, to sail from Liverpool on the 19th Instant, if I can secure a berth on the Steamer which is to leave there for Boston that day: If I am, however, disappointed in my expectations, I shall certainly take passage in the succeeding one — the 4th of July.

With high respect and esteem, I have the honor to be,

Most Faithfully,
Your Obt. Svt.
A. Dudley Mann.

Hon. James Buchanan,
Secretary of State.
Washington City.

A. D. Mann. — May
to June 20.

Rec'd 6 July '46.

London, June 17, 1846.

Sir; —

I have the honor to transmit to you, by Mr. Fleischmann of Washington City, a copy of the Treaty which I concluded — (subject to the condition contained in the protocol by which it is accompanied) — at Hanover on the 10th inst. . . . .

When I made up my last despatch I had determined not to sign the Treaty until it was submitted to your examination, but since then I received a letter from Mr. M'Lane wherein he expressed an opinion that I could do so with the utmost propriety, if the Hanoverian government would consent, that unless the President approved of it no obligation rested upon him to lay it before the Senate. Under date of May 25 Mr. M'Lane wrote to me to say. "In the dilemma in which you are placed it appears to me that you may either send the Treaty to Washington to be signed there, upon the contingency you mention, making a memorandum or protocol of the arrangement, and relying upon the ratification and exchange of ratifications to make all right, as they certainly would do; or, I think you may sign the Treaty at Hanover, with the disclosure that your instructions do not authorize it in the precise form and that your signature is to be taken subject to the approbation of the President at Washington; that if he disapprove, the Treaty may be regarded as not having been signed, and to be of no validity not even as imposing upon the President any obligation whatever to send it to the Senate; but that if he approve and the Treaty be ratified by the Senate it is to be binding. — This mode too if adopted must be made the subject of a protocol to recite the arrangement, and to be actually signed, and to accompany the Treaty."

Aware of the importance of getting the Treaty to Washington before the adjournment of Congress, and fearing that I would be disappointed in securing a berth on the Steamer which is to leave Liverpool on the 19th, I resolved to sign at Hanover. It was as late as the 12th before every thing was ready for my departure, from

Hanover, but by travelling day and night I was enabled to reach here yesterday.

The Grand Duke of Oldenburg is ready to become a party to the Treaty immediately after an exchange of ratifications transpires with Hanover. I herewith transmit you a sketch of the declaration which he wishes to make, when he affixes to it his signature.

It was not advisable with such information as was furnished me, and with my own knowledge upon the subject, to present my credentials at either of the Mecklenburgs's. They are each on terms, particularly Strelitz, of the most friendly and indeed intimate character with Prussia, and doubtless would at once have disclosed the object of my mission to the cabinet at Berlin. I can now approach them however, or as soon as the Treaty comes back ratified with some degree of certainty of success. They have as you know, at least Schwerin, the indirect carrying under the proclamation of the President; but as this is liable to be revoked, I am disposed to believe that, when it is seen how much Hanover and Oldenburg have conceded in order to place their navigation with the United States on a permanent basis, they will accede to similar conditions and consequently exclusive declarations.

Before I put the Treaty into its present form I examined carefully all our reciprocity Treaties, at the consulate at Bremen, from the one concluded in 1826 with Denmark to the one just ratified with Belgium, and although I yielded in one or two instances to the opinions of the Hanoverian plenipotentiary I believe the arrangement of the articles, whatever exceptions may be taken to the stipulations which they contain, will be found as little objectionable as any one of them.

The first article relates exclusively to Navigation. The indirect carrying is to be reciprocal. Our vessels and their cargoes are to be placed upon the same footing as Hanoverian vessels and their cargoes, with respect to the State Tolls, and are to "be subjected to no detention or other inconvenience", (a matter of much importance to our shipping and mercantile

interests) from which the latter are exempt.

The second article reserves the trade upon the coasts to the contracting parties respectively.

The third article provides that no priority or preference shall be given by either of the contracting parties in the purchase of any article of commerce &c. &c. on account of the national character of the vessel &c.

The fourth article provides that the ancient and barbarous right to wrecks of the sea shall remain entirely abolished &c. &c.

The fifth article stipulates that such vessels only as are built within the respective territories of the contracting parties and belong exclusively to their citizens or subjects, and of which the master shall be a citizen or subject, shall be deemed national vessels. However is obligated that the crew of a vessel sailing under her flag, must consist of subjects or citizens of the states embraced within the Germanic confederation, while the United States are free to sail their vessels as they please.— Our treaties require in nearly, if not in every, instance that the master and three-fourths of the crew of our vessels shall be citizens of the United States. This we have never hesitated about conceding to, inasmuch as it was provided for by law; but before the expiration of the present treaty I think it is altogether probable that this regulation, or rather statute, may be modified. I am certain, and have been of this belief, for a long time, that it would be the means of building up more rapidly our mercantile marine.

The sixth article provides that no higher or other duties shall be imposed on articles grown in the respective countries, than are imposed on the like articles, imported from other countries, &c. &c

The seventh article obligates the contracting parties not to grant to other countries, favors which they withhold from each other upon certain conditions.

The eighth article binds the King of Hanover to abolish the duty on raw cotton imported into his realm; and also

to abolish the transit duties on raw cotton, tobacco, rice, and whale oil. The former amounts to about twenty cents on the 100 lbs. and the latter to about 13 cents on the 100 lbs. Instead of stipulating that the transit duty should be abolished on the four articles designated, the "growth and produce of the United States or their fisheries" I preferred saying in "hogsheads or casks, bales or bags" &c. &c., because except a few boxes of tobacco, they are not exported in any other manner; and the possibility is thus utterly precluded of a certificate of origin ever being demanded by the Hanoverian authorities. It seemed necessary to describe "in Hogsheads or casks and bales or bags" inasmuch as a question might arise whether a hogshead would be deemed a cask, or a bale a bag. — This article contains another, and in my opinion an infinitely more important stipulation, than any that has been recently expressed or secured by Treaty. I refer to the "Wear Tolls" to which I called your attention in my letter of the 30th ult. The King yielded to my request, as I then believed he would, and consented to precisely such a clause as I desired. I most confidently believe that this will speedily lead, if followed up with energy by our government, to the utter abrogation, in the north of Europe, of all river tolls (including those of the Rhine,) upon our staple products. The Congress of the Zollverein is now in session at Berlin, and if the Treaty is ratified and sent back to me without unnecessary delay — say by the Boston steamer of the 19th July — its influence would, assuredly, be immediate upon that body, and result most favorably to our agriculture and commerce; not only with respect to transit duties and river tolls, but to the import duty on Tobacco.

The ninth article relates exclusively to Consuls &c. &c.

The tenth article provides for certain privileges to be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the contracting parties, when residing within the territory of each other.

The eleventh article fixes the period at which, and the manner how, the Treaty shall terminate. The Hanoverian government desired that the term should be for twelve years. To this I had no weighty objection to interpose; and the less as its length settles, beyond question, the Tobacco duty to the almost nominal one of 70 cents on the 100lbs; — not so much by two cents as the existing one in Great-Britain upon a single pound! and which Sir Robert Peel, in his great "Free Trade" speech said it was not his intention to reduce!! The liberality of Hanover, which consumes more of our staple in proportion to her population than any state in Europe, will, by this article, be presented to the view of the commercial nations of the world, and her example serve to shame France, England, &c. &c. out of their inexcusable policy of making an article, which grows in every state of the American Union, a mere convenience for revenue purposes.

The twelfth article permits other states of the Germanic confederation, to become parties to the Treaty, upon certain conditions. — This was indispensable with reference to Oldenburg and the Mecklenburgs, and conforms to my instructions, with the exception that they are not named, specifically, which by the by I am not quite sure that you intended they should be. Other states may avail of this article, in the event of a dismemberment of the Zollverein, — Bavaria, for instance, which has no tobacco interest to protect, with her population of nearly 5,000,000 — and consequently abolish their transit duties on our principal products and reduce their import duty to the Hanoverian standard on Tobacco.

I have thus as succinctly, as I well could, stated the object and import of each of the twelve articles of the Treaty, which I have signed and to which I have attached my seal. As the Treaty was made at Hanover, it seemed to be nothing more than a matter of courtesy, for me to consent to an exchange of ratifications there.

(The protocol, should the Treaty be found by you objectionable in any respect, is sufficiently clear and explicit I am sure, and in which opinion Mr. M'Lane fully concurs, to justify the President in his rejection of the various stipulations of the Treaty.) —

— If he should approve, and the Senate should ratify, I distinctly foresee, that the most formidable barriers to the extension of our commercial relations, with the North and centre of Europe, will have been removed.

In conclusion, with sentiments of high regard and esteem, I have the honor to be,

most faithfully,
Your ob't. serv't.
A. Dudley Mann.

Hon. James Buchanan,
Secretary of State,
Washington.

respecting the navigation

Whereas the Government of the Grand Duchy of Oldenburgh, already enjoying all the advantages which the United States thus bestow up it under a Proclamation of the President thereof, dated ...., is desirous of making them permanent for a Term of years as well as strengthening the bonds of friendship and good understanding, which so happily subsist, between the two countries, and like the Government of Hanover to use ev'ry means in its power to extend the commercial ~~intercourse~~ relations between Germany and the United States; accedes by the present declaration to all the stipulations and agrees to observe all the obligations towards the United States, as are required of the Kingdom of Hanover contained in the treaty entered into between His Majesty the King of Hanover and the Government of the United States of America on the tenth day of June eighteen hundred and forty six, except those which relate to the Weser and Stade tolls in which the Government of the Grand Duchy of Oldenburgh has no interest and over which it has no control, upon condition however that vessels, built in Oldenburgh and sailing under the flag of Hanover and vessels build in Hanover and sailing under the flag of Oldenburgh shall be regarded as national vessels of that country, under whose flag they sail.

No. July 6/46.

— If he should approve, and the Senate should ratify, I do ... foresee, that the most formidable barriers to the extension of our commercial relations, with the North and centre of Europe, will have been removed.

In conclusion, with sentiments of high regard and esteem, I have the honor to be,

most faithfully,
your ob't. sv't.
A. Dudley Mann.

Hon. James Buchanan,
Secretary of State,
Washington.

Whereas the Government of the Grand Dutchy of Oldenburgh, already enjoying all the advantages which the United States thus bestow up it under a Proclamation of the President thereof, Dated...., is desirous of making them permanent for a Term of years as well as strengthening the bonds of friendship and good understanding, which so happily subsist, between the two countries, and like the Government of Hanover to use on every means in its power to extend the commercial ~~intercourse~~ relations between Germany and the United States; accedes by the present Declaration to all the stipulations and agrees to observe all the obligations towards the United States, as are required of the Kingdom of Hanover contained in the treaty entered into between His Majesty the King of Hanover and the Government of the United States of America on the tenth day of June eighteen hundred and forthy six, except those which relate to the Weser and Stade tolls in which the Government of the Grand Dutchy of Oldenburgh has no interest and over which it has no control, upon condition however that vessels, built in Oldenburgh and sailing under the flag of Hanover and vessels build in Hanover and sailing under the flag of Oldenburgh shall be regarded as national vessels of that country, under whose flag they sail.

respecting the navigation

A. D. Linn. Hanover (Penna.) 17 June 184[illegible]

London, June 27, 1846.

Sir, —

I had the honor to transmit to you, by the "Britannia," two copies of the treaty which I concluded — conditionally, as far as relates to the United States — with the Kingdom of Hanover on the 10th instant. If this convention shall have been approved by the President, and ratified by the Senate, I imagine that it will be returned to me by the steamer, which is to proceed from Boston to Liverpool, on the 16th of July. As soon as I am authorized, I will exchange ratifications with Hanover, and declarations with Oldenburg; and also with the Mecklenburg's, if they can be influenced to become parties to it.

As our government has made a successful movement in Hanover, in procuring an abolition of the transit duties and river tolls upon four of the leading articles exported from the United States, it should proceed, as I have remarked to you heretofore, without delay, and with energy, to secure similar concessions from the states composing the Zollverein. The uniform transit duty exacted by this league, at the time of its formation, was half a Prussian thaler per Zoll centner — about 33 cents per 100lbs. currency and weight of the United States. This charge has been reduced on some routes to the one third of a Prussian thaler on the Zoll centner, but it has been most rigidly maintained on the most important ones; and especially upon those from the North Sea and the Baltic to Bohemia, Tyrol, and other parts of the Austrian empire. The governing consideration in such policy has been to prevent a diminution of the receipts of the Elbe tolls, because if the transit duty on land were reduced, it is apparent that the articles destined for Austria would be conveyed across the intermediate country instead of by water communication. Both the Elbe tolls, and the tran-

Hon. James Buchanan,
Secretary of State,
Washington.

[illegible] duties of the routes running parallel with that river, or rather from the North Sea to Bohemia, affect injuriously our commerce. The consumption of raw cotton in Austria is steadily increasing. It is ascertained that the augmentation of Spindles there, during the present year, will amount to 200,000. If we desire that our staples should drive that of Egyptian growth entirely out of the market, efficient steps must be taken, to accomplish the removal of the Elbe and transit duties, in the states of the Zollverein.

On the different roads connecting the North Sea with Switzerland, the transit duty has been lowered to the third of a Prussian thaler, per zoll centner. Bavaria, Wurtemburg, Hesse-Darmstadt, Baden, and other states insisted, from year to year, so earnestly upon a reduction, that the trifling one, which I have stated, was agreed to not longer than twelve months ago. Heretofore but little transit revenue has been realized on the highways crossing the Zollverein territory from north to south, but Prussia found a motive for not yielding to the request of the states, directly interested, in the apprehension that such concession would constitute, in the utter abrogation of her cherished Weser and Elbe tolls, and of the transit duties, generally. Now, however, that Hanover has stipulated to take off the transit duty on four of our principal staples, and King Ernest has expressed his entire willingness to abolish all Weser tolls upon them, it is quite clear — particularly as there will soon be a continuous railway from the two chief German ports, and from the head of the Weser, to Switzerland — that our produce, of which the Swiss are large and increasing consumers, will be carried across Germany: And under the universally received opinion, that low prices create customers for our cotton, tobacco, rice, &c., I conceive it to be obligatory upon the government to force, by all the peaceable means at its disposal, the removal of the restrictions and hindrances upon their transportation.

The Kingdoms of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, the Grand-Duchies of Hesse-Darmstadt and Baden, the Duchy of Nassau, the Electorate of Hesse-Cassel, and Frankfort-on-the-Maine, will hail, I am confident, with much delight, the removal of the Hanoverian transit duties and Weser tolls, from our great staples. By gen-

[illegible] which may be forwarded from Hamburgh and Bremen to Switzerland or Tyrol, must necessarily be conveyed through these states, and, consequently, will afford employment to their rail-roads, as soon as they shall have been completed. It will be their undoubted policy, as it is the policy of Hanover, to divert the 100,000 bales of cotton which are transported annually from Havre through France to Switzerland, by carrying them at lower rates, to this route

The Congress of the Zollverein is now in session, and I trust that it will not adjourn, until the Treaty with Hanover is ratified, and published. As soon as this occurs, the states which I have mentioned, should be, at once, respectively, approached by our government in relation to a removal of the transit duties and Weser tolls collected within their limits; and the application, if properly made, would result in the attainment of the object desired, at no distant period. This accomplished, Saxony and Brunswick would, doubtless, become clamorous for an abolition of the transit duty on the route from the North Sea to Bohemia, and unless their wishes were gratified, a restiffness would manifest itself, of so frightful a character, as to force, in the end, the Zollvereins to abandon the system entirely of taxing merchandize passing from one country to another, whether transported over land or water.

Prussia I am inclined to believe would be obstinate for a time, and array all her cabinet strength against such a measure; but fortunately we hold a rod over her, with which, if soft words fail, she can be reduced to obedience. Hanover, to secure the indirect carrying, stipulates to abolish the transit duties upon the articles which we desire should pass free — the least part of the price which she pays for it — and Prussia, if she wishes to enjoy this valuable privilege hereafter, ought not to hesitate to give a similar consideration for it. Should she, however, decline to do so let our Treaty concluded with her in 1828, under which her navigation has been peculiarly

[illegible] with the provision for terminating its operations. It is a rare occurrence for a vessel sailing under our flag to enter a Prussian port indirectly: Indeed very few arrive directly from the United States, because there is nothing either to fetch or to take back. But Prussia has a lucrative indirect trade with us. Her bottoms, freighted with our products for other countries, and with the products of other countries for ourselves, make such profitable voyages that they moor as seldom in their native havens, as if they were deprived of national identity. I do not wish to be understood as complaining that the workings of the reciprocity treaties are adverse to our interests: On the contrary, I believe it is susceptible of demonstration that we have been greatly benefitted by them; but, nevertheless, while we are extending the utmost liberality to other powers and states in our commercial relations with them, we should take good care to make it a reciprocation, that, in return, they grant us every favor at their bestowal. Prussia without the slightest injury to herself — as well as the other states of the Zollverein — can follow the example of Hanover. The aggregate measurement of her vessels amounts to 228,551 tons while that of Hanover is only 56,682 Tons.

In my next despatch I shall give you a succinct, but clear, account — their history &c. &c. — of the German States Zolls. In the mean time I have the honor to be, with the highest regard and esteem,

Your Obedient Servant,

A. Dudley Mann.

Rec'd July 28.

No. 7.

Hanover, September 16, 1846.

Sir; —

I had the honor to receive on the evening of the 12th instant, your despatch under date of August 12; and with as little delay as possible I had an interview with the Minister of Foreign Affairs of this government and communicated to him the information which had been transmitted to me. He was apparently much surprised that a construction so entirely one-sided — so immediate in its favorable bearings, (or rather calculated to be so) upon the interests of the United States — should have encountered either opposition or delay in the Senate.

It is fortunate that I stipulated for a period of ten months during which to exchange ratifications, although Congress was in session and not a fourth of that time seemed to be necessary, for carrying the provisions of the treaty into effect, for I am fully persuaded that, if negotiations had to be re-opened, we should be unsuccessful in securing such benefits as have been stipulated for.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs remarked to me, "we have given to your government, in this treaty, every thing at our disposal, and in return we get nothing — emphatically nothing — that you have not long since conferred on Mecklenburg Schwerin and on Oldenburg. They, with other States, have the privilege of the indirect carrying under the act of Congress of 1828, and which Mr. Buchanan in a letter to our Consul at New-York, agreed to confer upon us, provided we would consent to put your vessels upon the same footing, with respect to the Stade tolls upon the Elbe, of our own."

In reply I stated that both the President and

Hon. James Buchanan,
Secretary of State,
Washington.

the Secretary of State, properly appreciated the liberal commercial sentiments of the Kingdom of Hanover, as contained in the Convention which had been concluded, but that in a body like the Senate of the United States,—composed of 56 members, coming from every state in the Union,—time was required for deliberation upon all subjects submitted to its consideration, and that the pressure of important business, and other causes as explained by yourself, had occasioned a postponement merely of the ratification, and that for a comparatively short period.

Yesterday I prevailed upon the Minister of Foreign Affairs to ascertain whether the King would accept, in order that you might act understandingly, the amendment to the 11th Article (not 13th as stated in your despatch) which you proposed to make with a view to obviate all objections in the Senate. At a late hour last night he called at my apartments and said, that he was authorized to assure me that His Majesty, inasmuch as he regarded the contemplated change of no consequence, would cheerfully consent to its being made. Thus you are relieved from any apprehension or responsibility in the premises as concerns Hanover. — The Article as amended, if I have understood your views correctly, will read "The present Treaty shall continue in force for the term of "twelve years from the date hereof; but upon the express "condition," &c. &c. by which the clause "and further until "the end of twelve months, after the government of Hanover "on the one part or that of the United States on the other part, "shall have given notice of its intention of terminating the "same," will have been struck out.

I fear that the Treaty is not duly estimated by the Senators from the New-England states, particularly those of Connecticut, Rhode-Island and Massachusetts. The chief product of our fisheries in the South Sea, it is perceptible to them, and to every body else, is to be free from transit duties, whereby every barrel of Oil passing into the Zollverein, will be relieved of a tax of something like 40 cents. This they may as

they undoubtly do, clearly understand: But have they examined carefully the sixth article, which has such a direct bearing upon the prosperity of that valuable trade and navigation? It is there stipulated that, "No higher or other duties "shall be imposed on the importation into the United States of "any articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the kingdom of Hanover or of its fisheries, and no higher or other "duties shall be imposed on the importation into the kingdom "of Hanover of any articles, the growth, manufacture and produce of the United States and of their fisheries, than are, or "shall be payable on the like articles, being the growth, produce or manufacture of any other foreign country or its fisheries." — You must be apprized of the fact that about 100,000 barrels of whale oil, with a large quantity of whale-bone, are annually imported from the United States into the ports of Bremen, Hamburgh, and Stettin for consumption in Germany. Prussia is so desirous of monopolizing this lucrative commerce that she pays a premium of twenty Thalers per last for every ship that is fitted out at her ports, and engages regularly in it, and one Thaler (69 cents U. S. currency) for every barrel of oil which they may bring home. Bremen and Hamburgh are also ambitious to extend their fisheries, and without affording any protection to their merchants they are gradually augmenting this branch of navigation. It must be recollected that Prussia, and the Hanse-Towns, as well as every other member of the Germanic Confederation, stand in the relation of "Foreign countries", and therefore neither of them, while this Treaty would continue in force, could have a preference in the disposal of their product, as respects import duty, over the product of the United States. The northern Sections may oppose, or yield a reluctant support to the Treaty, but when a great interest of the enterprizing portion of the Union which they represent, is so effectually guarded as the one under consideration, I predict that if its provisions are carried into operation, they or those who may succeed them, will have cause to regret its abrupt abrogation by the amendment which has been enacted upon. It

has been our uniform practice, I believe, to give and require a twelve months notice in discontinuing Conventions with Foreign governments; and the only argument adduced, as I understand, for a departure from it in this instance is, that at the end of the twelve years Hanover could increase the duty on Tobacco and get enjoy the indirect carrying until the notice was given, which if promptly done, would of course be only for twelve months. Now it is quite certain that if Hanover does not lay an additional burden upon our staple, until the expiration of the specified term, she will not be disposed to adopt such a measure the day thereafter: On the contrary she would have every inducement to let it remain at what it is, provided that she derived any benefit from the Treaty, and without which the United States, with the advantages which they would realize from the abolition of the transit duties and river tolls, could have no motive whatever for wishing its stipulations to cease.

When I arrived here I suggested to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, that it was clearly to the interest of Hanover to admit "Paddy" or Rice in the husk, free of duty: He immediately called the attention of the "Ober Finanzrath" (Upper Finance Councellor) to the subject. A Report has not yet been made, and I now trust that it will be suspended until the Treaty is returned ratified, in which event, I shall be disappointed if it is not favorable to the measure. The Grand Duke of Oldenburg, from a conversation which I had with him, I am sure will give his assent. The board of control of the "Steuer-Verein", (Customs-Union) has charge of the matter. — No discrimination can be made in behalf of our Rice, in Hanover and Oldenburg on account of existing Treaties with Holland, &c., but it may be greatly favored by a regulation to enforce no duty upon "Paddy". From Charleston a voyage may be made to the ports on the Ems, the Weser, and the Elbe in about a fourth of the time required from Batavia, and the charge of freight is consequently proportionately

less. — It is not South-Carolina alone that would be benefitted by such a concession: The article matures well in Louisiana, and the cultivation under proper encouragement is susceptible of being vastly extended there. "Paddy" is already imported into England from South-Carolina, and after being cleaned, the kernel is invariably much more fresh and sweet, than that which is imported in sheaves, after its separation from the husk.

In my former letter, dated at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, August 29, I gave you many particulars respecting the discovery of a substitute, in raw cotton prepared under a chemical process, for gunpowder. Every experiment which has been made since then, establishes more and more confidence in scientific men, in the value of this wonderful improvement, and its practical application to all the purposes of the article now in use. In order that the United States might be immediately benefitted by it, I contributed all in my power to procure the right for them, as also for Mexico, and Mr. Robertson, Consul at Bremen, will be at Washington with it, in a day or two, if he is not already there. For the use of the army alone the Germanic Confederation, is to pay the inventors 100,000 Thalers. The King of Hanover has instructed his representative in the Diet, to pay over in proportion to his contingent of the army, the amount, if the test, which is to be made at Mayence the 1st of October results as is anticipated.

I transmit herewith a duplicate of my first official despatch. Those which succeeded it have all been acknowledged except the one referred to above, which of course has not yet reached its destination. I should have numbered them, had I foreseen that I was to be longer than four months, absent from Washington.

You must consider my Agency as having terminated and my per diem allowance, consequently discontinued, although I cannot proceed immediately to the United States. If I supposed, however, that you desired me to return in

order to serve you in any manner, I would not hesitate about embarking forthwith: But not supposing this probable, I think I can render important services to my country by remaining in Germany, and preparing a new edition during the winter, of a book which I published about eighteen months since. Should the Treaty be ratified, I shall feel honored by your further confidence in transmitting it to me, through the Legation at London, and authorizing me to exchange ratifications with Hahover, and declarations with Mecklenburg and Oldenburg. I am desirous of closing the work which I commenced, through your hospitality and kindness. In due time I will make out my account, having already credited the Department with $1600.

I am proud to have merited the approbation of the President in the Treaty which I concluded, and I am most thankful to you for the kind manner in which the information has been conveyed. Before long I may take the liberty of again addressing you, but this necessarily will be my last official communication.

I have the honor to be, most faithfully.

Your Ob't. S'v't.

A. Dudley Mann.

A. D. Mann

Hanover, Sep. 16./46

The enclosure sent to Mr Ritchie. -

Private. — No. 1.

Bremen, October 12, 1846.

Dear Sir; —

In my despatch No. 6 — dated at Frankfort-on-the-Maine — I stated that a substitute had been found in raw cotton, prepared under a chemical operation, for gunpowder. Viewing the discovery, after having tested to my entire satisfaction its value, of great importance to our country, I took immediate steps to procure the Patent for the United States and Mexico. Mr. Robertson, our Consul for this port, after negotiating about two weeks for it — during which I rendered him all the aid in my power — succeeded in making a purchase from one of the inventors, upon the condition that his partner Professor Schönbein, who is residing temporarily in London, would give his assent to the terms agreed upon.

Mr. Robertson proceeded immediately to London, prepared to embark on the steamer of the 15th September for the United States; but contrary to expectation, the solicitor of Professor Schönbein would not consent to a ratification of the contract, until a Patent was secured for the United Kingdom. Other obstacles were thrown in the way of perfecting it, which Mr. R. endeavored from

day to day to overcome; but in a letter just received from him, I am assured that his efforts had proved unavailing. This, under the circumstances, is fortunate, for the secret has been discovered by a celebrated chemist, Professor Otto of Brunswick, and by him promulgated to the world. I hasten to furnish you with translated copies of two publications which he has just made concerning it, in order that the Union may be benefitted by them in the state of its relations with Mexico, and otherwise, at the earliest possible moment.

The gun-cotton, can be prepared, under the accompanying directions, by any apothecary who understands his avocation properly. Many experiments have been made with it in this city, and the result, uniformly, has been such as to establish general confidence in its vast superiority over gun-powder — an estimation which from the first I believed it would attain. In England, the article prepared by Professor Schönbein has been submitted to the severest ordeal by a commission of Engineer and Artillery officers, and the adoption of it in the British service for fire-arms, recommended. No doubt existed, although a trial had not been made at the last accounts, that it is as well suited to the use of large, as of small guns.

Although not in the employment of the government I have, nevertheless, considered it to be my duty, as an American citizen, to make this communication to you by the first and most speedy conveyance.

With sentiments of unfeigned regard and esteem, I have the honor to subscribe myself,

Your Friend and Countryman,

A. Dudley Mann.

Hon. James Buchanan,
Secretary of State,
Washington.

No 1. (Private) - A. D. Mann. Bremen. 12 Oct. 1846

A. D. Mann. Bremen Oct. 12 1846

Translation. From the "Neuere Gezchte"

Brunswick, October 5, 1846.

"Totally independent of Schönbein and Böttger, relying on an observation of Pelouze's which is contained in my compendium of chemistry first volume page 136, I have succeeded in preparing exploding cotton, which after experiments made with it, seems to be an excellent substitute for gun-powder. In order that the results of important discoveries may be brought to the highest degree of perfection without unnecessary delay, it appears to me to be proper to give publicity to them immediately, in order that other scientific persons may occupy themselves in making improvements upon such inventions. I therefore disdain to sell or ask a patent for the highly valuable one which has been made by myself, the next consequences of which cannot yet be calculated, and I herewith give publicity to it for the general use of the public:

For making exploding cotton the common, well cleaned staple must be dipped in highly concentrated acid of salt-petre. (The acid which I use is made by distilling ten parts dried salt-petre and six parts oil of vetriol or sulphuric acid) then it is put into fresh water, which is often changed, and care must be taken to loosen thoroughly the cotton, which from the process becomes matted, after which it must be well dried. Thus the exploding article is in a state of preparation for the gun barrel.

The effects of this article astonish every body who witnesses them. The smallest quantity explodes, with the quickness of fulminating-quicksilver-powder, if struck with a hammer on an anvil. If put into a gun, a smaller quantity in weight, will do as much execution as gun-powder. It is used precisely in the same manner as gun-powder — a piece of paper being necessary between it and the ball or shot, as in ordinary firing. The ignition is always certain from the explosion of a percussion cap. — All persons, without exception, who have been present at the exhibitions I have made of its properties, were fully convinced of its practicability. — The testimony which I annex of two distinguished persons have made (since their profession) will corroborate my statements:

"Yesterday, the 4th of October, we were present at the first experi-

meals which were made with the exploding cotton, in the Laboratory in this city, and to-day we have convinced ourselves of the perfectly satisfactory results, with which could five arms.

(signed) Hartig, Doctor, counsellor of the Forest Board.
A. von Schwarzkopfen, High Forestmaster.

Extracts from the second Report of Professor Abel — Inspector of the Medical Board — Chemist &c. &c. &c.

"It seems that no other acid than that procured by the distillation of 10 parts of salt-petre and 6 parts of oil of vitriol, will confer upon raw cotton its explosive power. — Hydrate of nitric acid (sulphoric anhydrous) dissolves the cotton. — In good fuming acid the cotton becomes transparent and the fibre is not injured or dissolved. — The acid by distillation, first procured is best. Cotton dipped into it for half a minute and then quickly pressed between glass-plates or boards, and washed afterwards until it is entirely free from acid, and subsequently dried, produces a superior exploding article. — Using the acid a second time an inferior article is made, but if after having been washed and dried it be again dipped into the acid, it becomes excellent. A repetition of the manipulation necessarily augments the exploding quality. Cotton may even remain in the acid longer than half a minute: that which has laid in it as long as twelve hours, was found to be very explosive. — It is important that the cotton be well washed when it is taken out of the acid, for if any remains in it, a salt-petre flavor will attach to it when dry, and when exploding will leave on any thing white, an acid tincture. The united explosion of a small ball of the article, on a white china plate, is the criterion to test its good quality by. It must flash like gunpowder, and leave no dust behind it: if a particle even is seen it cannot be used in guns. — It also appears to be necessary that the cotton after having been dipped into the acid and pressed, be immediately put into a large quantity of water. If the cotton be put into an insufficient quantity of water it (the cotton) gets heated, and small quantities of cotton are also preferable, for if large, it forms into knots of a bluish-green color which are so firm as to not be easily loosened. The more the prepared article resembles the one in its natural state, the better and more powerful it is. With 5/4 or 6/4 of a grain — 480 grains equal to an English ounce — balls of 1/3 inch diameter, were driven through boards one inch thick. With 6 grains a bullet was driven from a rifle, at a distance of 45 steps

cuts an oak plank, to the depth of an inch; and with four or five given effective shots have been made with fowling pieces. The more readily the cotton explodes, the greater the care to be taken in handling it.

Professor Shorbett, at an experiment made in presence of one of the Editors of the Times, tested some gun-cotton which had been thirteen months in water sixty days and found it as good as when freshly prepared after having been dried.

Private — No. 2.

Bremen, November 12, 1846.

Dear Sir; —

As the Steamer which is to leave Liverpool on the 14th inst., will be the last speedy conveyance from this side of the Atlantic, previous to the meeting of Congress, I take the liberty of submitting to you a few additional remarks, in relation to the Treaty concluded with Hanover on the 10th of June. I beg you however, to be assured that I do so with unfeigned reluctance for I am well aware that over exactions are made upon your invaluable time by the correspondence of public functionaries, to say nothing of that of private individuals like myself.

It is of paramount importance that the Senate should proceed immediately to dispose of the question. In the first place as soon as the operation of the stipulations entered into goes into effect our commerce will be benefitted, weekly, to the amount of $3000.! — in the removal of the transit duties alone: — In the second place the King of Hanover is advanced in years, and although not infirm for his age, his life is precariously in imminent danger from sudden and violent attacks of illness. — In the third place the period

limited for the exchange of ratifications at Hanover will expire on the 10th of April, and if delays in the first instance, and afterwards casualties, should occur the manifold advantages which we have obtained, if we think proper to enjoy them, would be lost.

Under the impression that the Senate would see at a glance the peculiar equivalents — such as were never granted to us in a previous convention — for the privileges of the indirect carrying, I did not in my despatch of June 17, (communicated by the Executive to that body) urge sufficiently, or as explicitly as I might have done, the value to the United States of the stipulation respecting the "Stade Tolls". Our vessels and their cargoes are to be placed upon an entire equality with Hanoverian vessels and their cargoes, ascending or descending the Elbe. Now although this fact must be well understood by every one who has perused the Treaty, yet the concession on the part of Hanover, I fear, is not properly appreciated. With the free navigation of the Elbe it is perfectly clear, to persons well informed upon the subject, that unless the Danish Sound Tolls are removed, our produce destined for the Baltic will in less than half a dozen years enter that river and pass through Hamburgh and Lubec. — Lubec has, for

a long time been endeavoring to get permission to make a rail-road from that city across the German isthmus to Hamburgh. Christian VIII has heretofore resolutely opposed the application, but in the present political condition of the duchy of Holstein, he will be forced by the other powers and states of the germanic confederation, to give his assent to the measure. When this communication is opened — the distance not exceeding 38 miles — our commerce, unquestionably, will be conveyed through it, instead of by the circuitous route of the sea, while the existing dues are collected at Elsineur. — Lubec would, as a matter of policy, establish the charges for transportation upon a scale so moderate, as to be but little more than nominal. The 40,000 barrels of our whale oil which annually find their way into the Baltic, to say nothing of tobacco, cotton, rice, &c., would thus be relieved of a heavy tax and the consumption, consequently, steadily augmented. —

There is no just cause, in any quarter, for the slightest sectional opposition to the treaty. It, assuredly, deserves the most favorable consideration of the northern states. Their navigation interest, whether it be employed in producing whale

oil, or in general carrying, has been especially well taken care of. The number of indirect Hanoverian vessels, to and from the United States, can under no conceivable circumstances, exceed half a dozen per year. The King, however, animated by a desire to better the condition of his subjects, adjacent to the sea-coast, has not calculated the cost of purchasing for them such privileges in their intercourse with us, as we have given to all nations which have applied for them at a, comparatively, vastly lower price.

Should the Treaty be ratified at the first Executive session, and I imagine that it will be, inasmuch as it has precedence of all other business, it can be transmitted in your London Despatch Bag, for the Boston steamer, of the 16th December. — Without knowing any thing whatever of your views in relation to the matter, I presume that the President will have no hesitation to re-commission me to exchange ratifications with Hanover, and also declarations with Oldenburg, and the Mecklenburgs. For this purpose it will be necessary for you to accredit me again, to the Ministers for Foreign Affairs, at each of these Courts. I shall be here, or at Hamburgh, ready to receive your Despatches, the moment that they

touch the Continent, and to proceed immediately to Hanover &c. to perfect the work, which you honored me so much as to request me to undertake, on the 28th of March last

I would suggest whether in the event of my going to the Mecklenbergs, it would not be well to charge me with making a representation to the respective ministers for Foreign Affairs, of the wanton injustice inflicted upon our country, by these Sicilies, in liberating convicts, and furnishing them with the means of reaching our shores. An aggravated case of this character has just occurred at Hamburgh: Ten notorious Officers were sent here to be embarked, but on account of former outrages of this kind by one of the Sicilies referred to, Mr. Cuthbert, our Consul, from the peculiarity of their appearance, and their general appearance, had his suspicions awakened, and prevented them from proceeding.

My last official despatch, which may have reached Washington during your absence, contains some information, which it is desirable that the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and perhaps other members, should be in possession of. Of this, however, you are the better judge.

In concluding, as I suppose, my last letter to you, before I leave the honor of taking your hand in our own beloved country, I avail of the occasion to express to you, my dear sir, the assurances of my gratitude and of my continued estimation and regard.

A. Dudley Mann.

Hon.

James Buchanan,
Secretary of State,
Washington.

No. 2. (Private) Bremen. A. D. Mann. 10 Nov. 1846

8 Apr. to Stephen Jordan
New Orleans

J. Marshall

Despatch No. 8

Hanover, February 26, 1847.

Sir; —

The triplicate of your despatch No. 3 was received on the 13th instant, and on the 16th a notification reached me from the Legation of the United States at London that the Treaty with Hanover accompanied by a despatch from yourself, had been placed in its charge by Gen. Armstrong to be retained subject to my order. I forthwith despatched a messenger to Mr. Bancroft who returned this morning, discharging satisfactorily the trust confided to him.

Determining to hasten the exchange of ratifications I proceeded to this city without unnecessary delay, and immediately informed the Minister of Foreign Affairs that I should be prepared to complete the object of my mission in five or six days, or so soon as my messenger arrived from London: He remarked that inasmuch as the "Chambers" were in session it was proper that the Treaty should be submitted to them for approval, and that it should be at once laid before them. To-morrow it will be read in this body the first time, and on Tuesday it will be definitively disposed of. These proceedings are for form's sake merely, — no sovereign of Europe being more respectful or courteous to his "States-General" than the one who reigns over this kingdom.

On Wednesday the 3rd of March I imagine that I shall be enabled to terminate my duties here. I shall then start to Oldenburg, where I shall likely be detained a week. From thence I shall travel by the most expeditious conveyance to the Mecklenburgs.

Hon. James Buchanan,
Secretary of State. Washington.

I expect to be ready to embark on the "Cambria" at Liverpool for Boston on the 4th of April; and in my opinion you may confidently rely upon seeing me at the State Department with the treaty, about the 20th of that month. You are aware that there is no mid-monthly March steamer from this side of the Atlantic, and even if I could avail myself of a passage at that time, I fear it would be utterly impossible, in view of the official duties which I have to discharge, to be prepared to depart.

I have the honor to remain, with distinguished consideration,

Your Faithful
&
Obedient servant.

A. Dudley Mann.

No. 8. A. D. Mann. Hanover 26 Feb. 1847.

Bremen, March 9., 1847.

Dear Sir,

I have had the honour to receive your favor of the 26. Febr. from Hanover, communicating to me, that in a Convention which you concluded on the 10th of June last, for the United States of America, with the Kingdom of Hanover, that Kingdom obligated itself to abolish the Transit duties upon leaves, stems and stripes of Tobacco., in hogsheads or casks; Raw Cotton in bales or bags; Whale Oil in casks or barrels; and Rice in tierces or half tierces, - subject, however, to the reservation of levying a sufficient tax to defray the expense of maintaining the regulations respecting transit goods; a tax which in no case is to exceed eight Pfennigs per Hanoverian hundred Pounds. - Your object in communicating this fact is to invite the Senate of this Republic, to follow the example of Hanover by reducing the Bremen Transit - duties on the mentioned four Articles equally to a mere tax for controul.

I have communicated the contents of Your favor to the Senate and am authorized to inform you, that the Republic of Bremen will, after the ratifications of said Convention having been exchanged, and for the time of its duration, reduce the Bremen Transit-duties on the above mentioned four articles to one Groat (equal to about four Pfennigs) for one hundred Pounds Bremen weight, when passing from the United States through the territory of this Republic to be send into the Kingdom of Hanover and the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg, and that this Republic is fully prepared to make the same reduction of its Transit duties in favor of the States of the Zollverein, as soon and as long as the States of the Zollverein will have reduced in a similar proportion their Transit duties on the said four articles when passing from this Place to Switzerland &c.

The Senate will with pleasure seize every opportunity to facilitate the intercourse of the United States with the States of the German Confederation, and is happy to give by this

a

it
a proof of ~~this~~ ardent desire for that purpose.
I beg you will have the Kindness to inform
your Government of the above mentioned intentions,
and avail myself of this opportunity to renew
towards you the assurance of my high regard
and esteem.

The President of the Commission
for foreign affairs

Smidt

[redacted]

Colonel A. Dudley Mann. Esq
&c &c &c

Neustrelitz the
26th of March 1867

Sir

His Royal Highness the Grand Duke having returned from Berlin, I have laid before him the object of your mission.

His Royal Highness begs to acknowledge the proposition of the President regarding the accession to the treaty entered into with Hannover, for the purpose of securing the shipping interest of Mecklenburg for a lengthened period. As these privileges the navigation of Mecklenburg enjoyed since the year 1835, when both governments interchanged articles.

His Royal Highness trusts the more, that no interruptions may take place in a state so prosperous to trade and navigation, the duties existing in Mecklenburg being in themselves very trifling. Propositions have been laid before the States of Mecklenburg to regulate these duties more appropriate and simple. The intention of Government by this is, as I already had the honour of explaining, to secure the duties on home consumption and trade in such a manner

favorable to the interest of American export.
Raw-Cotton ~~was~~ (or) intended to enter duty free, now tobacco
would will not be subject to a higher duty than stipulated
at present in Hannover. The consumption duty on
rice and train-oil will be a mere trifle. As soon
as this system is established, nay even before, His
Royal Highness will most willingly grant the transit
of the above mentioned four articles, to pass free of
toll through his country from his sea-ports Emden
and Wismar. However some difficulties arise in
the immediate reduction of the male transit on
the roads from Hamburg to Berlin which at this
moment cannot be removed. These difficulties arise
partly from the state of the treaty entered into
with our States relating to the alteration of excise
and tolls, and partly from the circumstance of
Denmark being toward Hamburg our head-land,
exacts much higher duties than ours on all
goods destined for Mecklenburg. By an advan
of ~~the trade~~ the treaty with the States we hope to
find

remedies for setting aside the difficulties which oppose themselves to our immediate acceding to the article 8 of the Hannovrian treaty. Respecting the transit. toles of our headland Denmark, however, it is the interest of the measures pursued on the part of the United States to reduce those duties at the same time.

The earlier grant from a country lying beyond the other, is only subjecting her to sacrifices without any expectation of increase of transits, but necessarily renders a treaty with Denmark the more difficult.

Being under these circumstances directed to declare the impossibility of Mr Malmsbury's acceding to the Hannovrian treaty, It is Royal Highness my sovereigns hopes that the United States will not obstruct the benefit of an unrestricted trade of a country which by her exceedingly low duties has proved herself a promoter of commerce and navigation.

Enclosing you an answer to the Secretary of State for the foreign department Mr Buchanan both in Original and in copy, I return my best thanks for the candid and loyal manner in

in which you have treated with me, and
acknowledge myself to be, with unalterable
esteem

Sir

Your most obedient Servant

L of Eutaw

To A Dudley Mann Esq.

Rec'd 21 Sept 47

Wheaton

No. 1.

London, August 2, 1847.

Sir; —

I landed at Liverpool on the 13th ultimo, and without unnecessary delay, proceeded to the discharge of the duties designated in my instructions.

I have already visited the ports of Kingston-upon-Hull, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Glasgow, Belfast, Dublin, Limerick, and Cork—at each of which I obtained much valuable information with respect to emigration, which I will in due time report to you. I expect to collect many additional important facts connected with the present branch of my mission from the President of the "British Board of Emigration" at this metropolis, to perform which service may delay my departure until the 4th or 5th, when I shall hasten via Southampton to Havre &c.

To convey to you a proper idea of the rapidity of my movements, I deem it proper to state that I have traversed daily upon an average, a dis-

To,

Hon. James Buchanan,
Secretary of State,
Washington.

lance exceeding one hundred and fifty miles, since
I left Washington.

I have the honor to be,
With faithful esteem,
Your obedient servant.
A. Dudley Mann.

N°1. A. 2. Mann. London. Aug. 2. 1[illegible]

R. d. 21 Augt 47.

Private. — No. 1.

London, August 3, 1847.

My Dear Mr. Buchanan; —

As expeditious as my movements have been since I seperated with you at Boston, I have accomplished all so far that either yourself or I could desire. If I succeed as well on the Continent as I have in Great-Britain, in that portion of my mission relating to emigration, I am confident that the Report which I shall be enabled to transmit you, will be singularly beneficial to the country.

I perceive, by the last arrival, that the "ship fever" as it is termed, continues to excite alarm in our Atlantic cities. In advance of any thing which I may say to you officially upon the subject, it is proper for me to remark upon this occasion, that the sickness engendered by a destitution of food in Ireland last winter, is precisely of the same character as that which is so fatal among emigrant passengers embarking from British ports. In this opinion I am supported by the "British Government Emigration Agents" at each of the ports which I have visited. The disease is not considered infectious, yet it frequently communicates itself to persons who are in the immediate atmosphere of those afflicted by it. Its fatality on ships is attributable mainly to the taking aboard, by emigrants, the clothes and bedding of their relatives who have fallen victims; though it is believed, that on almost every vessel, individuals embark

who are not entirely free from it. — In the South of Ireland the disease still prevails to a frightful extent, notwithstanding the supply of food is considered ample. The district of country between Tralee and Cork over which I passed was, and still is, subjected to its appalling visitation. There death continues to number its hundreds daily: There human wretchedness, turn your head in whatever direction you may, stares you, with its horrid features, fully in the face.

The crops throughout Great-Britain are unusually, if not unprecedentedly, fine. No country was ever in a higher state of agricultural perfection than that through which I have journeyed. The weather is most auspicious for the maturing of the harvest, and should it remain so during this month, most of the grain will have been secured. — I have taken ~~taken~~ much care to ascertain the condition of the potato crop in Ireland, and although not more than a fourth of the ground, of a former average, has been planted this year, the yield it is estimated, will amount to about a third of that of ordinary years. It is quite certain that notwithstanding the croakers, no disease had manifested itself in the region of Cork up to Saturday evening the 31st. — There was a general blight previous to this period a year ago.

I send you the funeral oration pronounced upon O'Connell at Rome: It is the production of the first scholar and orator in Italy.

I also transmit to you a remarkable letter which

appeared in the "Times" about two weeks since. The author, I believe, is very well known at New-York and perhaps at Washington. The statements made by him are seized upon ~~by other journals~~ and commented upon by other journals to our discredit, as though they were really true. But for the infamous correspondence furnished to the London editors, by our citizens misrepresenting facts, the sentiments of this country would be more kindly toward the United States, than at any previous period. — All Ireland is with us: She regards us as her true benefactor.

The Elections, as far as they have transpired, have resulted most adversely to the protectionists. London returns 13 whigs and 1 Peelite. — You are aware that the Navigation Laws were again suspended, until the first of March. Before that period arrives, it is now evident, that they will be repealed altogether. Then there will be no obstacle to the conclusion of a treaty, which will secure important advantages to our Navigation interest.

Trusting that you returned to your post benefitted by your tour to the north,

I remain, my Dear Sir,
Yours most Faithfully,
A. Dudley Mann.

Hon. James Buchanan
&c. &c. &c.
Washington.

THE FUNERAL ORATION UPON O'CONNELL, *by the* REV. FATHER VENTURA.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ITALIAN, SPECIALLY, BY WM. B. MACCABE,
Author of "*A Catholic History of England*," *for the Weekly Register.*

"Simon Magnus, qui liberavit gentem suam a perditione: et in diebus suis corroboravit templum.—Eccles. ch. 50, v. 1, et 1, 5.

Thus the day, to which we had looked forward as the object of our desires, and the hope of our congratulations, has been changed into one of mourning and of grief! He has come amongst us; but, alas! not as we had expected to see him. "*Conversi sunt nobis dies rotorum nostrorum in lacrymas; siquidem nobis, non qualis sperabamus advenit.*"—Ambros. in obitu Valentiniani.

Such is the manner in which an Ambrose lamented for the Emperor Valentinian; and in the self-same mode ought we deplore the death of the celebrated and immortal Christain, Daniel O'Connell—one of the brightest glories of Catholicity—the greatest, the most extraordinary, the most stupeduous individual of modern times—previous to the period at which Pius IX. revealed himself to this earth. It was whilst Rome awaited his arrival to *fete* him, that she has seen brought to her a portion of his mortal remains—his heart—that she may weep over it: and the very moment which we had calculated upon as being able to look at, and admire, him as a living man, is that in which we are called upon, as we are all here to-day, to pray for him, as one of the departed: *Conversi sunt nobis dies rotorum nostrorum in lacrymas; siquidem nobis, non qualis sperabamus advenit.*

But, how comes it to pass, my dearest brethren, that you should show such anxiety, such eagerness, such enthusiasm—first, in your admiration of the living man, and now in doing honour to his memory and his name? How comes it, that a stranger, born two thousand miles away from Rome, should be able to awaken an interest so profound and so universal? Ah! I believe I have discovered the reason of this, and that I can find it in your hearts. I know you thoroughly; I perceive that you are animated with two noble instincts: with sublime attachments to the two greatest objects—objects in which every species of force may be found concentrated—against which every device is vain—opposed to which every effort is null—adverse to which every undertaking is deadly—in conflict with which every opponent perishes; these two objects are true religion, and true liberty.

Now, Daniel O'Connell, the Simon of the New Law, was truly great, for his entire life was devoted to work out the triumph of the true church—the temple of God amongst men; and because he liberated his people from oppression, he merited the noble eulogium which the Scripture has expressed with respect to the Simon of the Old Law: *Simon Magnus, qui liberavit gentem suam a perditione, et in diebus suis corroboravit templum.*

It is, then, because these two loves—the love of religion, and the love of liberty—common to all good princes, to all great minds, to all truly learned men, to all elevated souls, to all generous hearts, might be said to be personified in Daniel O'Connell—because in him they manifested themselves in all the perfection of their nature—in all the energy of their deeply-felt conviction—in all the potency of their strength—in all the splendour of their magnificence, and in all the glory of their triumph, it is because of all this that this singular man, who was born and has lived at such a distance from Rome, is now admired—is now wept for by you as if he had been born in the midst of you. Hence it is that this great character, this sublime nature has awakened all your sympathies. Hence it is that his noble heart, which never beat but for the love of religion, of his country, and the poor, now makes your hearts palpitate.

You, then, anticipate me—you inspire me—you dictate to me the plan according to which should be composed that funeral eulogium which you call upon me to pronounce over that noble hero, whose loss the Christian world now deplores. You wish—you expect, that I should present to you one who is the type, the perfect model both of a good citizen and of a true Christian. Let us, then, first consider how Daniel O'Connell, a good citizen, availed himself of religion to restore his people to liberty—*Liberavit gentem suam a perditione.*

Let us next see how Daniel O'Connell, a true Christian, made use of the liberty possessed by his people to aid in the triumph of religion—*Corroboravit templum.* Let us do this, in order that the tribute of praise bestowed upon the illustrious dead may be a new and instructive lesson for us who are living; that it may help to confirm us in our holy resolution, and in our sincere feelings, that we should never separate the cause of liberty from that of religion—the only means and the only condition by which we can become great in the eyes of man and the sight of God, and of meriting the encomium: *Magnus qui liberavit gentem suam a perditione, et in vita sua corroboravit templum.*

I cannot, however, in a single discourse do full justice to a theme, which, considering the greatness and importance of the individual, and of the matters connected with him, assumes a peculiar greatness and a particular importance. I must confine myself to-day to the treatment of the first point, and postpone until Wednesday next the consideration of the second.

In the one discourse, however, as well as in the other, if you but do me justice, you will, I hope, be compelled to come to the conclusion, that I have, under the veil of modern language, only, developed ancient ideas; that I shall have pleaded the cause of religion and of public order in pronouncing an eulogium upon liberty; and that in all respects I shall have said nothing which is not worthy of the august character with which I am clothed, and of the holy place in which I speak.

There is a word, among the many words which are much abused in this world, one that is the most abused—and that word is, "The People." A band of wretches, a fanatical sect, or a turbulent faction, call themselves "The People." An ambitious egotist, a tribune, a consul, a dictator, says *he* is "*The People*". There are to be found designating themselves "*The People*," either a mob, or a reprobate, or a person who is the execration, the enemy, and the tyrant of the people. And, alas! how often have been declared to be the general interests of the people those things which were only for the private interests of the few? How often has that been declared to be the wish of the people which was but the madness and caprice of an individual!—and that to be the liberty of the people which was in fact the oppression of the people!

The evil that is but too often the work of hypocrisy and of malice, is also not unfrequently the result of stolidity and of error. How many are there who, in perfect simplicity and pure good faith, believed they were working for the happiness of the people when they were in fact but toiling for their destruction? And how many are there who believed that they were avenging the cause of liberty when they were fettering it with fresh chains, and dooming it to a more oppressive bondage?

And why should this have ever happened? Because such persons did not borrow from true religion the rules of justice, when they took upon themselves the defence of the people's cause and of true liberty—because they had forgotten—because they had repudiated God: *non proposuerunt Deum ante conspectum suum*—(Psalm 53)—and without God it is impossible to ameliorate in any manner the condition of mankind.

If Daniel O'Connell happily succeeded in relieving his people from a hard and bitter oppression—*liberavit gentem suam a perditione*—it is because, a great Christian and a great citizen, he sought the aid of religion in the sublime task of liberating a people.

He was born in the county of Kerry, in Ireland, in the year 1775. He sprang from one of the most ancient and distinguished families in the kingdom. Scarcely, however, had all his operations, the strength of all his struggles, and the reason for all his victories.

And woe to Ireland, if her O'Connell had not been formed in this school, and had not been well imbued with these lessons! Oh! Ireland! Oh! great—oh! sublime—oh! heroic Ireland! No Christian people have ever suffered so much as the Irish, on account of their fidelity to the Catholic religion. For three entire centuries have the children of Ireland emulated the constancy of the ancient martyrs, whilst the Anglican heresy renewed amongst them the cruelty of ancient tyrants! And if, in these latter days, the dominant heresy—wearied out with tormenting, before the Irish Catholic was tired of suffering—relaxed in some degree the bitterness of her torments, she still left that heroic country under the command of laws capacitated to make it the theatre of every species of misery, and of every degree of human suffering, with a people the most unfortunate, the most humiliated, and the most oppressed, on the face of this earth! Lately despoiled, by corruption and by terror, of its own Parliament—and fallen from the rank of a kingdom to become a degraded province of England—the days are not far distant when no Catholic could be a proprietor in fee of the land of Ireland—when he was destined solely to hold the position of a tenant, and that only by a short lease, and when each of his children, by declaring himself a Protestant, might deprive him of control over his property. Ireland, too, has seen, and still sees, her church deprived of all its revenues, whilst no other means are left for subsisting her priesthood, and maintaining her worship, than the voluntary contributions of an impoverished people—piteously condemned to pay tithes for the Protestant religion, and to fatten with their sweat and blood the parasite ministers of error. Besides this, there was for the Catholics an absolute exclusion from all dignities, all honours, all employments, civil as well as military. They were legally incapacitated from taking part in the councils of the nation as members of parliament, and hence they were interdicted of seeking in a constitutional manner to ameliorate their condition.—Where justice was administered by magistrates who were all Protestants, the Catholic had not the right of seeking for it, nor the hope of obtaining it. Irish misery was the climax of misery. Anglican liberality had not left to Ireland but the foul rags of a London rabble to cover her limbs, the potato to feed upon, and—eyes to weep. There were Irish, but there was no longer an Ireland: this population—so good, so faithful, and so religious—were no longer a people; or, if they might be called a people, they were a people of slaves, without privileges, without rights, without protection, abandoned to the whim, the caprice, the covetousness, and the cruelty of masters, without a heart, without humanity, and without discretion.

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His own example lent force and effect to those lessons; and, oh, wonder! during the forty years in which, by his activity and eloquence, he kept a people in movement; during a legal struggle so protracted in its length, never was he found trespassing beyond, or acting against the laws—never engaged in any attempt, subversive in the smallest degree of public order—never heard to utter towards his sovereign aught but words fraught with wisdom, or expressive of respect.

To procure the condemnation, if but for once, of this new Naboth, it was found necessary that the Jezabel of Heresy should calumniate him whom she was unable to accuse: it was indispensable that by corruption she should suborn the testimony of the sons of Belial, and frame the jury-list in such a way as, instead of judges, it might furnish her with accomplices in her work of injustice and oppression. Those persons, however, in spite of their odious interests, notwithstanding their diabolical zeal to immolate him with some show of right, unable to point to one illegal word or act of our hero, were forced to found their iniquitous decision on a gratuitous supposition, on a tendency, on an occult thought; so that even while pronouncing it the president of this tribunal, affected either by shame or remorse, could not restrain his tears. An iniquitous decision, verily! and so manifestly unjust that the House of Lords, although animated by the most hostile feelings towards O'Connell, whom it dreaded as its inappeasable and dangerous foe, by an act of justice which raised it high in the esteem of Europe, hesitated not to declare that an unjust and illegal sentence had been pronounced upon him. In the meantime, however, the latter, a prisoner like St. Paul, appealed to his countrymen, and conjured them that they would prove themselves worthy of being called his children and his friends, by preserving their accustomed patience, and exhibiting their wonted respect to that authority which had, with such flagrant injustice, deprived him of his liberty: *obsero vos, ego vinctus in Domino, ut digne ambuletis in mansuetudine et patientia.* The whole conduct, indeed, of this extraordinary man remains to us as the model, and, so to speak, the code of the law to be observed in times of oppression by those who bend beneath its yoke, and feel its chains.

While, again, he opposed on the one hand the homicidal theories of the turbuleut Chartists—on the other he caused an overbearing aristocracy to groan beneath the whole weight of a servile subjection. Whilst with one hand he withheld the people from the gulph of sedition, he pointed out to them with the other the ignominy of calmly bowing their necks to the yoke of an oppressive and tyrannical system. Thus did he mould his countrymen to a scrupulous observance of their duties, and to a noble jealousy of their rights as citizens. Thus retaining them within the bounds of subordination, did he unfold their noble character and greatness of heart. Thus, also did he elevate to the sublime height of duty the most obscure and ignorant of those amongst whom he rendered common not only public probity but Christian heroism. Thus did he form of the Irish nation a model people; a people commanding the admiration and love of every other; a people who have sustained during forty years a legal and peaceful, though arduous, struggle, without violating any right or neglecting any duty, but who, advancing firmly and determinedly to the achievement of their civil and religious liberty, have equally abhorred the religious burden of heresy, which alone can long maintain or strengthen that of policy; and the sanguinary violence of anarchy, which too often, alas! instead of leading to liberty, throws back again, into the arms of tyranny, more miserable, more dismayed, and more disheartened than before, those who blindly rush into it. Thus, in fine, did he display and reduce to action the Catholic doctrine of passive resistance, and active obedience, and on an eminent theatre, and in a magnificient cause, demonstrated the truth of its principle, the importance of its application, and the certainty of its success, rendering himself thereby worthy of every recompense that could be bestowed on him by his sovereign, or by his fellow countrymen—by religion, or by the state—by the church, or by society.

The ultimate means by which it appears O'Connell triuphed over the injustice of heresy are to be sought for in his profound knowledge of men and things; in his prodigious firmness, and his unwearied activity.

I say a profound knowledge of men and things; for never was he mistaken in his predictions; never did he miss the end he aimed at. Did he foretell that which would happen a dozen years since? The event infallibly arrived to test the truth of his vaticinations. He uttered nothing of which he did not establish the legality. Whatever he foresaw came to pass, whatever he counselled was sure to succeed; and nothing he undertook did he fail to accomplish: thus justly acquiring the praise of possessing the most unerring sagacity, delicate taste, and profound penetration, with the address of conducting by unfailing expedients, the most difficult enterprise to a successive issue.

I said, too, prodigious firmness; for as no man ever embraced a greater, a nobler, or more difficult undertaking, so no man ever abhorred more the fear of failure. Hence, batted the errors of which they were the victims, he never ceased to respect and love them personally. Hence, although rigidly irreconcileable and hostile to them in the arena of political discussion, far from uttering a single word against them in private, he considered it his duty not only to excuse and defend them, but to render them every good office of Christian charity. Thus he himself with great truth used to say—"As a public man, I am surrounded with enemies, for all those are mine who are enemies to the liberty and religion of Ireland; but in private life, and as a Christian, I know not, and I deem I have not, a single foe." His political adversaries themselves have not unfrequently rendered justice to to the Christian generosity of his sentiments "O'Connell," they would say, "possesses a magnanimous soul. He constrains our good wishes, because, although a bitter foe to our opinions, he is the best friend of our persons and our interests." They therefore most willingly associated with him, and felt themselves honoured by his intimacy and confidence. A touching spectacle it was to see them in the evening enjoying the friendly intercourse of that O'Connell against whom in the morning, on the floor of the House of Commons, they had fought with so much fury, and who with equal ardour and success had maintained the combat. Oh! of all who intimately knew O'Connell who was there who did not love him.

If such he was with his foes, it may be easily imagined how he stood towards his friendly adherents to the cause of his beloved Ireland. The affection he felt for the poor and wretched of his countrymen, language must fail to express. It cannot be forgotten that in the beginning of the present century, when Orange hatred of the Catholics stimulated by the insurrection of 1798, raged furiously and bitterly, the Protestant magistrates who presided in the tribunals, instead of discharging their sacred duties of ministers of justice—instead of protecting the innocent and avenging the injured, enacted there the part of the vilest satellities of tyranny. The very name of Catholic was a sufficient reason for proscription and condemnation. In those days of terror—days to the Catholic of execrable memory—O'Connell alone, inheriting the spirit as well as the name of the Hebrew Daniel, bravely constituted himself the defender of oppressed innocence. He encountered in the street one day a number of Catholics who were being dragged before the bar of *justice*, to be tried, as it was averred, for high treason—crimes against the state—but really there to be condemned on account of their religion; for the judges, all furious partizans, belonged to those who are styled in Scripture, "*wolves in sheep's clothing*," and might be justly compared to a pack of wild beasts ravening for blood—*Principes ejus leones rugientes; judices ejus lupi vesani.* O'Connell, carried away by the enthusiasm of his charity, presented himself before them for the purpose of defending the accused, and there by his eloquence, thundered forth with force, vehemence, and ardour, he recalled those base judges to the sentiments of humanity, and to a sense of their duty as magistrates, and in the midst of their blushes and their fears, successfully constrained them to absolve his innocent co-religionists. This was the first act of justice felt by the Irish Roman Catholics in the nineteenth century.

From that moment until the hour of his death O'Connell was a volunteer defender of the accused Catholic; and who can number those whom he saved from the horrors of imprisonment, exile, and even death? At the same time, and while thus engaged, he carried solace to the miserable, comfort to the unfortunate, and consolation to the afflicted. The oppressed appealed to him for their defence, the widow looked to him for aid, the orphan cried out to him for protection, and the poor prayed to him for relief. Nor did they seek in vain. In him they found whom they required, and for whom before they had searched fruitlessly—the counsellor who directed, the advocate who defended, the charitable heart which succoured them: no less than the tender and compassionate father who caressed and consoled them. Like St. Paul, he made himself all things to all men—*omnibus omnia*, feeling, by the sympathy of his love, in his own great soul, the grief under which others groaned, the pain which others felt, the infirmities of the infirm, and the devouring fire of scandal, which consumed those who were scandalised. *Quis infirmatur, et ego non infirmor? Quis scandalizatur, et ego non uror?*

How great soever were his generosity and his promptitude to succour the wretched in private, his active and industrious exertions to secure to them public and permanent relief, kept pace with them through the operation of his personal influence; and, by the authority of his sole word, how many houses of refuge for the poor and the fatherless—how many asylums for the protection of modesty—were erected throughout Ireland! Never yet felt a sovereign towards his people, or a general towards his army, or ruler for his subjects, or pastor for his flock—nay, or father for his children, more deeply solicitous, more tender, or more generous, than O'Connell for his beloved countrymen. He loved but them. For them only he lived—for them only he breathed. To sacrifice for them wealth, rank, high office, labour, and even life, was to him happiness. Who can imagine the depth of grief which lacerated and crushed his heart on beholding his beloved country laid waste by famine and disease, whilst in the midst of its sufferings it forgot not his lessons of patience, nor once swerved from the fidelity he had inculcated? The horrible torture to which his heart was a prey might indeed be discerned from the paleness of that countenance on which sat an august melancholy, when weeping and in the attitude of supplication he implored from the House of Commons bread for his perishing countrymen. This it was that at last overcame that vigour, force, and courage, worthy of the heroes of old. A sombre melancholy, a great depression, laid hold of him, and that robust constitution, on which the toils and fatigues of fifty years had no effect, gave way at last beneath the combined weight of grief and compassion. Thus it may with truth be said that, as for charity he had lived, so did he on the altar of charity lay down his life—the only altar that was worthy of so noble a victim!

But, if any affection could equal that borne towards Ireland by O'Connell, it was that reciprocated by his countrymen towards himself. Eight millions of men loved him as a father, while as their leader and sovereign they obeyed and venerated him.

What perfect confidence was there in his councils!—what docility and confidence in his guidance and with his wishes! Behold a mass of a hundred thousand men angry and excited against the oppression and injustice of the authorities—a single word of O'Connell's is sufficient to calm them, and send them peaceably back to their respective homes. Here are a million of starving men, whose only prompter is hunger. To what reason will these men listen? What rights should they respect?—what dangers would they not incur?—of what punishment should they be afraid? O'Connell cries, "violate not the law: it is religion that commands you!" and by his voice alone he enforces that which all the artillery of England had in vain attempted—namely, patience in the midst of famine, and resignation in the presence of death.

Say, is there in the whole range of history presented to us another example of a moral power at once so great and so implicitly obeyed, so colossal, and yet so affectionately respected? No; never was there a sovereign *de jure* more faithfully served, more respectfully venerated, or more cordially beloved than this monarch of a nation's heart.

His life was one continued triumph, any idea of which it would be difficult to form had we not before our eyes its counterpart in that of Pius IX. Scarcely did it become known that the Liberator was approaching than the entire population of the province was in motion, and the county and city authorities, with the municipal corporations, and the peasantry from distant as well as near localities, advanced with banners flying to meet him with enthusiasm, but in perfect order. The moment the hero appeared, at the instant they caught the glance of his resistance to it will avail. The women of Ireland, then, were on the side of O'Connell, whom they looked on as the sole supporter and vindicator of their common country and religion. They it was who maintained in vigour that affection towards him which existed in the hearts of fathers, husbands, and sons, and which strengthened and encouraged them cheerfuly to submit to every sacrifice for the sake of their common Liberator.

Behold him, who, alternately blushing and trembling, advances with a hesitating step to the electoral booth. He is an unfortunate tenant, and the father of a family, who, being incarcerated for debt, has, with cruel compassion, been promised his liberty by his creditor, the landlord, on condition that he should vote against O'Connell; and now affection for his desolate family, overcoming his feeling of duty towards his country and its Liberator, he is ready to vote as he is required. But what feminine voice is that he hears? "*Remember your soul and Liberty!*" Oh, woman! It was the voice of his wife—of that wife who preferred the victory of O'Connell to the libertion of her husband, or the comfort of her children. Its accents recalled the unfortunate man to himself, and forgetting that he was both husband and father, he remembered only that he was a citizen. He recorded his vote for the Liberator, and tranquilly returned to his prison. Rapidly was the sublime exclamation of his magnanimous wife repeated from one end to the other of the Island of Saints. It was engraven on bronze, and inscribed on the banner of the then existing National Association. And well it deserved to be: for it compendiously relates the whole history of this heroic people, and expresses the feelings of the genuine Irish heart, which, during three centuries, has sacrificed all to God and to its country—to religion and liberty.

Imagine, therefore, if such a people could consent that their Liberator and the father of his country, who had sacrificed to Ireland all his private resources, his professional emoluments, and his repose, should not be supported by his country. Although the most Catholic, the most moral, courageous and noble people in existence, they are also the poorest and most destitute; and if, by the most labourious toil, they can succeed in procuring a bare sufficiency of potatoes for the support of life, they are more than satisfied—they are happy. Yet, nevertheless, oh, generous people! how willingly have you deprived yourselves of your last mouthful to add your mite to the Tribute for your Liberator! a Tribute thus swollen annually to the sum even of one hundred thousand crowns.—p.p. 33 to 46.

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This, then is a brief sketch of what O'Connell has been as a statesman. Oh! how much more sublime, and how much more brilliant is his glory than that of Napoleon! Ah! in comparing these two men—the most extraordinary of modern times—they who have occupied the first half of our century with the greatness of their names—O'Connell and Buonaparte. What will impartial history say of them? That the one has been a genius of peace, and the other of war. That the one has secured sons to their mothers—husbands to their wives—fathers to orphans. That the other has taken them away. That the one has saved millions of lives—that the other has sacrificed them. That the one has inculcated fealty to, the other rebellion against, all established governments. The name of the one brings to our mind an idea of disinterestedness, great love of justice, of legality, and of order. The name of the other presents to our mind naught but great havoc, great injustice, great spoliation, and great usurpation. The one has made revived the principles of civil independence, deposited in the ancient constitutions of Christian monarchy; the other has destroyed them. The one has laboured for the true liberty of all nations; the other, under the name of "centralization," has created universal slavery. And why has this been? Because Napoleon was inspired by ambition, and O'Connell with charity. The former despised religion, and made captive its august head: the latter has honoured it, has loved it, and has sent to the visible head of that religion his heart as the tender of his homage. The former, a citizen of the world, made use of the infidel philosophy to create slavery: the latter, a Christian citizen, availed himself of the practices which religion imposes—of the doctrines which religion teaches—of the charity which religion inspires—to aid in promoting the sovereignty of liberty; and hence, whilst the one has obtained solid conquests, the other was doomed, before his death, to behold all his conquests vanish away. The one has left behind him a trace of light, and the other the red track of blood. And whilst the memory of Napoleon excites an indescribable sense of mourning and of horror, and awakens only a sterile admiration, mixed with grief, the memory of O'Connell, on the contrary, makes the heart leap with joy; and O'Connell, ever blessed, shall be the love and the delight of the world.

The Liberator did not confine to Ireland alone the benefits of liberty. He extended them to all Europe, and to the entire world. God has not created great men for the advantage of one time solely, or for one people alone, but for the advantage of every age and of every nation. The man of genius is the property of all humanity.

In order that the idea which I wish to express may be the better understood, it is necessary for me here to indicate that which I regard as an important doctrine—that which can alone make intelligible the two principal epochs of modern history.

The history of our century is written in that of the sixteenth—men of talent, all of them, but at the same time, all of them men marked with infamy and stained with crime, having in their mouths the word *reform*, produced a convulsion in the Christian world; and men of a similar stamp in our own day, with the word *liberty* on their lips, overturned the entire political world. How could such things come to pass? Is it then given to the genius of evil, personified in some particular man, to agitate, to overthrow, to convulse as he pleases the world, and to draw it into the abysses of rebellion or of heresy? No, no; it is far otherwise.

The Heresiarchs of the sixteenth century loved as little reform as the Revolutionists of our time love true liberty: as in the mouth of the former was the word *reform*, so was the word *liberty* on the lips of the latter nothing more than than a pretext, a lie, and an imposture. With such magic words those wished to destroy the church—these, society. All this is true. All this is proved by experience. The one, as well as the other marked their progress by ruins, and when they became masters of the field, the one showed themselves not as Christians, but as most impious and most impure sinners; and the others as the greatest despots, and the most cruel rulers of the state.

Why and wherefore has it happened that persons should be permitted to attain such great power as to be able to drag the half of Europe into their designs of disorder and of error? I will tell you. Like to a stream that in certain portions of its course drifts together every species of filth, so does time, in certain epochs, gather together disorders and abuses. This phenomenon now is common to all human societies, even those that are the very best constituted; and the Church itself, in that portion of her which is human, is not exempt from it.—Then some disorder—some affliction—some secret perturbation, masters the social body—a prompt and efficacious remedy is called for, and is sought for, and whosoever is bold enough to come forward and to boast of science and genius sufficient to effect a remedy, is certain of being listened to.

Hence it is that the scandals and abuses of ecclesiastics accumulated from preceding centuries, in the sixteenth, made reform an universal necessity in the Church. So did the injustices and the arbitrary acts of statesmen, descending from preceding centuries into our own, produce an universal necessity for liberty in each settled state.

It is not, then, because they taught false doctrines that the Heresiarchs and Revolutionists obtained great and deadly triumphs, but because having divined that there and the tranquillity of the state. An intelligent despotism was esteemed as the only refuge of order, and the sole safe-guard of society.

Thus modern philosophy could not understand order apart from despotism, as ancient philosophy had no idea of a state of society without the existence of slavery.

But when a man like O'Connell, with respect to whom there could be no doubt, neither as to the greatness of his genius nor the purity of his intentions, nor the loyalty of his principles, nor his love for the people, nor the sincerity of his religion—when at length there was remarked this great citizen and great Christian, invoking and preaching liberty, and frankly declaring and proclaiming himself a Liberal, the words began at first to sound less disagreeable to the delicate and weary ears of Catholicism and Irish loyalty. Subsequently they became familiar to that people: then they were naturalized, and as they presented real ideas so did they inspire sincere sentiments. In fine, Ireland, schooled and subjected to the inspirations of her O'Connell, became a nation—the most liberal of Europe, and the most enthusiastic for liberty. And of what liberty? Ah! the Irish nation, despite the Anglican heresy (haughty and cruel as the Jews, blasphemous and insulting after having crucified it), is a still a nation of heroes, formed, according to the theories, the Christian-like, liberal theories of O'Connell. It has adopted true liberty, which is the daughter of religion. It has secured itself against that false liberty which is the monstrous offspring of rebellion, and has presented to the world the only spectacle of a nation free in asking, docile in obeying, jealous of its independence, and hostile to rebellion—loving its own institutions, and faithful to its Sovereign—sufficiently proud not to debase itself, and sufficiently wise not to be haughty—sublime in its resignation, and moderate in its resistance—zealous in maintaining its own rights, and scrupulous in respecting those of another—assembling in multitudes, and undisgraced by tumult—complaining without indulging in invective, it cries out against injustice, and never passes the limits of legality.

Oh! glory—oh! triumph—to O'Connell, in having thus first reconciled liberty with order—independence with loyalty—and with having transformed into a principle of security and happiness, that which was a principle destructive to thrones—a principle of desolation, and the slavery of nations.

This great pacific revolution, both in ideas and sentiments, began in Ireland; soon gained footing in England, and from England it penetrated into all parts of Europe. The example of a nation of eight millions of men, faithful to the advice of him who was their master, and, I would almost say, their prophet—always agitated, and ever tranquil—always intent on discussing its rights, and ever exact in fulfilling its duties—always indignant against the injustice which it suffers, and still ever faithful;—this example, I say, opened the eyes of myriads of men, and scattered abroad a great light on the senses of [illegible] minds then saw the possibility of an alliance between liberty and obedience—between an agitation the most active and a respect for the laws—between the rights of the subject and the security of the prince—between the independence of the people and the stability of empires.

The word *liberty* began to be pronounced without repugnance. Men began to comprehend that a person might love the people without being an enemy to the King, and could be a Liberal without being a Jacobite.

And what a mighty thing is this! How great is the change that has taken place; for who, think you, are those who are now to be found audacious proposers of exceptional laws—the most vile flatterers of power; the supporters of that doctrine among ancient pagan communities, that of the absolute supremacy of *the State*—a doctrine which abandons an entire Christian people to the caprice of a handful of men who call themselves *the State*, and are the procreators of an universal slavery? Where, think you, are now to be found those who refer to fathers the liberty of educating their own children—to corporations of regulating their own municipal expenses—to provinces of providing the means for their own prosperity—to the Church of preaching and guiding the people in the ways of truth and of justice? Where, think you, are to-day to be found those in whom the hatred of the people is equal to the insolent contempt with which they speak of them? Where, think you, in fine, are to be found the enemies of all liberty—the impudent favourers of every species of slavery? They are to be found amongst the most fanatical demagogues—amongst those who are the pupils of Jacobinism—whilst, on the contrary, liberty connot find any friends more sincere, nor any followers more constant, nor any defenders more intrepid, nor any advocates more generous, than amongst the most devout partizans of monarchical order—than amongst those who are the heroes and the martyrs of loyalty.

Now, a change so strange and so unexpected as this, has had its beginning, its causation in Ireland—it has been born under the auspices, and nurtured under the teaching of O'Connell. He it is, with his country to point to as an example, who has not merely modified, but who has entirely changed, the political ideas of a great part of Europe. He it is who has brought false liberty in disrepute, and recommend the true. He it is who has unmasked the hypocrisy of demagogues, and discredited sedition for ever.

True it is that this doctrine is that of the ancient Apostles, of the ancient Christians, of the ancient Martyrs, who, both by their words and their writings, with their protestations at the tribunals, and in their apologies presented to emperors, vindicated their own rights, and cried out against oppression, but never forsook their fealty. The fear, however, of evils worse than those already endured, had not merely obscured, but nearly extinguished, this noble doctrine amongst persons who were loyal Christians and Christian loyalists. A thought, a word of complaint, against an injustice—the reprobation of an abuse of power, would have appeared to them to be a crime. This conciliatory doctrine has been revived by O'Connell—he has restored—he has reanimated—he has taught it with all the power of his eloquence, and with all the force of facts, and with all the strength of his success—and he has rendered it universal and popular in Europe.

Ye—oh, Romans!—who now listen to me, are yourselves a proof that the influence of the political apostleship of O'Connell has penetrated into this lovely portion of Europe.

Notwitstanding this, it is quite true—and I say it with grief—it is but too true that there still lingers among you some dull pupil of the revolutionary philosophy of the past century, some insensate pedant, who pants to realise in Christian Rome the republican theories of idolatrous Rome, and to apply his university ideas to an actual state of society. It is true there are still some persons in whose minds, like those of the *Sans culottes* from whom they descend, the phrase, "liberty of the people," conceals the dire idea of destruction, and the horrible feeling of a hatred of monarchy. But these degenerate citizens (if citizens they can be called who mediate the ruin of their country) are very few. The people, however,—the true, real Roman people—by their spirit of order, of obedience, and of love of their prince, have become the admiration of Europe and the world; they regard such ideas and such principles with horror—a horror that compels these occult fabricators of rebellion to cover, as with a mask, themselves and their doctrines of disorder and of blood.

The exquisite good sense of the Romans prevents them from being captivated by the snares, or deluded by the hypocrisy of such persons. That good sense leads the Romans to identify liberty with order, and never to regard as separated and adverse propositions, that which is for their own good, and that which is consistent with their fealty and obedience to their sovereign. Thus it is that a people, so good and so intelligent as the Romans, have, if I may so speak, brought to a state of perfection

never beat but for the love of religion, of his country, and the poor, now makes your hearts palpitate.

You, then, anticipate me—you inspire me—you dictate to me the plan according to which should be composed that funeral eulogium which you call upon me to pronounce over that noble hero, whose loss the Christian world now deplores. You wish—you expect, that I should present to you one who is the type, the perfect model both of a good citizen and of a true Christian. Let us, then, first consider how Daniel O'Connell, a good citizen, availed himself of religion to restore his people to liberty—*Liberavit gentem suam a perditione.*

Let us next see how Daniel O'Connell, a true Christian, made use of the liberty possessed by his people to aid in the triumph of religion—*Corroboravit templum.* Let us do this, in order that the tribute of praise bestowed upon the illustrious dead may be a new and instructive lesson for us who are living; that it may help to confirm us in our holy resolution, and in our sincere feelings, that we should never separate the cause of liberty from that of religion—the only means and the only condition by which we can become great in the eyes of man and the sight of God, and of meriting the encomium: *Magnus qui liberavit gentem suam a perditione, et in vita sua corroboravit templum.*

I cannot, however, in a single discourse do full justice to a theme, which, considering the greatness and importance of the individual, and of the matters connected with him, assumes a peculiar greatness and a particular importance. I must confine myself to-day to the treatment of the first point, and postpone until Wednesday next the consideration of the second.

In the one discourse, however, as well as in the other, if you but do me justice, you will, I hope, be compelled to come to the conclusion, that I have, under the veil of modern language, only, developed ancient ideas; that I shall have pleaded the cause of religion and of public order in pronouncing an eulogium upon liberty; and that in all respects I shall have said nothing which is not worthy of the august character with which I am clothed, and of the holy place in which I speak.

There is a word, among the many words which are much abused in this world, one that is the most abused—and that word is, "The People." A band of wretches, a fanatical sect, or a turbulent faction, call themselves "The People." An ambitious egotist, a tribune, a consul, a dictator, says he is "*The People*". There are to be found designating themselves "*The People*," either a mob, or a reprobate, or a person who is the execration, the enemy, and the tyrant of the people. And, alas! how often have been declared to be the general interests of the people those things which were only for the private interests of the few? How often has that been declared to be the wish of the people which was but the madness and caprice of an individual!—and that to be the liberty of the people which was in fact the oppression of the people!

The evil that is but too often the work of hypocrisy and of malice, is also not unfrequently the result of stolidity and of error. How many are there who, in perfect simplicity and pure good faith, believed they were working for the happiness of the people when they were in fact but toiling for their destruction? And how many are there who believed that they were avenging the cause of liberty when they were fettering it with fresh chains, and dooming it to a more oppressive bondage?

And why should this have ever happened? Because such persons did not borrow from true religion the rules of justice, when they took upon themselves the defence of the people's cause and of true liberty—because they had forgotten—because they had repudiated God: *non proposuerunt Deum ante conspectum suum*—(Psalm 53)—and without God it is impossible to ameliorate in any manner the condition of mankind.

If Daniel O'Connell happily succeeded in relieving his people from a hard and bitter oppression—*liberavit gentem suam a perditione*—it is because, a great Christian and a great citizen, he sought the aid of religion in the sublime task of liberating a people.

He was born in the county of Kerry, in Ireland, in the year 1775. He sprang from one of the most ancient and distinguished families in the kingdom. Scarcely, however, had he passed the age of infancy when he was sent, for the purpose of pursuing his studies, to France. It was necessary for him to do this, because such was the Anglican intolerance at the time that none but Protestants were permitted to keep schools, or to enter colleges, and the children of Catholics were exposed to the cruel alternative, either of endangering their faith, or of remaining ignorant; and, to avoid either, they were forced to go abroad and beg the bread of intelligence, of instruction, and of knowledge.

Great men, at an early age, announce what they will be. So it was with the youth Daniel, in the famous Colleges of St. Omer and of Douay. He distinguished himself by his amazing memory, by the soundness of his judgment, by the quickness of his understanding, by the brilliancy of his fancy; and, so distinguishing himself, he left far behind him the companions of his studies, over whom he gained rapid and suprising successes.

At the same time it was remarked that he was profoundly religious, but without fanaticism; devout, but without hypocrisy; modest, but without affectation; noble in his bearing, but without pride; severe in his manners, but without moroseness; jovial, but without dissipation; docile, but without levity; resolute, but without obstinacy; respectful, but without servility; obliging, but without meanness; and, being so, he attracted towards himself the admiration and the love of all, so that each regarded himself happy who enjoyed his friendship, and honoured when admitted to his society.

God takes a special care of the men destined by Him to achieve great enterprises. By means of the situations in which He places them, of the persons with whom He brings them in contact, through the events of which He renders them the witnesses, He prepares, He forms them for the designs of His Providence, and, far more than their parent, He, in a certain manner, guides and conducts their education. Such may, with truth, be said to have occurred with O'Connell. He was on the soil of France at the sanguinary epoch of the French Revolution. He was a spectator of that horrible drama, in which there appeared on the stage together every species of error confederated with every description of crime. He was intimately acquainted with the abuses which had acted as causes, the follies and injustices which had served as the means, and the horrors which were the consequences of all these things. He saw with his own eyes Monarchy compelled to degrade itself, and to inflict its death-wound with its own hand; he saw the throne that base courtiers had dragged through the mire, defiled by the gripe of parricidal hands, and buried fathoms deep beneath a sea of blood; he saw the best of Kings expire upon a scaffold, the victim not less of others' crimes than of his own weakness; he saw that vice was hailed as if it were virtue, wickedness uplifted as if it were morality, Atheism proclaimed aloud as if it were religion, that the *Goddess of Reason* (or rather a vile strumpet) was recognised as the only Deity, and honoured with hecatombs of human victims; the people decimated and oppressed by vile tyrants in the name of the people; whilst beneath the shade of the Tree of Liberty was instituted universal slavery; and the most Christian, as well as the most civilized of all nations had fallen down to the very lowest limits of impiety and barbarism.

Now, God having so disposed that the young O'Connell should be a witness of these events—the most celebrated and the most instructive to be found in the annals of history—they served to inspire him with the greatest horror for tumults and rebellion; they persuaded him that there is nothing more insane and, at the same time, more pernicious, than to proclaim the rights of man in trampling upon those of Heaven—in establishing liberty upon the ruins of religion—in making laws under the dictation of passion, or through the inspiration of sacrilege—and, finally, they convinced him that *to regenerate a people religion is omnipotent*—philosophy of little or no avail; and thus was generated in his mind that sublime social science, essentially conservative of order, and friendly to true liberty—that which was afterwards the spirit that animated all his projects, that was the rule of

odious interests, notwithstanding their diabolical zeal to immolate him with some show of right, unable to point to one illegal word or act of our hero, were forced to found their iniquitous decision on a gratuitous supposition, on a tendency, on an occult thought; so that even while pronouncing it the president of this tribunal, affected either by shame or remorse, could not restrain his tears. An iniquitous decision, verily! and so manifestly unjust that the House of Lords, although animated by the most hostile feelings towards O'Connell, whom it dreaded as its inappeasable and dangerous foe, by an act of justice which raised it high in the esteem of Europe, hesitated not to declare that an unjust and illegal sentence had been pronounced upon him. In the meantime, however, the latter, a prisoner like St. Paul, appealed to his countrymen, and conjured them that they would prove themselves worthy of being called his children and his friends, by preserving their accustomed patience, and exhibiting their wonted respect to that authority which had, with such flagrant injustice, deprived him of his liberty: *obsecro vos, ego vinctus in Domino, ut digne ambuletis in mansuetudine et patientia.* The whole conduct, indeed, of this extraordinary man remains to us as the model, and, so to speak, the code of the law to be observed in times of oppression by those who bend beneath its yoke, and feel its chains.

While, again, he opposed on the one hand the homicidal theories of the turbulent Chartists—on the other he caused an overbearing aristocracy to groan beneath the whole weight of a servile subjection. Whilst with one hand he withheld the people from the gulph of sedition, he pointed out to them with the other the ignominy of calmly bowing their necks to the yoke of an oppressive and tyrannical system. Thus did he mould his countrymen to a scrupulous observance of their duties, and to a noble jealousy of their rights as citizens. Thus retaining them within the bounds of subordination, did he unfold their noble character and greatness of heart. Thus, also did he elevate to the sublime height of duty the most obscure and ignorant of those amongst whom he rendered common not only public probity but Christian heroism. Thus did he form of the Irish nation a model people; a people commanding the admiration and love of every other; a people who have sustained during forty years a legal and peaceful, though arduous, struggle, without violating any right or neglecting any duty, but who, advancing firmly and determinedly to the achievement of their civil and religious liberty, have equally abhorred the religious burden of heresy, which alone can long maintain or strengthen that of policy; and the sanguinary violence of anarchy, which too often, alas! instead of leading to liberty, throws back again, into the arms of tyranny, more miserable, more dismayed, and more disheartened than before, those who blindly rush into it. Thus, in fine, did he display and reduce to action the Catholic doctrine of passive resistance, and active obedience, and on an eminent theatre, and in a magnificient cause, demonstrated the truth of its principle, the importance of its application, and the certainty of its success, rendering himself thereby worthy of every recompense that could be bestowed on him by his sovereign, or by his fellow countrymen—by religion, or by the state—by the church, or by society.

The ultimate means by which it appears O'Connell triumphed over the injustice of heresy are to be sought for in his profound knowledge of men and things; in his prodigious firmness, and his unwearied activity.

I say a profound knowledge of men and things; for never was he mistaken in his predictions; never did he miss the end he aimed at. Did he foretell that which would happen a dozen years since? The event infallibly arrived to test the truth of his vaticinations. He uttered nothing of which he did not establish the legality. Whatever he foresaw came to pass, whatever he counselled was sure to succeed; and nothing he undertook did he fail to accomplish: thus justly acquiring the praise of possessing the most unerring sagacity, delicate taste, and profound penetration, with the address of conducting by unfailing expedients, the most difficult enterprise to a successive issue.

I said, too, prodigious firmness; for as no man ever embraced a greater, a nobler, or more difficult undertaking, so no man was ever the object of more bitter attacks, or more obstinate persecution. Insult and calumnies—sarcasm and blasphemies—libels and prosecutions—treachery and tergiversation—fines and imprisonment—all were directed for fifty years, with infamous perseverance, against that indomitable courage. But in vain. He, whom praise and admiration could not intoxicate, was not to be overcome by the terrors of opposition. As he had never become insolent with success, so defeat ever failed to damp his courage; and great as were his designs in their conception, in the same measure was his constancy in pursuing them.

Where is there to be found in history such an example? Show me, in the records of the human race, another instance of a single man who for fifty years, unwearied and unintimidated, sustained a contest with the most powerful state in the world, and above which he still rose superior in vigour, in courage, and in constancy?

I also said unwearied activity; for in action he seemed to find repose. Incessantly engaged in agitation, he had ever to encourage the fearful, and restrain the bold—to support the feeble and direct the strong, enrol the friendly—expose the treacherous—confirm the wavering—and unmask the hypocritical. Multiplying himself, as it were, he was almost at the same moment in England and in Ireland—now in his "national assembly," and now in the House of Commons—to-day in the reunions of the great, and to-morrow at a popular meeting—while the municipal council and the courts of law participated in his wisdom, and acknowledged his presence. Where he could not be present in person there he was in action—where his voice could not be heard his writings did not fail to reach. In every spot in Ireland his influence was felt—all classes of his countrymen joined in his agitation—all minds were united in his designs—and every heart willingly surrendered itself to his guidance. Like the giant in the fable, who raised the mountain, O'Connell, centreing in himself the will of eight millions of men, agitated, moved, and raised at discretion that population, and launched it at the head of England, which recoiled in terror to avoid being crushed by its weight.

If what has just been said be true, and most true it is, the fact is not less so that he who possessed such irresistible intellectual power, so much intelligence, so much firmness and decision, added thereto the charity inspired by religion, with which his heart was deeply imbued. Taking the Holy Evangelists as his model, with hypocrites alone he made no peace. These alone he never spared, whether they were lords or ministers, fellow-countrymen or foreigners, ecclesiastics or laymen; but, tearing away their masks, he exhibited them to public scorn in all their infamy and deformity. On these alone did he pour the gall of his invective—against them alone did he fulminate the thunders of his eloquence—and none else did he hold up to the mockery and execration of the whole world. And, truly, the Scribes and Pharisees have ever been the vilest race that stained the annals of mankind; having formerly crucified our Saviour, they now attempt the ruin of Christianity. Nothing, therefore, could surpass his zeal against the Methodists and the Orangemen, the most hypocritical, and consequently the most dangerous of the Sectarians—worthy descendants of Cromwell, that greatest hypocrite of modern times, whose truculent successors are the fitting heirs of his furious and cruel hatred of the Catholic Church. "Oh, marvellous and excellent Christians!" was O'Connell's exclamation against them, "who, with the Bible "in one hand, and in the other the sword or the torch, "have left behind you only a heap of ruin and a track of "blood! You now invent and accumulate calumnies "upon calumnies against us, whom you formerly con"signed to massacre. Every word you utter, every "action you perform, demonstrates that you want but "the power, not the will, to revive the sanguinary days "of Cromwell, of Ireton, and of Ludlow!"

Towards upright Protestantism, however, and those sincere and generous souls who are to be found in it, as well as towards his political opponents, he remained faithful to the truly Christian maxim of St. Augustine—*Diligite homines, interficite errores*; and whilst he combated and searched fruitlessly—the counsellor who directed, the advocate who defended, the charitable heart which succoured them: no less than the tender and compassionate father who caressed and consoled them. Like St. Paul, he made himself all things to all men—*omnibus omnia*, feeling, by the sympathy of his love, in his own great soul, the grief under which others groaned, the pain which others felt, the infirmities of the infirm, and the devouring fire of scandal, which consumed those who were scandalised. *Quis infirmatur, et ego non infirmor? Quis scandalizatur, et ego non uror?*

How great soever were his generosity and his promptitude to succour the wretched in private, his active and industrious exertions to secure to them public and permanent relief, kept pace with them through the operation of his personal influence; and, by the authority of his sole word, how many houses of refuge for the poor and the fatherless—how many asylums for the protection of modesty—were erected throughout Ireland! Never yet felt a sovereign towards his people, or a general towards his army, or ruler for his subjects, or pastor for his flock—nay, or father for his children, more deeply solicitous, more tender, or more generous, than O'Connell for his beloved countrymen. He loved but them. For them only he lived—for them only he breathed. To sacrifice for them wealth, rank, high office, labour, and even life, was to him happiness. Who can imagine the depth of grief which lacerated and crushed his heart on beholding his beloved country laid waste by famine and disease, whilst in the midst of its sufferings it forgot not his lessons of patience, nor once swerved from the fidelity he had inculcated? The horrible torture to which his heart was a prey might indeed be discerned from the paleness of that countenance on which sat an august melancholy, when weeping and in the attitude of supplication he implored from the House of Commons bread for his perishing countrymen. This it was that at last overcame that vigour, force, and courage, worthy of the heroes of old. A sombre melancholy, a great depression, laid hold of him, and that robust constitution, on which the toils and fatigues of fifty years had no effect, gave way at last beneath the combined weight of grief and compassion. Thus it may with truth be said that, as for charity he had lived, so did he on the altar of charity lay down his life—the only altar that was worthy of so noble a victim!

But, if any affection could equal that borne towards Ireland by O'Connell, it was that reciprocated by his countrymen towards himself. Eight millions of men loved him as a father, while as their leader and sovereign they obeyed and venerated him.

What perfect confidence was there in his councils!—what docility and confidence in his guidance and with his wishes! Behold a mass of a hundred thousand men angry and excited against the oppression and injustice of the authorities—a single word of O'Connell's is sufficient to calm them, and send them peaceably back to their respective homes. Here are a million of starving men, whose only prompter is hunger. To what reason will these men listen? What rights should they respect?—what dangers would they not incur?—of what punishment should they be afraid? O'Connell cries, "violate not the law: it is religion that commands you!" and by his voice alone he enforces that which all the artillery of England had in vain attempted—namely, patience in the midst of famine, and resignation in the presence of death.

Say, is there in the whole range of history presented to us another example of a moral power at once so great and so implicitly obeyed, so colossal, and yet so affectionately respected? No; never was there a sovereign *de jure* more faithfully served, more respectfully venerated, or more cordially beloved than this monarch of a nation's heart.

His life was one continued triumph, any idea of which it would be difficult to form had we not before our eyes its counterpart in that of Pius IX. Scarcely did it become known that the Liberator was approaching than the entire population of the province was in motion, and the county and city authorities, with the municipal corporations, and the peasantry from distant as well as near localities, advanced with banners flying to meet him with enthusiasm, but in perfect order. The moment the hero appeared—the instant they caught the view of his athletic form, with his air of sublimity, his majestic brow, his look filled with charity, and his smile beaming with affection, they rent the air with joyful bursts! iterated and reiterated with increasing energy. Whilst he, beneath triumphal arches, and his path strewed with flowers, traversed the immense crowd, impatient to hear the accents of his eloquence, he passed through them, but it was to betake himself himself, first to the temple of God, and there to offer up his adoration and his prayers.

At his appearance joy spread o'er every countenance—every bosom was filled with delight. In presence of O'Connell that brave population seemed to forget its miseries and the ages of agony it had endured; although almost incessantly before them, they felt they never could seem him too often; and how peculiar soever were the accents of his voice, never did they tire of listening to him. Behold him, then, surrounded by two, three, aye, sometimes even by seven hundred thousand persons.—With what extacy do all hang on the eloquence of that tongue! with what an air of admiring affection do they regard him! with what avidity listen to—with what enthusiasm applaud him!—applause which springing from every heart is syllabled by every tongue, and re-echoed by every voice!. The interest felt by all in his health, in his life, and in his fame may be conceived. "He is a father to us," they would say; "our true friend, defender, and liberator; and, after God, our sole hope, our greatest glory, and our truest delight."

Who, then, can form an adequate idea of the consternation and grief of this brave people when, for the sake of them, they saw their benefactor consigned to the walls of a prison? As in the case of a public calamity, mourning spread itself over the country, sorrow was depicted in every face, and every heart was filled with bitterness. Every household offered up prayers, and every chapel was filled with supplications for the liberation of O'Connell. From the most remote parts of Ireland, the illustrious prisoner—the prisoner for the sake of faith and liberty—was visited by crowds of his fellow countrymen, headed by their beloved priests and bishops, to lay at his feet the homage of their love and of their grief. His prison had thus the appearance of his court, where, as something greater than a sovereign, he held every morning a solemn *levee*. Something greater than a sovereign indeed; for never did monarch on his throne receive honours to be compared with those which were offered to this modern St. Paul within the walls of his dungeon. How great, then, was the joy of Ireland, when, precisely on the last day of the Novena of the Blessed Mother of God, which had been devoted to the purposes of obtaining, through her intercession, the enfranchisement of the Irish Liberator, the English House of Lords, more noble in this, by the nobility of its sentiments than by its elevated rank, pronounced that admirable decision which gave back to Ireland her champion, and to her people their benefactor. As O'Connell left his prison he was received in a magnificent triumphal chariot by an immense concourse of his countrymen, amidst such a storm of cheers, and such an intoxication of enthusiasm, that it is impossible for words to describe it. That day was truly a triumph for O'Connell—a triumph compared to which those of the Roman Emperor must appear poor and pitiful, inasmuch as their's were the triumps of force, whilst his was founded on love, law, and justice, alone.

Not a little singular, too, was the enthusiasm, the fidelity, and the affection, with which, by his disinterestedness, his charity, and his zeal on behalf of liberty and religion, he had succeeded in inspiring the women of Ireland. This feminine enthusiasm contributed not a little to that great moral force by which he controlled his countrymen. Let those learn the truth, who, devoid of foresight, mentally blind, and with hearts steeled to every softer feeling, consider themselves alone qualified to govern mankind, of whose nature they are ignorant—let them learn that when an idea, whether political or religious, conceived by the intellect of man, once finds its way into the heart of woman and there becomes a sentiment, its power increases so prodigiously that no

tion," has created universal slavery. And why has this been? Because Napoleon was inspired by ambition, and O'Connell with charity. The former despised religion, and made captive its august head: the latter has honoured it, has loved it, and has sent to the visible head of that religion his heart as the tender of his homage. The former, a citizen of the world, made use of the infidel philosophy to create slavery: the latter, a Christian citizen, availed himself of the practices which religion imposes—of the doctrines which religion teaches—of the charity which religion inspires—to aid in promoting the sovereignty of liberty; and hence, whilst the one has obtained solid conquests, the other was doomed, before his death, to behold all his conquests vanish away. The one has left behind him a trace of light, and the other the red track of blood. And whilst the memory of Napoleon excites an indescribable sense of mourning and of horror, and awakens only a sterile admiration, mixed with grief, the memory of O'Connell, on the contrary, makes the heart leap with joy; and O'Connell, ever blessed, shall be the love and the delight of the world.

The Liberator did not confine to Ireland alone the benefits of liberty. He extended them to all Europe, and to the entire world. God has not created great men for the advantage of one time solely, or for one people alone, but for the advantage of every age and of every nation. The man of genius is the property of all humanity.

In order that the idea which I wish to express may be the better understood, it is necessary for me here to indicate that which I regard as an important doctrine—that which can alone make intelligible the two principal epochs of modern history.

The history of our century is written in that of the sixteenth—men of talent, all of them, but at the same time, all of them men marked with infamy and stained with crime, having in their mouths the word *reform*, produced a convulsion in the Christian world; and men of a similar stamp in our own day, with the word *liberty* on their lips, overturned the entire political world. How could such things come to pass? Is it then given to the genius of evil, personified in some particular man, to agitate, to overthrow, to convulse as he pleases the world, and to draw it into the abysses of rebellion or of heresy? No, no; it is far otherwise.

The Heresiarchs of the sixteenth century loved as little reform as the Revolutionists of our time love true liberty: as in the mouth of the former was the word *reform*, so was the word *liberty* on the lips of the latter nothing more than than a pretext, a lie, and an imposture. With such magic words those wished to destroy the church—these, society. All this is true. All this is proved by experience. The one, as well as the other marked their progress by ruins, and when they became masters of the field, the one showed themselves not as Christians, but as most impious and most impure sinners; and the others as the greatest despots, and the most cruel rulers of the state.

Why and wherefore has it happened that persons should be permitted to attain such great power as to be able to drag the half of Europe into their designs of disorder and of error? I will tell you. Like to a stream that in certain portions of its course drifts together every species of filth, so does time, in certain epochs, gather together disorders and abuses. This phenomenon now is common to all human societies, even those that are the very best constituted; and the Church itself, in that portion of her which is human, is not exempt from it.—Then some disorder—some affliction—some secret perturbation, masters the social body—a prompt and efficacious remedy is called for, and is sought for, and whosoever is bold enough to come forward and to boast of science and genius sufficient to effect a remedy, is certain of being listened to.

Hence it is that the scandals and abuses of ecclesiastics accumulated from preceding centuries, in the sixteenth, made reform an universal necessity in the Church. So did the injustices and the arbitrary acts of statesmen, descending from preceding centuries into our own, produce an universal necessity for liberty in each settled state.

It is not, then, because they taught false doctrines that the Heresiarchs and Revolutionists obtained great and deadly triumphs, but because having divined that there was a real and an universal want felt both in the Church and the State, that they offered themselves for the purpose of satisfying it, promising and preaching with their lips that which they surely had not in their hearts—that is—one of them, *liberty*—and the other, *reform*.

In this rapid glance upon the two epochs I have indicated, and upon the causes of the horrible disturbances which have sprung out of them, I have pointed out that which is the philosophy of their history, but also the nature of the fitting remedy for them.

How, then, came it to pass that heresy in the sixteenth century was arrested in its tremendous progress—a progress which threatened to overwhelm in its unclean waters the entire of Europe? By the Church having adopted the same word as heresy, and crying out reform. Ah! scarcely had the Church prayed through the walls of the great Pontiff, Paul III,, and, afterwards in the mighty Council of Trent articulated the word *Reform*, that these promises, the hope of a real reform given by the Church, rendered vain that false reform proclaimed and uttered by heresy—it shivered the tremendous talisman of that magic word with which so many people had been deluded. And the Lutheran and Calvinist heresies which were on the point of invading France and Italy, remained as *a political doctrine* amongst those states which had based their constitutions and their dynasties upon them—whilst as *a theological doctrine* they ceased from causing new disorders and making new conquests.

So in the same manner the revolution which threatened to make the circle of the globe could not be arrested in its march—a march destructive of thrones and of states—until the governing powers themselves adopted the same word, and cried also for liberty. This word is doubtless, as much a lie in the mouth of a demagogue as the word *reform* in the mouth of a heretic.

The governments, taking example from that which the church had done with regard to reform, adopted a grand, large, and generous policy with respect to liberty, made a truth of that word which in the mouth of the seditious is a falsehood, hastened to render that perfect which a revolution could only promise, and never could maintain—prepared in turn to satisfy that which is to-day a real want, sensible and evident to all Christian people, by liberating them from the seductions of the demagogue—made with their own good will, and within certain limits, that which they might, at a later period, be constrained to concede in an immoderate degree, when forced to do so by an inexorable necessity. They took away from the enemies of order the favour of the people, and, as a wise reform enforced by the church, disarmed heresy—thus a wise liberty, conceded by rulers, will disarm revolution. And this is, and it ought to be well understood, the only means—the sole secure means, and the indispensable as well as invaluable means—of making the struggle terminate.

Now, this great doctrine, so simple, but at the same time so profound, understood by so few, and not professed by any one, at the beginning of this century, O'Connell was the first to proclaim, to inaugurate, and to put in practice with the greatest success.

When this singular man began to show himself in the political scene of the United Kingdom—that is, in the greatest theatre in the world—persons of the best and clearest understanding were, as far as regarded liberty, swayed by deadly prejudices, which were unfortunately but too well justified in the presence of so many thrones vacillating or fallen—of so many dynasties extinguished or proscribed—of so many spoliations—of so many massacres—of so many ruins caused and brought about in the name and under the standard of liberty. This word, then, indicative of awful excesses, made men tremble with fear. This standard, heavy and clotted with so much blood, only excited feelings of horror. All ideas of order were interpenetrated with ideas of insensate absolutism, and all ideas of liberty with those of cruel Jacobinism. Liberty was synonymous with rebellion—Liberalism with regicide. Every attempt at political reform was regarded as an attack against the stability of the throne

a doctrine which thraldoms an entire Christian people to the caprice of a handful of men who call themselves *the State*, and are the procreators of an universal slavery? Where, think you, are now to be found those who refer to fathers the liberty of educating their own children—to corporations of regulating their own municipal expenses—to provinces of providing the means for their own prosperity—to the Church of preaching and guiding the people in the ways of truth and of justice? Where, think you, are to-day to be found those in whom the hatred of the people is equal to the insolent contempt with which they speak of them? Where, think you, in fine, are to be found the enemies of all liberty—the impudent favourers of every species of slavery? They are to be found amongst the most fanatical demagogues—amongst those who are the pupils of Jacobinism—whilst, on the contrary, liberty connot find any friends more sincere, nor any followers more constant, nor any defenders more intrepid, nor any advocates more generous, than amongst the most devout partizans of monarchical order—than amongst those who are the heroes and the martyrs of loyalty.

Now, a change so strange and so unexpected as this, has had its beginning, its causation in Ireland—it has been born under the auspices, and nurtured under the teaching of O'Connell. He it is, with his country to point to as an example, who has not merely modified, but who has entirely changed, the political ideas of a great part of Europe. He it is who has brought false liberty in disrepute, and recommend the true. He it is who has unmasked the hypocrisy of demagogues, and discredited sedition for ever.

True it is that this doctrine is that of the ancient Apostles, of the ancient Christians, of the ancient Martyrs, who, both by their words and their writings, with their protestations at the tribunals, and in their apologies presented to emperors, vindicated their own rights, and cried out against oppression, but never forsook their fealty. The fear, however, of evils worse than those already endured, had not merely obscured, but nearly extinguished, this noble doctrine amongst persons who were loyal Christians and Christian loyalists. A thought, a word of complaint, against an injustice—the reprobation of an abuse of power, would have appeared to them to be a crime. This conciliatory doctrine has been revived by O'Connell—he has restored—he has reanimated—he has taught it with all the power of his eloquence, and with all the force of facts, and with all the strength of his success—and he has rendered it universal and popular in Europe.

Ye—oh, Romans!—who now listen to me, are yourselves a proof that the influence of the political apostleship of O'Connell has penetrated into this lovely portion of Europe.

Notwitstanding this, it is quite true—and I say it with grief—it is but too true that there still lingers among you some dull pupil of the revolutionary philosophy of the past century, some insensate pedant, who pants to realise in Christian Rome the republican theories of idolatrous Rome, and to apply his university ideas to an actual state of society. It is true there are still some persons in whose minds, like those of the *Sans culottes* from whom they descend, the phrase, "liberty of the people," conceals the dire idea of destruction, and the horrible feeling of a hatred of monarchy. But these degenerate citizens (if citizens they can be called who mediate the ruin of their country) are very few. The people, however,—the true, real Roman people—by their spirit of order, of obedience, and of love of their prince, have become the admiration of Europe and the world; they regard such ideas and such principles with horror—a horror that compels these occult fabricators of rebellion to cover, as with a mask, themselves and their doctrines of disorder and of blood.

The exquisite good sense of the Romans prevents them from being captivated by the snares, or deluded by the hypocrisy of such persons. That good sense leads the Romans to identify liberty with order, and never to regard as separated and adverse propositions, that which is for their own good, and that which is consistent with their fealty and obedience to their sovereign. Thus it is that a people, so good and so intelligent as the Romans, have, if I may so speak, brought to a state of perfection that doctrine which the apostleship of O'Connell has accredited through out Europe. Rome has conjoined with the most scrupulous legality the enthusiasm of love. It seeks through a loving agitation, as Ireland sought by a legal agitation the reform of abuses which time and passions (as they have ever done with all things) have ingrafted upon, and then altered the nature of, the ancient constitution of the States of the Church—that being a constitution which rendered perfectly reconcileable with each other order and liberty. And since it is impossible that the language of a people who love their sovereign should not be understood by a sovereign who is all love for his people—since it is impossible that hearts moved by a mutual affection should not perfectly comprehend each other, then we may believe that thou, oh! Rome, dost prepare for thyself the noblest boast that nation ever yet made; for if men do not plot against thee—are not able to stop thy progress—cannot deceive thee—and will not betray thee—then canst thou add this bright page to thy history—that which posterity shall marvel at, as they read it—namely, that thou hast been able to obtain, nay, to gain, as if it were a conquest, true "liberty;" and that the only means and only instruments in procuring so great a gain were the ways of love.

I say a "true liberty;" for as there is real gold and fictitious gold, so is there a "true liberty" and "false liberty." Oh! how very beautiful is that; and oh! how very abominable is this! Oh! how majestic is that! and oh! how terrible is this! As that diffuses around it peace, and grace, and calm, so does this disseminate, wherever it is implanted, terror, dismay, and horror. The brows of one are illuminated with the splendid halo of order, and those of the other are covered with the red cap of anarchy. One holds in its hand the olive branch of peace, and the other waves the torch of discord. One is arrayed in robes white as those of innocence; and the other is enveloped in the dark, blood-stained mantle of guilt. One is the prop of thrones; the other a yawning abyss beneath them. One is the glory and the happiness of nations; the other their disgrace and their punishment. The latter bursts out of hell, as if it were a poisonous blast issuing from the jaws of the devil himself; and the other descends sweetly and gently upon the earth, as if the spirit of God had sent it down to us a holy blessing from heaven; *ubi spiritus Domini ibi libertas.*

Hence, my dear brethren, we should perfectly comprehend and carry this conviction at all times, in our hearts, that true liberty never springs from the clandestine orgies of rebellion, but ever issues forth from the sanctuary; that it germinates not out of the doctrines of philosophy, but of religion. Liberty is the pacific radiation of truth, as slavery is the funeral lamp of [illegible] never can be procured in its integrity and perfect purity but in the church where alone is to be found, in all its sincerity and purity, the truth. As it is the Church which has sustained the *metaphysical* liberty of the human mind against the philosophers and heretics who impugned it; as it is the Church which has created *domestic* liberty, by elevating the wife to her proper rank, and consecrating her children; as it is the Church which has introduced *civil* liberty, by abolishing amongst Christian nations the sale of human beings to slavery: so it is the church alone which can proclaim *political* liberty, fixing the true and just limits between obedience and command, the true and just rights, the true and just duties of peoples and of princes. Let our watch-words then be, loyalty, obedience, fidelity, love of the true religion—let us act in imitation of that great man whose loss we all deplore; for he not only avowed himself of a true religion to obtain true liberty, and, as we have see, *liberavit gentem suam a perditione;* but he also made use of liberty to aid in the triumph of religion; *corroboravit templum.*

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Friday Evening, July 30 1847.

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friends. Some time ago he read an objectionable paragraph on a newspaper, which contained an attack on a friend of his, and he therefore withdrew his name as a subscriber from the newspaper, but he did not consider that under the circumstances that was an offensive manner of acting. In the following paper, it was stated that such was the line of conduct they would expect from him, and it went further and stated—he could not at present remember the paragraph, but the effect of it was that they felt relieved by his conduct, for they were often restrained by a feeling of friendship from expressing an unfavourable opinion of him, and from that he was induced to expect further hostility on their part, but what the cause was for that he was in ignorance up to that moment. As to the proposition, he should not then say anything against it, but he would ask them, as Irishmen, as countrymen, and as fellow townsmen, was that the requital of a man who had served them for so many years, without any cause of complaint, whose claim was based on fair pretences, to be sacrificed to any person? It was an unfair and an unjust part for his friends to oppose him, for the sake of a man of the same principle. Whatever his faults were he knew not, but this he knew that no man could ever charge him with giving a vote for which he was not ready to account. He had never changed his principles, he had never swerved or deviated from them, nor did he hesitate to give expression to them in parliament and wherever else it was necessary. To that moment he deserted the tories, he would not seek conservative support, nor would an advertisement be found from him thanking them for their support. He had decided on his part to uphold the principles approved by O'Connell, and he was not the man to join or connect himself with this or that section, and give a stab to the feelings of the family of O'Connell, by adopting a course of proceeding that emanated from the enemies of O'Connell and the enemies of Ireland, and he then called on them to adopt the peaceful agitation which O'Connell inculcated. He would not cause a pang to the family of O'Connell by departing from those means by which he had endeavoured to secure his country, by putting men who deserved them into places of trust and emolument (cries of "no places, no places," hisses and confusion). The standing theme of O'Connell's grievances of this country had been that the English Government, by means of the union, had filled all the situations in this country, in England and in Scotland, with Englishmen and Scotchmen to the constant exclusion of Irishmen. They considered that the greatest grievance that the country laboured under, and one of the strongest incentives to the prosecution of the Repeal agitation. Now they wished to retain that power, but by so doing they did not mean to sell their country or barter their independence. He did not mean to touch on new ground, but he had read in Mr. Fagan's speech that, since Mr. M'Carthy got into Parliament, he had been the medium through which [illegible] the petty places had been given away. Now what were they? The paltry and insignificant things were such as that they would be of service to none but tradesmen; and he wished to serve them (cries of "no no," "yes, yes," uproar and increased confusion).

Mr. Hackett—Many a man has been served by them (continued uproar).

Mr. Callaghan begged permission to finish. Mr. M'Carthy had always acted on the same principle that he did on every division, and the Government considered them friends to the liberal party, friends to freedom, and advocates of religious and commercial freedom; and when vacancies occurred the Secretary to the Treasury wrote to him or Mr. M'Carthy, and begged them to inform him of the name of a person whom he would place before the first Lord of the Treasury for the appointment, and whether he wrote to Mr. M'Carthy or to him (Mr. Callaghan) they were bound to recommend the same person. That was in effect reducing it, as he would describe it, to giving each of them an individual moiety of a boatman, a tidewaiter, or a clerkship; and were they to be corrupted by the moiety of such patronage? That was the sole and only thing that came to them in the shape of patronage; and those situations were not suited for persons in habits of intimacy with them, but were solicited by and given to the friends of others in the constituency; and neither himself nor Mr. M'Carthy could be corrupted by them (hear, hear). Why then should pledges be introduced to cast a slur on the memory of O'Connell ("no, no," "yes, yes," hisses, groans and partial cheering). He repeated it was for no other reason they had been adopted (increased clamour). He did not know what gentleman proposed them—

A Voice—It was Young Ireland (terrific uproar)—

Mr. Callaghan—I respect Young Ireland (cheers)—

Mr. O'Flynn—We know no such party here—

Mr. Callaghan—I respect every man who has ability and public virtue (hear, hear); but I do know no man who is not liable to be mistaken, and I believe it was mistaken policy of the Young Ireland party when they got up their accusation against O'Connell—(deafening uproar)—

Mr. Brady—We got up no accusation, Sir—(cheers)—

Chairman—I beg your pardon, Mr. Brady, but I cannot suffer this interruption (hear, hear).

Mr. Brady—But I want to rise to order. (Here the confusion became so great that it was totally useless for some minutes for any of the speakers to endeavour to obtain a hearing.)

The Chairman informed the meeting of his intention to obtain a full and distinct hearing for each speaker, or his determination to resign the chair. If, during the time a person was addressing the chair any other gentleman rose to order he would hear him, otherwise he would prevent his speaking—

Mr. Brady—Then, Sir, I rise to order. Mr. Callaghan spoke of persons (deafening clamour)—

Chairman—You must allow me to be the judge of that, and I conceive Mr Callaghan was in order.

Mr. Callaghan considered that Mr. Brady was labouring under a misapprehension. He was sorry to see persons there causing dissensions and divisions amongst them. He (Mr. C.) did not come there for that purpose, but to explain, respectfully, what it was desirable they should have before them on the day of nomination. He had little more to say except on the hideous crime with which he was charged—that of having changed his mind. He had heard it generally said that ladies alone were allowed to change their minds (a laugh); but it was said in a jocose way, however, he could not see what objection there was to any man doing so. He did not change his mind, however; but he stood by the liberal interest through good and evil report (cheers mingled with laughter). He would not retire before the enemies of his country, but was still ready to stand in the gap (hear, and cries of "we don't want you"). He always did so, and would maintain the liberal interest, though there were some present who wished to cause disunion. Others might say that he was creating disunion in the liberal interest, but he contended that no man could truly say that he did not stand by his colours, or that he ever swerved from the principles he had always maintained, by which principles he hoped to be able to raise his country in the scale of nations, and elevate his countrymen to the dignity of freemen (cheers). He had done everything to promote their individual as well as their collective interests. He had not retired (loud cries of "you have, you have"). He would go to the poll fearless of consequences. If he had no other motive for it, it would be to prevent the city of Cork from being made a family borough (oh, oh, and uproar). He spoke openly, for he would ever object to it. In all the history of elections in nomination boroughs, there never was such an attempt made to ride over a great constituency, as the present, by two of the same family (no, no, yes, yes, and great uproar). Mr. Fagan made a boast on various occasions that he was instrumental in getting Mr. M'Carthy to come forward; and it was now in the simplicity of his

tion as any of them, struggling in the cause of their common country and for the advancement of their local interests; but their kind wishes had raised him to another position, and on that position would he take his stand and endeavour to reply to the remarks of their late honourable member (hear, hear). It was not his disposition—for if it were his disposition to thrust himself forward as the representative of the City of Cork, it was not in the year '47 he would be coming forward for the first time (hear, hear). No, he did not thrust himself forward, but he would simply explain the facts in the presence of the late honourable member for Cork (hear). He never thrusted himself forward (hear hear); and on an important occasion like the present, no power, no taunts wherever they might come from, no threats from whatever quarter they might emanate should place a stain on his (Mr. Fagan's) reputation. Now, it was an undoubted fact, and could not be denied, that Mr. Callaghan stated on the hustings, at the last general election, and again at a private meeting held in 1844 that it it was not his intention to seek the representation of the City of Cork at the next general election (hear, hear). But, he would do away with anything said at a private meeting, or when sitting round another man's mahogany, and would assert that at a public meeting in '45 Mr. Callaghan, when the question was put to him, said that it was not his intention to seek the representation at the present election (hear, hear). He said then that the conditions required of him by the resolutions of that meeting were such as no man could disapprove of; he admittted that he approved of them, but he said that on no conditions whatever was it his intention to seek to again represent Cork (hear, hear). He repeated that statement to a deputation which waited on him from the People's Hall (hear, hear). Mr. Callaghan very fairly stated that it was not ladies alone who were permitted to change their minds. He had admitted that he was actuated by that feeling (laughter). He repeated that Mr. Callaghan had said that he would not again stand for the representation of Cork (hear, hear). A month ago a letter was written by Mr. Callaghan to Mr. T. Lyons as Chairman of the Franchise Committee. Mr. Lyons on receiving the letter summoned him (Mr. Fagand) and every member of the committee to take that letter into consideration. It was to the effect that he had often given them warning of his intention to retire, and that they therefore could not be taken by surprise at the eleventh hour, as they ought to be prepared with a candidate. He was there on that occasion and Mr. Sugrue, who was also present, turned round and said, they could never want a candidate whilst they had Mr. Fagan. What had been his reply—because he then had some notion that it would not be difficult to induce their old member to come forward again?—Oh, try if Mr. Callaghan would again come forward (hear, hear). And, as it might be [illegible] would open his mind fully to them and tell them that he was then anxious Mr. Callaghan should continue to represent them. And, why? Because if at any time he should retire, or if unhappily it should be his fate to be carried into another world earlier than himself, it was always his (Mr. Fagan's) intention not to allow the representation of Cork to pass into strange hands (cheers). Delighted would he feel if Frank Lyons, or Tom Lyons, or any other citizen should be selected before himself; but unquestionably after labouring twenty years in the public cause he never would, in the event of Mr. Callaghan's retirement, allow a stranger to occupy his place (cheers). And why was he then anxious, he repeated, that Mr. Callaghan should continue to represent the City?—because his children, who were then young would, before the expiration of another session of Parliament, be grown and able to undertake the conducting of his establishment which was then in existence over one hundred years—but, as he said before, he never would have allowed a stranger to occupy Mr. Callaghan's place (cheers). Well, that passed away, but Mr. Sugrue bruited it about the City that Mr. Callaghan would not again come forward, and that there appeared no better man than Mr. Fagan. In the meantime other letters came from Mr. Callaghan, saying that he would be in a great puzzle if an incompetent person should be selected. If such should be the case, anxious that no Tory should be returned, he would again come forward in order to keep the representation in proper hands. That was the second letter. A third letter had been received from Mr. Callaghan stating that he had been so badly treated by his constituents that he would remain in London and not put in a valedictory address.

Mr. Callaghan—I desire to set the gentleman right. He says that I wrote "being so badly treated by my constituents." I deny that I wrote that (hear, hear, and "oh, oh").

Mr. Fagan continued—Mr. Callaghan's denial was sufficient, as he himself had not seen the letter; but the contents of that letter had been repeated to him by Mr. Thomas Lyons who received it; and they should see at some future time about it; at the same time he was far from saying that what Mr. Callaghan then stated was not the fact; yet his memory decidedly was that the statement had been made to him. No matter, at all events Mr. Callaghan said that he would not put in a valedictory address (hear, hear, from Mr. Callaghan). They should bear well in mind that he would not put in an address which was so customary with retiring candidates; but what, he would ask them, put such an address at all into Mr. Callaghan's head unless he wished to retire—(hear, hear, from Mr. Callaghan)? He would not then go into a history of the formation of the election committee, nor state anything in reference to the propositions there come to. But a meeting of that committee had been held and their unanimous opinion was that Mr. Callaghan would not again come forward, and he understood that he was then proposed (hear, hear). That meeting had been held on a Saturday, and the attendance was not very large. He was then anxious that no precipitate step should be taken against Mr. Callaghan, for though he firmly believed Mr. Callaghan stated his intention of not again seeking the representation of Cork, still he had a feeling that if called on Mr. Callaghan would come forward, Fearing that disunion would ruin their cause—for they could not think of carrying out the great question of repeal by disunion (cheers)—it could be worked out only by union, and nothing else but union would effect it (loud and repeated cheers)—it was to effect that union he had embarked in the cause, and when he saw that a disunion might be the result—fearing such, he repeated, he wrote a letter to the secretary of the committee, stating that he would have nothing else to do with the matter (hear, hear). They should then recollect that Mr. Callaghan had said he would not put in a valedictory address (hear, hear, from Mr. Callaghan). On the Monday morning following that Saturday, he (Mr Fagan) came into town and the editor of the *Reporter*, handed him a newspaper under envelope, and directed by Mr. Callaghan himself—it was his own hand-writing; and he also saw a letter to Mr. Morrogh from Mr. Callaghan stating that the report in that paper—the *Morning Post*—was a correct one (hear). Now what did that report make Mr. Callaghan say, "that his object was not to seek popularity, as he did not again intend to seek the representation of Cork" (hear, hear). There had been a great deal of talk about the phrase "not seek"—oh, no, he would not seek the representation, but he expected a requisition would be presented to him, asking him again to represent them (hear, and cheers). He had seen a letter to Mr. Lyons, telling him to get up such requisition. Thus, then, he was not to seek the representation, but he was to be sought for by the borough of *Gatton and old Sarum* (cheers and laughter).

Mr. Callaghan—I rise to order ("sit down," "sit down," "hear, hear," "no, no," and terrible uproar).

Mr. Fagan—Mr. Callaghan can reply.

Mr. Callaghan—Mr. Chairman, to order. To order, Mr. Chairman (great uproar).

Chairman—I don't [illegible] Mr. Fagan in continuing

silent and left [illegible] sanctioned by his own handwriting

Mr. Callaghan—[illegible] men, if you please, and I will answer him

Mr. Fagan continued—[illegible] Cork with the letter in his pocket, but [illegible] report was shewn him he said "it was decided then, it was his irrevocable decision and, as he said he would not put in a valedictory address, he had adopted that mode of announcing his retirement." Never before then had he mentioned his name in connexion with the representation of the city of Cork—never until Mr. Callaghan's official announcement in parliament had come (hear, hear); and not even then till Mr. Lane came to him and said that there was one section of repealers—there were then two sections of repealers in the city, now, thank God, there was but one (loud cheers).

Mr. Hackett—There are two ("silence," "hear," "hold your tongue," and uproar).

Mr. Fagan continued—He had been the means, not by thrusting himself forward, but by the union of both parties, before then, disunited, of uniting them (cheers).—Mr. Lane came and said to him that through the party to which he belonged were oppposed to him in opinion, because of his liking for the present Government—and he confessed, he did prefer them to a Tory Government—and though other gentlemen, fully competent, had been spoken of for the representation of Cork, yet, believing that he would carry out whatever he might say or promise, and that he was an honest man, they unanimously resolved to state that, as regarded themselves, they had come to the determination of adopting him (hear, hear, and cheers). Then for the first time did he allow his name to be mentioned in connexion with the representation of Cork; for it would be unbecoming of him, and he would be playing a child's part, did he not then state fully and fairly what his opinions on the matter were (hear, hear). He then said that, though it would be a great personal sacrifice on his part, yet, he was pleased, for it was a situation which suited his taste. He was pleased, but at the same time he doubted whether the step would be a prudent one. Well, having talked the matter over with Mr. Lane, he got him to defer the question from that day till the Tuesday following, when Mr. Sugrue proposed him to the committee, and, he believed, Mr. Maguire seconded the proposition. A deputation then waited on him and he told them—not on the terms of Mr. Callaghan's retirement, for he took it for granted that he would retire, for if he had heard that Mr. Callaghan had died he could not be more firmly convinced of his not again coming forward than he then was—he told them, then, not relying on such an event, that if he got the stamp of the citizens approbation he would stand. They had other candidates ready to come forward did he not consent; and that [illegible] other feeling, induced him to do so (hear, hear). He told them, then, that he would abide the result of a public meeting, and he could not, having received the approval of that meeting, at any hazard retire (hear, hear). That promise was not made to those persons with whom he usually associated—not to Frank Lyons, or Tom. Lyons, or Ried, Dowden to whom he could say "the letter received from Mr. Callaghan—was rather a contradictory one and they should therefore let him off his promise." No, that promise had been made to gentlemen who were determined at all hazards that Mr. Callaghan should not again represent the city (hear, hear, and cheers).

Mr. Hackett—It was made to the "Young Irelanders" ("set down you sir," "hear, hear," and confusion).

Mr. Brady—It was made, sir, to the Election Committee (hear, hear, and cheers).

Mr. Fagan continued—Mr. Brady had said truly; but there had been a portion of the "Election Committee" who remained away on that day, and therefore it was but fair to say that, with the exception of Messrs. Dowden, Sugrue, and Mr. Murphy, it was to a particular section he made that promise. He made it, however, without any reservation, and he then felt that, unless called on by the same parties, he could not withdraw (hear, hear, and cheers). And he would leave it to any man, if anything could be more fair or more even sided than the observations made use of on the day of public meeting in Cork; and he would say that if ever an election was carried on in the pure democratic principle—it was on that day (hear, hear). He that day appealed to his fellow-citizens, electors and non electors, to judge deliberately; and there never was pronounced, even in America herself, by a more democratic assembly a stronger opinion in favour of any question than was that day for Mr. Sugrue's proposition (hear, hear, and cheers). Then, after being adopted by that public meeting, it would be unworthy of him to withdraw (hear, hear). Mr. M'Carthy at that meeting had been rejected because his name was connected with Mr. Callaghan's in the resolution; but a resolution was afterwards adopted selecting him conditionally, on the terms that he should accede to the "Cork resolutions."

Mr. Callaghan—That did not appear in print (loud cries of "it did").

Mr. Brady—Provided Mr. M'Carthy subscribed to the "Cork resolutions," he was accepted at that meeting (hear, hear).

Mr. Fagan in continuation said that—Such a resolution had been passed; and he had been requested by the Secretary and other members of the Lee Ward to canvas for Mr. M'Carthy. He confessed he did canvass for him on the first day; but after that he discontinued it, because he thought, as a man of honour, he could not conscientiously do so till Mr. M'Carthy adopted the required pledges (hear, hear and cheers). It was from no other feeling, he assured them, he discontinued. But Mr. M'Carthy had since then given in his adhesion without reserve to those resolutions (loud cheers). Mr. Callaghan had thrown out insinuations, aimed at him, in reference to his connexion with the press. Unfortunately for him he was the proprietor—the sole proprietor of a newspaper; he said unfortunately for it had brought him into much trouble. But he never did anything that could call forth a reproval from his fellow-citizens (hear, hear). He hoped, before he commenced his canvas that he had the good opinion of the citizens of Cork, and when he did commence it, and when he spoke to them, how it made his heart leap with joy when he had seen how they had received him (cheers); for his energy of character and a knowledge of his services made the humblest of them glad; and even though he might be beaten in the coming contest (no, no), yet the manner in which he had been received was so gratifying to his feelings that he would never forget it (cheers). But, unfortunately, he repeated, he was connected with a newspaper. The connexion recalled painful circumstances to which he would not then refer. Circumstances connected with those then no more. No, he was not the man to refer to such matters for electioneering purposes; he would not then refer to the circumstances which brought him from his quiet commercial pursuits to the press. But, it did so happen that he was the sole proprietor of an highly respectable journal (hear, hear). He would not be long so, however, if their kindness should send him into another sphere. But, though being proprietor, he did deny, except legally, that he was liable for anything that might appear in the columns of that journal. For its political opinions he was, he admitted, liable; but in reference to any articles on it, he assured them that he seldom wrote one, and very seldom read one.—Mr. Morrogh knew that when one particular passage of an article in that paper met his (Mr. Fagan's) eye, he was annoyed and had it immediately struck out (hear, from Mr. Morrogh). He denied, then, that any of those taunts referred to him; he totally disregarded them (hear, hear).

A Voice—He is a Young Irelander ("turn him out," "hear him" and confusion).

Mr Fagan denied again that he was liable for everything that appeared in his paper.

fice, the association determined to oppose him on that resolution; and in order to do effectually—for he was a man of very great influence, and there was but one man in Ireland who could oppose him with any chance of success, that was the great Catholic, the immortal Liberator (loud cheers)—in order then to oppose him effectually O'Connell came forward, and what was the result?—Clare was carried (cheers)—emancipation immediately followed and eight millions of Catholics were no longer slaves (cheers). What were they doing at the present moment?—they simply resolved not to ask place from any government hostile to repeal, for the sole and only purpose of carrying out repeal (cheers). It was true that in '35 or '36 he had a brother-in law, he was then no more; he slept in the Island of St. Vincent and his death broke the heart of one whom he loved, but who had left him alone in this world. Well, no matter; he had been taunted by Mr. Callaghan with asking him in '35 to to get a colonial appointment for his brother-in-law. He did not succeed in getting that appointment, and he (Mr. Fagan) was the means of forwarding him to the West Indies, where he had a prospect of making £5 or 600 a year; but ere a week had elapsed after his arrival he died. The subject was a little painful to him, and he could not help expressing his feelings to some friends on it (hear, hear). But in '35, when the place was asked, there was no repeal of the union question (hear, hear). But it might be said he recommended persons, through Mr. M'Carthy, for tide waiterships and other petty situations, but he maintained that the moment the resolutions were passed, and before he had any intention of becoming candidate for Cork, he refused several friends to make application for such offices (cheers); and if he remained for ever in his private capacity, once having pledged himself, he never would have asked a single place for any man (cheers). It was then no argument to say that it was a calumny against O'Connell, because he maintained that at the public meeting he had shown O'Connell's distinct disavowal of place hunting, or of anything that could cause the Repeal party to degenerate into place hunters (loud cheers). He would give one fact to show that O'Connell was opposed to such—he never asked place for himself or his family, but, on the contrary, was known to refuse place when offered to himself (cheers). It was absurd, then, to tell him that it was a calumny against O'Connell, and he would tell that meeting what he had told John O'Connell, that had he the slightest notion that those resolutions could be turned into a calumny against his father, he never would have drawn them up; he would have allowed disunion to continue were he then convinced that they could be turned as they since were (cheers). But he would tell Mr. Callaghan that the electors of the city were determined that no candidate should be supported who did not accept the resolutions. He cared not whether they were Young or Old Irelanders—the poor man in Barrack-street and St. Patrick's ward knew nothing of such distinctions—but he said it was wrong for a man to toss up his hat at the hustings and the next moment go to a minister, not the prime minister, for he should not be gone to for any man but William Fagan, to get him a place in the colonies—(laughter)—but to Lord Palmerston or some other minister to ask for place (hear, hear). He said no candidate ought to be supported unless he repudiated place or pension (cheers). It was an unfounded expression, that of John O'Connell, and he ought not have used it (hear, hear). He ought not continue in the wrong, for his father always maintained firmly his opinions when in the right, but he never persisted in them when wrong. He feared his friend was persisting in the wrong. No matter, the electors of Cork were determined that no place-hunter should represent them (cheers). They should mind that Mr. Callaghan had repudiated conservative support.

Mr. Callaghan—No, no (cries of "you did," and confusion).

Mr. Fagan—Well he would not canvass such electors and they certainly would not ask him. There was another point to which he would refer—The present was a very important crisis in the affairs of Ireland; well, the representative for the city of Cork, the second city of Ireland, came forward with an address. Did he there speak of his political opinions?—or was that document worthy of the person seeking the representation of the second city in Ireland? No.—He certainly elevated a very humble individual by it, for it was an address entirely taken up with Mr. M'Carthy and Wm. Fagan, because they happened to be cousins; and Mr. Callaghan there told them if they should elect Mr. Fagan, who stood alone in the world, depending on the merits of his character—with Mr. M'Carthy they would be a more corrupt borough than *Sarum and Old Gatton* (hear, and laughter). Was that the way to treat a question of that kind? They came there to discuss a question of great purpose, whether the repeal was to be carried, or whether it should be merely a stalking horse for getting into parliament (cheers). Were the constituents of Cork to be thus treated? He asked them, as honest men, would they, because he happened to be a cousin of Mr. M'Carthy's, throw him out (cries of "no, no," with "yes, yes," and confusion). Why did not the electors look into his pedigree, before they selected him, and discover that old Sandy M'Carthy was married to his aunt (laughter).

Mr. Hackett—So we did ("hold your tongue, sir," hear him," and confusion).

Mr. Fagan continued—They had put him in a forward position; but in point of honour they should not make him the instrument of rejecting his cousin, who was an excellent representative (hear, hear). He was a young man not much more than twelve months representing them. It was not all at once a man obtained a station or position in Parliament; but every one knew Mr. M'Carthy to be a man of extraordinary talent; and would they tell him that, because of Mr. Callaghan coming forward again because of his (Mr. Fagan's) having done so, and because he said he did not wish to make the City of Cork an *Old Gatton*, they would throw Mr. M'Carthy overboard ("no, no," "yes, yes," uproar, and confusion). Let them mind that Mr. Callaghan brought him (Mr. Fagan) into his present position, for he virtually retired—(no, no, from Mr. Hackett, with loud cries of "he did") He retired as far as retiring in public could go; whatever his mental reservations might have been, he (Mr. Fagan) had nothing to do with them—(hear, hear). He having retired, what should e hhave done but to accept the decision come to.

Mr. Hackett—The decision of Young Irelanders—(groans, hisses, partial cheers, and confusion).

Mr. Dowden—I rise to order.

Chairman—Mr. Dowden (confusion).—

Mr. Dowden—I want to stop those gentlemen from making those observations—(hear, hear, and "turn Hackett out").

Mr. Fagan continued—Would they, then when they had placed him in his present position unsolicited by him—would it be fair or honourable of the constituents of Cork, having put him in that proud position, to thrust him out because of Mr. Callaghan's coming forward (no, no). Mr. Callaghan had no right to come forward (hear, hear, and cheers). He would say nothing as regarded Mr. Callaghan's political conduct, for he admired many of his political acts, especially his conduct towards O'Connell (cheers); but, he said that having once deliberately resigned—

Mr. Callaghan—I never did ("you did," "no, no" and terrible confusion).

Mr. Fagan—I repeat you did (renewed confusion).

Mr. Callaghan warmly—I never did, and I shall be obliged to give it a rude contradiction if you mention it again (continued uproar and confusion).

Mr. Fagan would mention it on the faith of the documents which he had read at the public meeting, and which could not be contradicted; and any man of common sense on reading them would bear out the statement he made there that day, notwithstanding any mental reservation of

he (Mr. Callaghan) had then nothing to quarrel about. He did not think it necessary to go through all the statements he had read in Mr. Fagan's paper and in the *Examiner*, which had made some alliance with the *Reporter* (no, no).

Mr. Boyle—The *Examiner* is a highly honourable paper (hear, and cheers).

Mr. Callaghan—But, in his speech, Mr. Fagan said that the report of his (Mr. Callaghan's) speech in the House of Commons was correctly reported in the *Morning Post*, for that he himself had said so (hear, hear). He did not say so. What were the facts? It was at the close of the session, when perhaps he should not have another opportunity of saying a word on the subject of the wrongs of Ireland, and he then spoke to that point, and to that only. When he came to allude to the Tenant League question, he told Lord John Russell in his place in Parliament, that he might depend upon it the people of Ireland would never be satisfied 'till the law as regarded landlord and tenant was placed on a more satisfactory footing; and he besought him during the recess to concert some measure to that effect.

Mr. Wm. Casey—That was not the language you used towards Dr. Collins of Mallow ("hear, hear," "order," cheers and confusion).

Mr. Callaghan had there said, and he again repeated it, that the tenant farmer should be allowed to hold his land as long as he paid his rent, even though his lease might have expired (hear, hear). That was, he believed, going as far as any man would venture to go. He would mention a case which first induced him to hold that opinion. He had been first struck with it on going through the place of a minor, Duggan, held under Lord Kenmare. A respectable old farmer told him that his family that had been living there during four lives of lease, and that all the improvements made on the holding had been effected by them, and that the rent paid by them at the close of the engagement had been four times that charged at first. He thought that an injustice, and he therefore was of opinion that the law between landlord and tenant should be altered (hear, hear).

Mr. O'Flynn—Should the tenant be allowed for out-lay ("order" hear, hear, and confusion)?

Mr. Callaghan continued—The object of his speech in the house of Commons was not to tell the house whether he was about to retire from the representation of Cork, but he merely stated, as some ostensible proof of the sincerity of the opinion he was about to express, that he was not at all likely that he should be again returned for Cork ("hear, hear," "you said truly"). Imediately after he sat down, his friend Mr. M'Carthy, their representative, turned around and said, he was glad that he had spoken so, and he hoped that it would go forward to his constituents as he had said it. He (Mr. Callaghan) told him in reply, not to be too sure that it would, for he knew not any friends on the press, and even though perhaps it might be reported there, it would be cushioned by the *Reporter* or *Examiner* ("no, no" groans, and uproar). It was then ten o'clock, and he had not dined, and thinking it full time for dinner he left the house of commons. Immediately after he sat down to dinner Mr. M'Carthy came into where he had been dining, and he told him that he thought his (Mr. Callaghan's) speech would be reported, because Lord John Russell had alluded to it in a subsequent one. Now, he would answer Mr. Fagan—the man at the *Reporter*, why he did not contradict Lord John Russell. How could he contradict him, when he was not present? Until he read it in the Cork papers he was not aware of what Lord J. Russell had said. In the *Morning Chronicle* of the following day there appeared but a brief report of his speech; and in the *Times* a briefer one; and in the *Advertiser* a shorter one again. The *Daily Times* gave a larger report than either of the others; but as he was going by a newspaper office he went in to see whether there was any other paper which gave a longer report; and he there saw the *Morning Post*, which contained a still longer report. He then said that he would send that to Cork, being the longest report; and seeing that he was differently reported in all the London papers, he left it to chance which they should select from. He pledged his word to them that he did not read the report in the *Morning Post*, because the post hour was near at hand, but he wrote to Mr. Morrogh saying that it was a long report, and nothing more ("hear, hear" from Mr. Morrogh). Then indeed, it was said that that had been a retiring speech, and that the people of Cork believed to be such ("yes, yes"); but what did Mr. M'Carthy say on hearing it?—he said that he had heard the speech and he did not believe it to be such (hear, hear, from Mr. Hackett). He would depend on Mr. M'Carthy's opinion as a man of honour. He confessed that he expected the Franchise Association would, after the Cork election, send a requisition to himself, or to Mr. M'Carthy, or to both, asking them to again stand for the representation of the City. It was not of the representation of Cork he was speaking in the House of Commons but of other matters; but the *Reporter* and *Examiner* held on that garbled statement, and left out what, in the capacity of representative, he felt bound to state on the question.

Mr. B. Sheehan—Look at your letters to Mr. Lyons (hear, and cheers).

Mr. Callaghan—I have not my letters with me.

Mr. Sheehan—They were read at the meeting (hear hear).

Mr. Callaghan continued—He thought that so far from being used to his disadvantage, his observations in the house of Commons should be placed to his credit by every honourable man ("hear, hear, and oh, oh"). He had learned a great deal from Mr. Fagan's garbled his canvass; but there was no advice he would be more slow to take than that of Mr. Fagan (hear, hear), in his present position unless he should go on the principle of a man being taught by his enemy. But that he would not do. He would not make any further observations, but this, that he would rely on the people of Cork. They were too true and too honourable to drive from them a man who had ever stood by them; who had committed no fault; who had no explanation or apology to [illegible] given in the British parliament, and he would tell Mr. Fagan that it was not his personal motives alone that could drive him (Mr. Callaghan) from off hustings, or from the representation of the city of Cork (cheers mingled with groans). He hoped they would not consider it disrespectful should he then retire, as he was after a long travel, and had not seen his family for a long time.

Mr. Callaghan was here about to withdraw when,

Mr. O'Flynn said—Before you retire, I wish you to answer me a question.

Mr. Callaghan was still forcing his way out, when

Mr. O'Flynn continued—I am going to make a charge against you.

Mr. Callaghan, turning round—I will be at the hustings (hear, hear, and groans).

Mr. O'Flynn—I was about to speak of the delinquency of his political conduct, and he retires because he cannot answer me (groans). I dare him to stand here and answer me (cheers).

Mr. Callaghan—Well then, allow me, and I will do so (hear, hear).

Chairman—Tell Mr. Callaghan what the tenor of your question is.

Mr. O'Flynn—I wish to tell him to his face—

Mr. Hackett—Be brief then ("turn him out," great uproar).

Mr. O'Flynn—I am an elector, sir, and I have a right to speak, and will not be forced to do so in a cursory manner. I have heard Mr. Callaghan's explanation, and have a right to question it, and put one statement against the other. I have a right to question Mr. Callaghan as to his parliamentary conduct, and to contrast it with the conduct of Mr. Fagan, out of parliament, for the last twenty years (hear).

friends. Some time ago he read an objectionable paragraph on a newspaper, which contained an attack on a friend of his, and he therefore withdrew his name as a subscriber from the newspaper, but he did not consider that under the circumstances that was an offensive manner of acting. In the following paper, it was stated that such was the line of conduct they would expect from him, and it went further and stated—he could not at present remember the paragraph, but the effect of it was that they felt relieved by his conduct, for they were often restrained by a feeling of friendship from expressing an unfavourable opinion of him, and from that he was induced to expect further hostility on their part, but what the cause was for that he was in ignorance up to that moment. As to the proposition, he should not then say anything against it, but he would ask them, as Irishmen, as countrymen, and as fellow townsmen, was that the requital of a man who had served them for so many years, without any cause of complaint, whose claim was based on fair pretences, to be sacrificed to any person? It was an unfair and an unjust part for his friends to oppose him, for the sake of a man of the same principle. Whatever his faults were he knew not, but this he knew that no man could ever charge him with giving a vote for which he was not ready to account. He had never changed his principles, he had never swerved or deviated from them, nor did he hesitate to give expression to them in parliament and wherever else it was necessary. To that moment he deserted the tories, he would not seek conservative support, nor would an advertisement be found from him thanking them for their support. He had decided on his part to uphold the principles approved by O'Connell, and he was not the man to join or connect himself with this or that section, and give a stab to the feelings of the family of O'Connell, by adopting a course of proceeding that emanated from the enemies of O'Connell and the enemies of Ireland, and he then called on them to adopt the peaceful agitation which O'Connell inculcated. He would not cause a pang to the family of O'Connell by departing from those means by which he had endeavoured to secure his country, by putting men who deserved them into places of trust and emolument (cries of "no places, no places," hisses and confusion). The standing theme of O'Connell's grievances of this country had been that the English Government, by means of the union, had filled all the situations in this country, in England and in Scotland, with Englishmen and Scotchmen to the constant exclusion of Irishmen. They considered that the greatest grievance that the country laboured under, and one of the strongest incentives to the prosecution of the Repeal agitation. Now they wished to retain that power, but by so doing they did not mean to sell their country or barter their independence. He did not mean to touch on new ground, but he had read in Mr. Fagan's speech that, since Mr. M'Carthy got into Parliament, he had been the medium through which [illegible] were given away. Now what were they? The paltry and insignificant things were such as that they would be of service to none but tradesmen; and he wished to serve them (cries of "no no," "yes, yes," uproar and increased confusion).

Mr. Hackett—Many a man has been served by them (continued uproar).

Mr. Callaghan begged permission to finish. Mr. M'Carthy had always acted on the same principle that he did on every division, and the Government considered them friends to the liberal party, friends to freedom, and advocates of religious and commercial freedom; and when vacancies occurred the Secretary to the Treasury wrote to him or Mr. M'Carthy, and begged them to inform him of the name of a person whom he would place before the first Lord of the Treasury for the appointment, and whether he wrote to Mr. M'Carthy or to him (Mr. Callaghan) they were bound to recommend the same person. That was in effect reducing it, as he would describe it, to giving each of them an individual moiety of a boatman, a tidewaiter, or a clerkship; and were they to be corrupted by the moiety of such patronage? That was the sole and only thing that came to them in the shape of patronage; and those situations were not suited for persons in habits of intimacy with them, but were solicited by and given to the friends of others in the constituency; and neither himself nor Mr. M'Carthy could be corrupted by them (hear, hear). Why then should pledges be introduced to cast a slur on the memory of O'Connell ("no, no," "yes, yes," hisses, groans and partial cheering). He repeated it was for no other reason they had been adopted (increased clamour). He did not know what gentleman proposed them—

A Voice—It was Young Ireland (terrific uproar)—

Mr. Callaghan—I respect Young Ireland (cheers)—

Mr. O'Flynn—We know no such party here—

Mr. Callaghan—I respect every man who has ability and public virtue (hear, hear); but I know no man who is not liable to be mistaken, and I believe it was mistaken policy of the Young Ireland party when they got up their accusation against O'Connell—(deafening uproar)—

Mr. Brady—We got up no accusation, Sir—(cheers)—

Chairman—I beg your pardon, Mr. Brady, but I cannot suffer this interruption (hear, hear).

Mr. Brady—But I want to rise to order. (Here the confusion became so great that it was totally useless for some minutes for any of the speakers to endeavour to obtain a hearing)

The Chairman informed the meeting of his intention to obtain a full and distinct hearing for each speaker, or his determination to resign the chair. If, during the time a person was addressing the chair any other gentleman rose to order he would hear him, otherwise he would prevent his speaking—

Mr. Brady—Then, Sir, I rise to order. Mr. Callaghan spoke of persons (deafening clamour)—

Chairman—You must allow me to be the judge of that, and I conceive Mr Callaghan was in order.

Mr. Callaghan considered that Mr. Brady was labouring under a misapprehension. He was sorry to see persons there causing dissensions and divisions amongst them. He (Mr. C.) did not come there for that purpose, but to explain, respectfully, what it was desirable they should have before them on the day of nomination. He had little more to say except on the hideous crime with which he was charged—that of having changed his mind. He had heard it generally said that ladies alone were allowed to change their minds (a laugh); but it was said in a jocose way, however, he could not see what objection there was to any man doing so. He did not change his mind, however; but he stood by the liberal interest through good and evil report (cheers mingled with laughter). He would not retire before the enemies of his country, but was still ready to stand in the gap (hear, and cries of "we don't want you"). He always did so, and would maintain the liberal interest, though there were some present who wished to cause disunion. Others might say that he was creating disunion in the liberal interest, but he contended that no man could truly say that he did not stand by his colours, or that he ever swerved from the principles he had always maintained, by which principles he hoped to be able to raise his country in the scale of nations, and elevate his countrymen to the dignity of freemen (cheers). He had done everything to promote their individual as well as their collective interests. He had not retired (loud cries of "you have, you have"). He would go to the poll fearless of consequences. If he had no other motive for it, it would be to prevent the city of Cork from being made a family borough (oh, oh, and uproar). He spoke openly, for he would ever object to it. In all the history of elections in nomination boroughs, there never was such an attempt made to ride over a great constituency, as the present, by two of the same family (no, no, yes, yes, and great tion as any of them, struggling in the cause of their common country and for the advancement of their local interests; but their kind wishes had raised him to another position, and on that position would he take his stand and endeavour to reply to the remarks of their late honourable member (hear, hear). It was not his disposition—for if it were his disposition to thrust himself forward as the representative of the City of Cork, it was not in the year '47 he would be coming forward for the first time (hear, hear). No, he did not thrust himself forward, but he would simply explain the facts in the presence of the late honourable member for Cork (hear). He never thrusted himself forward (hear hear); and on an important occasion like the present, no power, no taunts wherever they might come from, no threats from whatever quarter they might emanate should place a stain on his (Mr. Fagan's) reputation. Now, it was an undoubted fact, and could not be denied, that Mr. Callaghan stated on the hustings, at the last general election, and again at a private meeting held in 1844 that it it was not his intention to seek the representation of the City of Cork at the next general election (hear, hear). But, he would do away with anything said at a private meeting, or when sitting round another man's mahogany, and would assert that at a public meeting in '45 Mr. Callaghan, when the question was put to him, said that it was not his intention to seek the representation at the present election (hear, hear). He said then that the conditions required of him by the resolutions of that meeting were such as no man could disapprove of; he admitted that he approved of them, but he said that on no conditions whatever was it his intention to seek to again represent Cork (hear, hear). He repeated that statement to a deputation which waited on him from the People's Hall (hear, hear). Mr. Callaghan very fairly stated that it was not ladies alone who were permitted to change their minds. He had admitted that he was actuated by that feeling (laughter). He repeated that Mr. Callaghan had said that he would not again stand for the representation of Cork (hear, hear). A month ago a letter was written by Mr. Callaghan to Mr. T. Lyons as Chairman of the Franchise Committee. Mr. Lyons on receiving the letter summoned him (Mr. Fagand) and every member of the committee to take that letter into consideration. It was to the effect that he had often given them warning of his intention to retire, and that they therefore could not be taken by surprise at the eleventh hour, as they ought to be prepared with a candidate. He was there on that occasion and Mr. Sugrue, who was also present, turned round and said, they could never want a candidate whilst they had Mr. Fagan. What had been his reply—because he then had some notion that it would not be difficult to induce their old member to come forward again?—Oh, try if Mr. Callaghan would again come forward (hear, hear). And, as it might be [illegible] would open his mind fully to them and tell them that he was then anxious Mr. Callaghan should continue to represent them. And, why? Because if at any time he should retire, or if unhappily it should be his fate to be carried into another world earlier than himself, it was always his (Mr. Fagan's) intention not to allow the representation of Cork to pass into strange hands (cheers). Delighted would he feel if Frank Lyons, or Tom Lyons, or any other cititizen should be selected before himself; but unquestionably after labouring twenty years in the public cause he never would, in the event of Mr. Callaghan's retirement, allow a stranger to occupy his place (cheers). And why was he then anxious, he repeated, that Mr. Callaghan should continue to represent the City?—because his children, who were then young would, before the expiration of another session of Parliament, be grown and able to undertake the conducting of his establishment which was then in existence over one hundred years—but, as he said before, he never would have allowed a stranger to occupy Mr. Callaghan's place (cheers). Well, that passed away, but Mr. Sugrue bruited it about the City that Mr. Callaghan would not again come forward, and that there appeared no better man than Mr. Fagan. In the meantime other letters came from Mr. Callaghan, saying that he would be in a great puzzle if an incompetent person should be selected. If such should be the case, anxious that no Tory should be returned, he would again come forward in order to keep the representation in proper hands. That was the second letter. A third letter had been received from Mr. Callaghan stating that he had been so badly treated by his constituents that he would remain in London and not put in a valedictory address.

Mr. Callaghan—I desire to set the gentleman right. He says that I wrote "being so badly treated by my constituents." I deny that I wrote that (hear, hear, and "oh, oh").

Mr. Fagan continued—Mr. Callaghan's denial was sufficient, as he himself had not seen the letter; but the contents of that letter had been repeated to him by Mr. Thomas Lyons who received it; and they should see at some future time about it; at the same time he was far from saying that what Mr. Callaghan then stated was not the fact; yet his memory decidedly was that the statement had been made to him. No matter, at all events Mr. Callaghan said that he would not put in a valedictory address (hear, hear, from Mr. Callaghan). They should bear well in mind that he would not put in an address which was so customary with retiring candidates; but what, he would ask them, put such an address at all into Mr. Callaghan's head unless he wished to retire—(hear, hear, from Mr. Callaghan)? He would not then go into a history of the formation of the election committee, nor state anything in reference to the propositions there come to. But a meeting of that committee had been held and their unanimous opinion was that Mr. Callaghan would not again come forward, and he understood that he was then proposed (hear, hear). That meeting had been held on a Saturday, and the attendance was not very large. He was then anxious that no precipitate step should be taken against Mr. Callaghan, for though he firmly believed Mr. Callaghan stated his intention of not again seeking the representation of Cork, still he had a feeling that if called on Mr. Callaghan would come forward, Fearing that disunion would ruin their cause—for they could not think of carrying out the great question of repeal by disunion (cheers)—it could be worked out only by union, and nothing else but union would effect it (loud and repeated cheers)—it was to effect that union he had embarked in the cause, and when he saw that a disunion might be the result—fearing such, he repeated, he wrote a letter to the secretary of the committee, stating that he would have nothing else to do with the matter (hear, hear). They should then recollect that Mr. Callaghan had said he would not put in a valedictory address (hear, hear, from Mr. Callaghan). On the Monday morning following that Saturday, he (Mr Fagan) came into town and the editor of the *Reporter*, handed him a newspaper under envelope, and directed by Mr. Callaghan himself—it was his own hand-writing; and he also saw a letter to Mr. Morrogh from Mr. Callaghan stating that the report in that paper—the *Morning Post*—was a correct one (hear). Now what did that report make Mr. Callaghan say, "that his object was not to seek popularity, as he did not again intend to seek the representation of Cork" (hear, hear). There had been a great deal of talk about the phrase "not seek"—oh, no, he would not seek the representation, but he expected a requisition would be presented to him, asking him again to represent them (hear, and cheers). He had seen a letter to Mr. Lyons, telling him to get up such requisition. Thus, then, he was not to seek the representation, but he was to be sought for by the borough of *Gatton and old Sarum* (cheers and laughter).

Mr. Callaghan—I rise to order ("sit down," "sit down," "hear, hear," "no, no," and terrible uproar).

Mr. Fagan—Mr. Callaghan can reply.

silent and left the report come[illegible] sanctioned by his own handwriting (loud cries of [illegible]

Mr. Callaghan—Wait a while, gentlemen, if you please, and I will answer him (hear).

Mr. Fagan continued—He came to Cork with the letter in his pocket, but when that report was shewn him he said "it was decided then, it was his irrevocable decision and, as he said he would not put in a valedictory address, he had adopted that mode of announcing his retirement." Never before then had he mentioned his name in connexion with the representation of the city of Cork—never until Mr. Callaghan's official announcement in parliament had come (hear, hear); and not even then till Mr. Lane came to him and said that there was one section of repealers—there were then two sections of repealers in the city, now, thank God, there was but one (loud cheers).

Mr. Hackett—There are two ("silence," "hear," "hold your tongue," and uproar).

Mr. Fagan continued—He had been the means, not by thrusting himself forward, but by the union of both parties, before then, disunited, of uniting them (cheers).—Mr. Lane came and said to him that through the party to which he belonged were oppposed to him in opinion, because of his liking for the present Government—and he confessed, he did prefer them to a Tory Government—and though other gentlemen, fully competent, had been spoken of for the representation of Cork, yet, believing that he would carry out whatever he might say or promise, and that he was an honest man, they unanimously resolved to state that, as regarded themselves, they had come to the determination of adopting him (hear, hear, and cheers). Then for the first time did he allow his name to be mentioned in connexion with the representation of Cork; for it would be unbecoming of him, and he would be playing a child's part, did he not then state fully and fairly what his opinions on the matter were (hear, hear). He then said that, though it would be a great personal sacrifice on his part, yet, he was pleased, for it was a situation which suited his taste. He was pleased, but at the same time he doubted whether the step would be a prudent one. Well, having talked the matter over with Mr. Lane, he got him to defer the question from that day till the Tuesday following, when Mr. Sugrue proposed him to the committee, and, he believed, Mr. Maguire seconded the proposition. A deputation then waited on him and he told them—not on the terms of Mr. Callaghan's retirement, for he took it for granted that he would retire, for if he had heard that Mr. Callaghan had died he could not be more firmly convinced of his not again coming forward than he then was—he told them, then, not relying on such an event, that if he got the stamp of the citizens approbation he would stand. They had other candidates ready to come forward did he not consent; and that [illegible] other feeling, induced him to do so (hear, hear). He told them, then, that he would abide the result of a public meeting, and he could not, having received the approval of that meeting, at any hazard retire (hear, hear). That promise was not made to those persons with whom he usually associated—not to Frank Lyons, or Tom. Lyons, or Ried, Dowden to whom he could say "the letter received from Mr. Callaghan—was rather a contradictory one and they should therefore let him off his promise." No, that promise had been made to gentlemen who were determined at all hazards that Mr. Callaghan should not again represent the city (hear, hear, and cheers).

Mr. Hackett—It was made to the "Young Irelanders" ("sit down you sir," "hear, hear," and confusion).

Mr. Brady—It was made, sir, to the Election Committee (hear, hear, and cheers).

Mr. Fagan continued—Mr. Brady had said truly; but there had been a portion of the "Election Committee" who remained away on that day, and therefore it was but fair to say that, with the exception of Messrs. Dowden, Sugrue, and Mr. Murphy, it was to a particular section he made that promise. He made it, however, without any reservation, and he then felt that, unless called on by the same parties, he could not withdraw (hear, hear, and cheers). And he would leave it to any man, if anything could be more fair or more even sided than the observations made use of on the day of public meeting in Cork; and he would say that if ever an election was carried on in the pure democratic principle—it was on that day (hear, hear). He that day appealed to his fellow-citizens, electors and non electors, to judge deliberately; and there never was pronounced, even in America herself, by a more democratic assembly a stronger opinion in favour of any question than was that day for Mr. Sugrue's proposition (hear, hear, and cheers). Then, after being adopted by that public meeting, it would be unworthy of him to withdraw (hear, hear). Mr. M'Carthy at that meeting had been rejected because his name was connected with Mr. Callaghan's in the resolution; but a resolution was afterwards adopted selecting him conditionally, on the terms that he should accede to the "Cork resolutions."

Mr. Callaghan—That did not appear in print (loud cries of "it did").

Mr. Brady—Provided Mr. M'Carthy subscribed to the "Cork resolutions," he was accepted at that meeting (hear, hear).

Mr. Fagan in continuation said that—Such a resolution had been passed; and he had been requested by the Secretary and other members of the Lee Ward to canvas for Mr. M'Carthy. He confessed he did canvass for him on the first day; but after that he discontinued it, because he thought, as a man of honour, he could not conscientiously do so till Mr. M'Carthy adopted the required pledges (hear, hear and cheers). It was from no other feeling, he assured them, he discontinued. But Mr. M'Carthy had since then given in his adhesion without reserve to those resolutions (loud cheers). Mr. Callaghan had thrown out insinuations, aimed at him, in reference to his connexion with the press. Unfortunately for him he was the proprietor—the sole proprietor of a newspaper; he said unfortunately for it had brought him into much trouble. But he never did anything that could call forth a reproval from his fellow-citizens (hear, hear). He hoped, before he commenced his canvas that he had the good opinion of the citizens of Cork, and when he did commence it, and when he spoke to them, how it made his heart leap with joy when he had seen how they had received him (cheers); for his energy of character and a knowledge of his services made the humblest of them glad; and even though he might be beaten in the coming contest (no, no), yet the manner in which he had been received was so gratifying to his feelings that he would never forget it (cheers). But, unfortunately, he repeated, he was connected with a newspaper. The connexion recalled painful circumstances to which he would not then refer. Circumstances connected with those then no more. No, he was not the man to refer to such matters for electioneering purposes; he would not then refer to the circumstances which brought him from his quiet commercial pursuits to the press. But, it did so happen that he was the sole proprietor of an highly respectable journal (hear, hear). He would not be long so, however, if their kindness should send him into another sphere. But, though being proprietor, he did deny, except legally, that he was liable for anything that might appear in the columns of that journal. For its political opinions he was, he admitted, liable; but in reference to any articles on it, he assured them that he seldom wrote one, and very seldom read one.—Mr. Morrogh knew that when one particular passage of an article in that paper met his (Mr. Fagan's) eye, he was annoyed and had it immediately struck out (hear, from Mr. Morrogh). He denied, then, that any of those taunts referred to him; he totally disregarded them (hear, hear).

(A Voice—He is a Young Irelander ("turn him out," [illegible]

fice, the association determined to oppose him on that resolution; and in order to do effectually—for he was a man of very great influence, and there was but one man in Ireland who could oppose him with any chance of success, that was the great Catholic, the immortal Liberator (loud cheers)—in order then to oppose him effectually O'Connell came forward, and what was the result?—Clare was carried (cheers)—emancipation immediately followed and eight millions of Catholics were no longer slaves (cheers). What were they doing at the present moment?—they simply resolved not to ask place from any government hostile to repeal, for the sole and only purpose of carrying out repeal (cheers). It was true that in '35 or '36 he had a brother-in law, he was then no more; he slept in the Island of St. Vincent and his death broke the heart of one whom he loved, but who had left him alone in this world. Well, no matter; he had been taunted by Mr. Callaghan with asking him in '35 to to get a colonial appointment for his brother-in-law. He did not succeed in getting that appointment, and he (Mr. Fagan) was the means of forwarding him to the West Indies, where he had a prospect of making £5 or 600 a year; but ere a week had elapsed after his arrival he died. The subject was a little painful to him, and he could not help expressing his feelings to some friends on it (hear, hear). But in '35, when the place was asked, there was no repeal of the union question (hear, hear). But it might be said he recommended persons, through Mr. M'Carthy, for tide waiterships and other petty situations, but he maintained that the moment the resolutions were passed, and before he had any intention of becoming candidate for Cork, he refused several friends to make application for such offices (cheers); and if he remained for ever in his private capacity, once having pledged himself, he never would have asked a single place for any man (cheers). It was then no argument to say that it was a calumny against O'Connell, because he maintained that at the public meeting he had shown O'Connell's distinct disavowal of place hunting, or of anything that could cause the Repeal party to degenerate into place hunters (loud cheers). He would give one fact to show that O'Connell was opposed to such—he never asked place for himself or his family, but, on the contrary, was known to refuse place when offered to himself (cheers). It was absurd, then, to tell him that it was a calumny against O'Connell, and he would tell that meeting what he had told John O'Connell, that had he the slightest notion that those resolutions could be turned into a calumny against his father, he never would have drawn them up; he would have allowed disunion to continue were he then convinced that they could be turned as they since were (cheers). But he would tell Mr. Callaghan that the electors of the city were determined that no candidate should be supported who did not accept the resolutions. He cared not whether they were Young or Old Irelanders—the poor man in Barrack-street and St. Patrick's ward knew nothing of such distinctions—but he said it was wrong for a man to toss up his hat at the hustings and the next moment go to a minister, not the prime minister, for he should not be gone to for any man but William Fagan, to get oim a place in the colonies—(laughter)—but to Lord Palmerston or some other minister to ask for place (hear, hear). He said no candidate ought to be supported unless he repudiated place or pension (cheers). It was an unfounded expression, that of John O'Connell, and he ought not have used it (hear, hear). He ought not continue in the wrong, for his father always maintained firmly his opinions when in the right, but he never persisted in them when wrong. He feared his friend was persisting in the wrong. No matter, the electors of Cork were determined that no place-hunter should represent them (cheers). They should mind that Mr. Callaghan had repudiated conservative support.

Mr. Callaghan—No, no (cries of "you did," and confusion).

Mr. Fagan—Well he would not canvass such electors and they certainly would not ask him. There was another point to which he would refer—The present was a very important crisis in the affairs of Ireland; well, the representative for the city of Cork, the second city of Ireland, came forward with an address. Did he there speak of his political opinions?—or was that document worthy of the person seeking the representation of the second city in Ireland? No.—He certainly elevated a very humble individual by it, for it was an address entirely taken up with Mr. M'Carthy and Wm. Fagan, because they happened to be cousins; and Mr. Callaghan there told them if they should elect Mr. Fagan, who stood alone in the world, depending on the merits of his character—with Mr. M'Carthy they would be a more corrupt borough than *Sarum and Old Gatton* (hear, and laughter). Was that the way to treat a question of that kind? They came there to discuss a question of great purpose, whether the repeal was to be carried, or whether it should be merely a stalking horse for getting into parliament (cheers). Were the constituents of Cork to be thus treated? He asked them, as honest men, would they, because he happened to be a cousin of Mr. M'Carthy's, throw him out (cries of "no, no," with "yes, yes," and confusion). Why did not the electors look into his pedigree, before they selected him, and discover that old Sandy M'Carthy was married to his aunt (laughter).

"Mr. Hackett—So we did ("hold your tongue, sir," hear him," and confusion).

Mr. Fagan continued—They had put him in a forward position; but in point of honour they should not make him the instrument of rejecting his cousin, who was an excellent representative (hear, hear). He was a young man not much more than twelve months representing them. It was not all at once a man obtained a station or position in Parliament; but every one knew Mr. M'Carthy to be a man of extraordinary talent; and would they tell him that, because of Mr. Callaghan coming forward again because of his (Mr. Fagan's) having done so, and because he said he did not wish to make the City of Cork an *Old Gatton*, they would throw Mr. M'Carthy overboard ("no, no," "yes, yes," uproar, and confusion). Let them mind that Mr. Callaghan brought him (Mr. Fagan) into his present position, for he virtually retired—(no, no, from Mr. Hackett, with loud cries of "he did") He retired as far as retiring in public could go; whatever his mental reservations might have been, he (Mr. Fagan) had nothing to do with them—(hear, hear). He having retired, what should e hhave done but to accept the decision come to.

Mr. Hackett—The decision of Young Irelanders—(groans, hisses, partial cheers, and confusion).

Mr. Dowden—I rise to order.

Chairman—Mr. Dowden (confusion).—

Mr. Dowden—I want to stop those gentlemen from making those observations—(hear, hear, and "turn Hackett out").

Mr. Fagan continued—Would they, then when they had placed him in his present position unsolicited by him—would it be fair or honourable of the constituents of Cork, having put him in that proud position, to thrust him out because of Mr. Callaghan's coming forward (no, no). Mr. Callaghan had no right to come forward (hear, hear, and cheers). He would say nothing as regarded Mr. Callaghan's political conduct, for he admired many of his political acts, especially his conduct towards O'Connell (cheers); but, he said that having once deliberately resigned—

Mr. Callaghan—I never did ("you did," "no, no" and terrible confusion).

Mr. Fagan—I repeat you did (renewed confusion).

Mr. Callaghan warmly—I never did, and I shall be obliged to give it a rude contradiction if you mention it again (continued uproar and confusion).

Mr. Fagan would mention it on the faith of the documents which he had read at the public meeting, and which

he (Mr. Callaghan) had then nothing to quarrel about. He did not think it necessary to go through all the statements he had read in Mr. Fagan's paper and in the *Examiner*, which had made some alliance with the *Reporter* (no, no).

Mr. Boyle—The *Examiner* is a highly honourable paper (hear, and cheers).

Mr. Callaghan—But, in his speech, Mr. Fagan said that the report of his (Mr. Callaghan's) speech in the House of Commons was correctly reported in the *Morning Post*, for that he himself had said so (hear, hear). He did not say so. What were the facts? It was at the close of the session, when perhaps he should not have another opportunity of saying a word on the subject of the wrongs of Ireland, and he then spoke to that point, and to that only. When he came to allude to the Tenant League question, he told Lord John Russell in his place in Parliament, that he might depend upon it the people of Ireland would never be satisfied 'till the law as regarded landlord and tenant was placed on a more satisfactory footing; and he besought him during the recess to concert some measure to that effect.

Mr. Wm. Casey—That was not the language you used towards Dr. Collins of Mallow ("hear, hear," "order," cheers and confusion).

Mr. Callaghan had there said, and he again repeated it, that the tenant farmer should be allowed to hold his land as long as he paid his rent, even though his lease might have expired (hear, hear). That was, he believed, going as far as any man would venture to go. He would mention a case which first induced him to hold that opinion. He had been first struck with it on going through the place of a minor, Duggan, held under Lord Kenmare. A respectable old farmer told him that his family that had been living there during four lives of lease, and that all the improvements made on the holding had been effected by them, and that the rent paid by them at the close of the engagement had been four times that charged at first. He thought that an injustice, and he therefore was of opinion that the law between landlord and tenant should be altered (hear, hear).

Mr. O'Flynn—Should the tenant be allowed for out-lay ("order" hear, hear, and confusion)?

Mr. Callaghan continued—The object of his speech in the house of Commons was not to tell the house whether he was about to retire from the representation of Cork but he merely stated, as some ostensible proof of the sincerity of the opinion he was about to express, that he was not at all likely that he should be again returned for Cork ("hear, hear," "you said truly"). Immediately after he sat down, his friend Mr. M'Carthy, their representative, turned around and said, he was glad that he had spoken so, and he hoped that it would go forward to his constituents as he had said it. He (Mr. Callaghan) told him in reply, not to be too sure that it would, for he had not any friends on the press, and even though perhaps it might be reported there, it would be cushioned by the *Reporter* or *Examiner* ("no, no" groans, and uproar). It was then ten o'clock, and he had not dined, and this being it full time for dinner he left the house of commons. Immediately after he sat down to dinner Mr. M'Carthy came into where he had been dining, and he told him that he thought his (Mr. Callaghan's) speech would be reported, because Lord John Russell had alluded to it in a subsequent one. Now, he would answer Mr. Fagan, the man at the *Reporter*, why he did not contradict Lord John Russell. How could he contradict him, when he was not present? Until he read it in the Cork paper he was not aware of what Lord J. Russell had said. The *Morning Chronicle* of the following day there appeared but a brief report of his speech; and in the *Times* briefer one; and in the *Advertiser* a shorter one again. The *Daily Times* gave a larger report than either of the others; but as he was going by a newspaper office he went in to see whether there was any other paper which gave a longer report; and he there saw the *Morning Post*, which contained a still longer report. He then said that he would send that to Cork, being the latest report; and seeing that he was differently reported in all the London papers, he left it to chance which they should select from. He pledged his word to them that he did not read the report in the *Morning Post*, because the post hour was near at hand, but he wrote to Mr. Morrogh saying that it was a long report, and nothing more ("hear, hear" from Mr. Morrogh). Then indeed, it was said that that had been a retiring speech, and that the people of Cork believed it to be such ("yes, yes"); but what did Mr. M'Carthy say on hearing it?—he said that he had heard the speech and he did not believe it to be such (hear, hear, from Mr. Hackett). He would depend on Mr. M'Carthy's opinion as a man of honour. He confessed that he expected the Franchise Association would, after the Cork election, send a requisition to himself, or to Mr. M'Carthy, or to both, asking them to again stand for the presentation of the City. It was not of the representation of Cork he was speaking in the House of Commons but of other matters; but the *Reporter* and *Examiner* held on that garbled statement, and left out what, in the capacity of representative, he felt bound to state on the question.

Mr. B. Sheehan—Look at your letters to Mr. Lyons (hear, and cheers).

Mr. Callaghan—I have not my letters with me.

Mr. Sheehan—They were read at the meeting (hear hear).

Mr. Callaghan continued—He thought that so far from being used to his disadvantage, his observations in the house of Commons should be placed to his credit by every honourable man ("hear, hear, and oh, oh"). He had learned a great deal from Mr. Fagan regarded his canvass; but there was no advice he would be more slow to take than that of Mr. Fagan (hear, hear), in his present position unless he should go on the principle of a man being taught by his enemy. But that he would not do. He would not make any further observations, but this, that he would rely on the people of Cork. They were too true and too honourable to drive from them a man who had ever stood by them; who had committed no fault; who had no explanation or apology to make [illegible] given in the British parliament, and he would tell Mr. Fagan that it was not his personal motives alone that could drive him (Mr. Callaghan) from off hustings, or from the representation of the city of Cork (cheers mingled with groans). He hoped they would not consider it disrespectful should he then retire, as he was after a long travel, and had not seen his family for a long time.

Mr. Callaghan was here about to withdraw when,

Mr. O'Flynn said—Before you retire, I wish you to answer me a question.

Mr. Callaghan was still forcing his way out, when

Mr. O'Flynn continued—I am going to make a charge against you.

Mr. Callaghan, turning round—I will be at the hustings (hear, hear, and groans).

Mr. O'Flynn—I was about to speak of the delinquency of his political conduct, and he retires because he cannot answer me (groans). I dare him to stand here and answer me (cheers).

Mr. Callaghan—Well then, allow me, and I will do (hear, hear).

Chairman—Tell Mr. Callaghan what the tenor of your question is.

Mr. O'Flynn—I wish to tell him to his face—

Mr. Hackett—Be brief then ("turn him out," great uproar).

Mr. O'Flynn—I am an elector, sir, and I have a right to speak, and will not be forced to do so in a cursory manner. I have heard Mr. Callaghan's explanation, and have a right to question it, and put one statement against the other. I have a right to question Mr. C[illegible]

...ministry of a boatman, a waiter, or a clerkship; and were they to be corrupted by the moiety of such patronage? That was the sole and only thing that came to them in the shape of patronage; and those situations were not suited for persons in habits of intimacy with them, but were solicited by and given to the friends of others in the constituency; and neither himself nor Mr. M'Carthy could be corrupted by them (hear, hear). Why then should pledges be introduced to cast a slur on the memory of O'Connell ("no, no," "yes, yes," hisses, groans and partial cheering). He repeated it was for no other reason they had been adopted (increased clamour). He did not know what gentleman proposed them—

A Voice—It was Young Ireland (terrific uproar)—

Mr. Callaghan—I respect Young Ireland (cheers)—

Mr. O'Flynn—We know no such party here—

Mr. Callaghan—I respect every man who has ability and public virtue (hear, hear); but I know no man who is not liable to be mistaken, and I believe it was mistaken policy of the Young Ireland party when they got up their accusation against O'Connell—(deafening uproar)—

Mr. Brady—We got up no accusation, Sir—(cheers)—

Chairman—I beg your pardon, Mr. Brady, but I cannot suffer this interruption (hear, hear).

Mr. Brady—But I want to rise to order. (Here the confusion became so great that it was totally useless for some minutes for any of the speakers to endeavour to obtain a hearing.)

The Chairman informed the meeting of his intention to obtain a full and distinct hearing for each speaker, or his determination to resign the chair. If, during the time a person was addressing the chair any other gentleman rose to order he would hear him, otherwise he would prevent his speaking—

Mr. Brady—Then, Sir, I rise to order. Mr. Callaghan spoke of persons (deafening clamour)—

Chairman—You must allow me to be the judge of that, and I conceive Mr Callaghan was in order.

Mr. Callaghan considered that Mr. Brady was labouring under a misapprehension. He was sorry to see persons there causing dissensions and divisions amongst them. He (Mr. C.) did not come there for that purpose, but to explain, respectfully, what it was desirable they should have before them on the day of nomination. He had little more to say except on the hideous crime with which he was charged—that of having changed his mind. He had heard it generally said that ladies alone were allowed to change their minds (a laugh); but it was said in a jocose way, however, he could not see what objection there was to any man doing so. He did not change his mind, however; but he stood by the liberal interest through good and evil report (cheers mingled with laughter). He would not retire before the enemies of his country, but was still ready to stand in the gap (hear, and cries of "we don't want you"). He always did so, and would maintain the liberal interest, though there were some present who wished to cause disunion. Others might say that he was creating disunion in the liberal interest, but he contended that no man could truly say that he did not stand by his colours, or that he ever swerved from the principles he had always maintained, by which principles he hoped to be able to raise his country in the scale of nations, and elevate his countrymen to the dignity of freemen (cheers). He had done everything to promote their individual as well as their collective interests. He had not retired (loud cries of "you have, you have"). He would go to the poll fearless of consequences. If he had no other motive for it, it would be to prevent the city of Cork from being made a family borough (oh, oh, and uproar). He spoke openly, for he would ever object to it. In all the history of elections in nomination boroughs, there never was such an attempt made to ride over a great constituency, as the present, by two of the same family (no, no, yes, yes, and great uproar). Mr. Fagan made a boast on various occasions that he was instrumental in getting Mr. M'Carthy to come forward; and it was now in the simplicity of his heart—having got his cousin in, as honourable a man as ever lived—he came forward of his own accord to be their representative.

Mr. T. O'Callaghan—He was satisfied to come forward (cheers).

The Chairman begged the gentlemen not to interrupt the speaker.

Mr. Callaghan continued to say that Mr. Fagan was asked by the Committee emanating from a public meeting to stand in case he (Mr. Callaghan) should retire.—Mr. Fagan's feeling at that time was that the retirement of him (Mr. C.) was not sufficiently before them, and he would refer them as proof to the draught of a letter penned by Mr. Fagan to the Committee, in which he stated that his (Mr. C.'s) retirement was not sufficiently clear to act on. A public meeting was called for the following Monday to ascertain the result of the conference between Mr. Fagan and the Committee, and in the mean time Mr. Fagan was told, and he believed letters shown to him, that he had not retired (cries of "you did retire."). Mr. Fagan said he feared that he (Mr. C.) had not retired, and the meeting of Monday called on him to stand in case of his (Mr. C's) retiring. It did not require much proving to show that Mr. Fagan declined coming forward until it was proved to the meeting that he had retired, and yet Mr. Fagan addressed the meeting with a full knowledge that he had not done so (no, no—great confusion). In fact he (Mr. C.) did not retire, but in his correspondence with Mr. Lyons and the Franchise Committee, the latter wrote to him saying that no other person would stand, or was known to them, and requesting him and Mr. M'Carthy to hold their position; and that as soon as the County Election was over the Franchise Committee would send him and Mr. M'Carthy a requisition to continue their representatives. He and Mr. M'Carthy were satisfied with that, and it was the proper course of proceeding, and he did not suppose that, all the time, Mr. M'Carthy was writing to Mr. Fagan to canvass for himself and against him (Mr. C.), for the purpose of putting him, when he was quite aware that every exertion was being made here to keep them both in. He might make use of hard expressions if he thought proper, but at present he would not do so, but at the hustings and elsewhere he would reply to the conduct of those parties, and apply such epithets as he should think proper (oh, oh). It was his hope that harmony would be promoted amongst them, and that the Liberals would be united whatever might be the conduct of parties who poured out abuse on him. However, he would regard all that as idle wind and pass it by in silent contempt (great uproar).

Mr. Fagan then rose and was received with loud cheers. He trusted, notwithstanding the threat held out that evening, that on the hustings and elsewhere, epithets which the honourable gentleman, the late member for Cork, might think his (Mr. Fagan's) conduct deserved—he trusted notwithstanding those epithets, that harmony and union would still prevail (hear, and cheers). He trusted that, as he had been instrumental in effecting union, no threats nor power would be able to produce disunion at the hustings (loud cheers). The discussion that night had been quite unexpected by him, as he came to that meeting out of respect to the ward and to forward the election of Mr. M'Carthy and himself (hear, hear). In coming there that evening, he did not expect to meet the late member for the city, and to have to reply to observations put forward by him to the meeting, and, through the meeting, to the public. But, he still hoped that he would not shrink from a reply although those observations had taken him by surprise; and he would take those observations consecutively, and then ask them as friends, or some of them behind him—whether they belonged to the ward or not, he did not know—as enemies, whether he had not fairly, honestly, and honourably replied to the remarks of the late member for Cork (cheers). He would commence with the observation which applied to the position he (Mr. Fagan) then held. A week or a fortnight ago he was in as humble a position as any man could be in. He was then unknown to the public, and he was not aware that he had any friends in the City of Cork. He was then in the retirement of private life

...Courier, 27 July 15-

...RICAN AFFAIRS.

NEW YORK, JULY 1.

...n it announced that Mr. Trist, ... the offices in Washington, was com... connexion with General Scott, to pro... ...co, and negotiate a treaty of peace with that people. The Government journals have stated, that these envoys-extraordinary, commissioners, or whatever else they may be termed, were clothed with ample power to effect the object of their appointment; and that the terms and conditions which would be tendered to Mexico were of a character so honourable to both nations, and so liberal, that they would certainly lead to an adjustment of pending difficulties.

The confident manner in which these assertions were made, and the sources from whence they came, tended greatly to strengthen the opinion that an early peace might reasonably be anticipated. In this state of things there were still to be found men who were sceptical, and among the number your correspondent.

In the various party journals of the United States it has been said that Messrs. Scott and Trist are not on the most friendly terms, but no explanation or details have been offered. On the contrary, it has been cautiously avoided by the *Union*, the President's organ. A colouring, however, has been given to the subject, according to the feelings or prejudices of the relator. I have taken more than ordinary trouble to make myself acquainted with the facts, which I will now give you. My information is derived from a reliable source, and may be depended upon.

Before I proceed, allow me to inquire who is Mr. Trist. He was a consul at Havannah. "Thereby hangs a tale." He was lately a clerk in the state department, and distinguished himself by furnishing Mr. Ingersoll with the private papers in that department, which led to the attack in the House of Representatives on the character of Mr. Webster, which character Mr. Webster so nobly and so triumphantly defended.

Be it also remembered that President Polk refused to ratify an armistice entered into by General Taylor; and, it is said, declared at the time that he would never agree to an armistice until after a treaty of peace had been ratified. Such, at any rate, were the silly vapourings of the palace dependents. Indeed, they are continued to this day.

The well-informed friends of General Scott believe that Mr. Trist was sent to Mexico as a spy upon the public conduct of the General, and if possible to ruin him. They feel most forcibly the mortifying position in which he is placed, by being associated in the same commission with Mr. Trist.

The exact state of the question, as between this country and Mexico, as to the probability of a speedy peace, or even of a negotiation for peace, seems very difficult to define. The Administration keep everything dark, but among them are some leaky vessels. From Mexico itself the accounts are vague and often conflicting.

Nevertheless, it may be set down as sure that Mr. Trist, who has no higher station in this country than that already described, has been sent to Mexico to attempt negotiation, and that General Scott has been required to defer to him even as to military movements. Previous to Mr. Trist's arrival at head-quarters he addressed a sealed letter to the Mexican Government, under cover to General Scott, with a request that the General would forward the same, which he declined doing, but informed Mr. Trist that he held the letter subject to his order.

At the last accounts Mr. Trist had reached the head-quarters of the army at Jalapa, and it was notorious there that none other than relations of the most formal civility existed between that gentleman and the Commander-in-Chief. I am not certain, but believe they do not visit each other. This is accounted for by the fact that Mr. Trist, of his own authority, but acting doubtless under the discretionary power conferred upon him, but without thinking it necessary to ask the co-operation of General Scott, had undertaken to propose or suggest the expediency of an armistice.

When Mr. Trist communicated his project to the General, he was promptly informed, that with the circumstances in which the army is placed, cut off by the *comito* from the possibility of being reinforced or supplied from home, and yet in the heart of the enemy's country, where it must, of necessity, subsist itself, the question of an armistice was one of purely military cognizance, and that he could not permit Mr. Trist, or any other civilian, to meddle with it. So long as he was commander of the army, and responsible for its safety, he must decide upon the measure and policy essential to that safety.

Such is by well-informed men in Washington known to be the position in which the parties stand to each other; and as it is quite certain that General Scott will not give way in a point of this sort, either Mr. Trist or the General must be superseded. But the latter step in the present state of public feeling would be too violent a one.

Meantime all accounts from the head-quarters of the army concur in saying that General Scott, who reached Puebla on the 28th of May, would hasten his march to the capital, even though he should not be able, after garrisoning Jalapa, Puebla, and Perote, to muster more than 5,000 men.

The proclamation issued by General Scott a short time since, and addressed to the Mexicans, has produced much discussion among the American people. By some it is said to have been prepared in Washington, and transmitted to the Commander-in-Chief. By others it is contended that it is the act, solely, of General Scott. The fact is, that it was the act of General Scott, in conformity with the wishes and advice of certain Mexican clergymen, and probably with their aid, as they were best able to judge as to the effect of language upon their people. It is believed, and I concur in the belief, that it was first written in Spanish or Mexican, and then translated into English. Under such circumstances, whatever may be thought of the policy of the measure, the whole responsibility of it is with the Commander-in-Chief. The President and his Cabinet, in relation to it, are therefore free from all praise or censure.

Having occupied so much space with what I deem interesting details respecting Messrs. Scott and Trist, and the progress of their negotiation, I must refer you to the newspapers of the day for an account of the recent movements of the two armies.

It is proper for me to state that I know the Commanding-General has transmitted to the War Department some time since all the particulars of his disagreement with Mr. Trist, and his reasons therefor. The whole subject, however, is cautiously kept from the knowledge of the people, because its promulgation would show "how the mighty are fallen."

In regard to the authorship of the proclamation, and the sources from which its sentiments were derived, it may be well to note the fact, that General Almonte, formerly Mexican Minister in the United States, has been arrested and thrown into prison, on a charge of treasonable correspondence with General Scott.

The President of the United States has been here, and is now on his tour to the east. He arrived in this city on Friday, and departed on the Monday following (yesterday). The municipal authorities received him in a manner highly creditable, regardless of expense. But there was no warmth—no enthusiasm. Everything—every act—evinced a cold formality. From the Whig party he had no right to expect any other. But from his professed friends he doubtless expected a cordial reception. If he did, he has been sadly mistaken. It is, however, an affair of their own, and they must adjust it as best they can.

During the last two weeks, I have critically and laboriously examined many of the newspapers (indeed all that I could get a sight of) published in the several states. My object was to ascertain, for your information, as correctly as I could, the prospect of the new crop of grain for bread-stuffs. The result of my labour has been to bring me to the conclusion, that this country will have a full average crop on the grain sown; and, consequently, as that has been much enlarged, there will be a greatly increased quantity beyond that of the last year. On this point I entertain no doubt. As it respects Indian corn, it will be almost unlimited.

There yet remains to be shipped, especially in the west, much of bread-stuffs. Means of transport to the Atlantic States are insufficient to meet the demand. These facilities, however, in every part of the country, are rapidly increasing. Yet a little while, and railroads, will cover the whole face of the land. The present prices of grain and flour cannot be supported, unless there is an increased foreign demand. The next steamer, soon to arrive, may bring decisive intelligence on that subject. Several foreign vessels

...ring the last 48 hours have been taken up for ...reat Britain.

Money is abundant and cheap. Public stocks of ...mitted stability are in demand, and rising. These ...rcumstances tend to increase confidence in the fan..., and may operate injuriously by promoting spe...lation.

United States Sixes, firm, at 6½ to 7 per cent.; ...easury notes in demand at 7 per cent.

Sterling bills, a full supply, with a moderate ...mand and upward tendency, at 6 to 6½ per ...nt.

A GENEVESE TRAVELLER.

Rec'd Odober 47

No. 2.

Frankfort-on-the-Maine;
August 30, 1847.

Sir; —

I reached this city on the 27th instant, after having visited — since the date of my despatch from London — the ports of France, Belgium, and Holland which were designated in your letter of instructions.

This afternoon I shall start to the Hanseatic towns, where I expect to procure, without delay, the remainder of the information which I deem relative to European emigration, and I shall then make a full report to you on the subject.

I have had repeated interviews with the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the republic of Hamburgh, who is here as a representative in the German Diet, and he assures me that his government will abolish, or reduce to a mere nominal rate, the tolls levied on our four chief staples in their transit to the interior, as soon as Mecklenburg becomes a party to the Hanover Treaty.

Hon. James Buchanan,
Secretary of State.

The stipulation, contained in the 8th Art. of the Convention with Hanover, that "if the States "bordering upon said river (Weser) shall consent, at "any time, however soon, to abolish the duties which "they levy and collect upon said articles (cotton, to- "bacco, rice, and whale oil) destined for ports or other "places in said States" is working most admirably. Delegates from the different sovereigns directly con- cerned in the navigation of this river are now in session, and it is confidently believed that the tolls, if they be not abrogated altogether will be dimin- ished to a tax of control merely.

The abolition of the transit duties on our leading staple products in the kingdom of Han- over I have ascertained, since I came here, has been or is likely to be, productive of the best results to American interests throughout Germany. A sentiment is beginning to prevail in the Zollverein, that of all the methods of raising public revenue yet adopted, the tax exacted from merchandize, in <u>transitu</u>, is the most detrimental to commercial prosperity. I by no means despair of uniting all Germany — the Austrian portion excepted — in the provisions of our Treaty with Hanover before I return to Washington. Practical cabinets will perceive, that in such a procedure the long cherished desire

for a Union of the States of Germany may be realized at an early day.

I overtook Maj. Hobbie, of the P. O. Department, at Paris, by whom I have been accompanied since, and who will continue with me to the German ports: - I have and shall render him all the assistance in my power. When it is recollected that the cost of all business communications, to and from Europe, with the United States is defrayed by our agriculture, in the end, his mission cannot be regarded otherwise than of vast importance. Many obstacles to its success, however, have been interposed but eventually they will be overcome.

In one or more of my interviews with you, I took occasion to express my belief, that the time would speedily arrive, when we should be enabled to conclude reciprocity Treaties with Great-Britain and France. That period, if I am not greatly mistaken, is near at hand. The death knell of the celebrated British "Acts Maritime" was sounded in the recent elections; and France has discovered, by its practical operation in a new form, the various tendencies of her contracted navigation system, by being prevented from carrying in her new line of steamers, the products of Germany and

Switzerland, to our ports of entry, unless at a discriminating duty of ten per centum against them.

I have the honor to be,
With faithful esteem,
Your ob't. serv't.
A. Dudley Mann.

Ltr from Mr Hobbie
12 November 1847

No. 3.

Bremen, Germany;
September, 13, 1847.

Sir; —

Having visited the Ports of Western Europe, designated in your Instructions dated June 26, I now proceed to communicate to you all the information of a valuable nature, which I have collected, relating to the subject of Emigration.

In conformity with the Act of Parliament, entitled "An Act for regulating the Carriage of Passengers in merchant vessels" approved August 12, 1842, there appears to be entire uniformity at the Ports of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland, in the rules and regulations observed, for the embarcation, and conveyance, of emigrant passengers. I deem it important, to make a concise, what lengthened abstract, from this enactment, as far as it has a bearing upon voyages to North-America:

Under its provisions vessels are permitted to carry three persons, (officers and crew in:

Hon. James Buchanan.
Secretary of State,
Washington, U. S.

cluded) to every five tons burthen, provided that there be not more than one person, to every ten clear superficial feet, of the space intended for the use of passengers. Two children, under the age of fourteen years are computed as one passenger and children not above one year are not taken into the estimate. For every passenger carried by any vessel beyond this proportion, a penalty of five pounds is exacted.

The lower deck of vessels is required to be of the thickness of an inch and a half, and made secure to the hold beams: The height between decks must be six feet: There must not be a greater number than two tiers of berths, — the bottom of the lower tier to be six inches above the deck: The berths to be six feet long and eighteen inches wide, and one allotted to each passenger.

A supply of food, at the rate of one pound of bread-stuffs per diem — half at least to be bread or biscuit, the remainder may be potatoes, five pounds of which must be estimated as equal to one pound of bread — must be issued, not less frequent than twice a week, to each passenger, as likewise three quarts of water to each, daily. — Bread-stuffs and water must be inspected and surveyed by the Government Emigration Agents, or, in their absence, by the officers of Customs, who are al-

so to enquire into and determine upon the sea-worthiness of vessels — ordering a survey to ascertain their true condition, if necessary. The length of a voyage must invariably be computed at seventy days: and a sufficiency of stock are to be taken for any casualty that may occur.

An ample supply of medicines to be provided for the voyage, and suitable directions prepared for their use: No ardent spirits are permitted to be sold, under a penalty of one hundred pounds: During the detention of a vessel her passengers must be victualled; and where a delay exceeds two clear working days, unless where it is occasioned by wind or weather, the passengers are to receive instead one shilling per diem, or the contractor may, with their consent, lodge and maintain them. — Passengers shall not be landed, except they request it, at any place other than the port which they sailed for; nor are they compelled to disembark for forty-eight hours after reaching their destination, unless the ship finds it necessary, in continuation of her voyage, to leave the port before that time elapses.

No person, except the owners or masters of vessels, can act as a Passage Broker or dealer, unless duly licensed by Magistrates, under

a penalty of ten pounds for every offence, and the same penalty is imposed upon Brokers, with a forfeiture of their license, if they resort to fraudulent means of inducing persons to engage passages. —

Where the contract for a passage is not complied with by the shipper, the party aggrieved may recover, by summary process before two Justices of the Peace, any passage money which he has paid, with a sum not exceeding fifty pounds as a remuneration, provided he is not maintained at the expense of the shipper and a passage secured for him within a reasonable time. Persons covenanting for passages, must give written receipts, in a prescribed form, for money received, under a penalty not exceeding ten pounds, and if a Passage Broker, a forfeiture of license.

Passengers instituting suit against shippers, for money made recoverable for their benefit, shall not be rendered, on that account incompetent witnesses in the case. Their right, by an action at law, for a breech of contract, is reserved.

Masters of vessels must afford all necessary facilities to the authorized officers for inspecting the ship, and communicating with the passengers, with a view to the proper dis-

charge of their official duties. A penalty, not to exceed fifty pounds, may be imposed for the breach of any of the provisions of the law, other than in the cases where specific penalties are affixed.

Foreign as well as British ships are included in the provisions of the Act; but it is almost needless for me to remark, that in their intercourse with the ports of the United States, they all have to be governed by our legislation, with respect to the number of passengers which they are entitled to carry. The Acts of Congress, approved February 22, and March 2, of the present year, upon the subject, were promptly and properly explained, and made sufficiently public in Great-Britain, by "Her Majesty's Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners."

By an Act of Parliament "to amend the Passengers Act, and to make further Provision for the Carriage of Passengers by Sea," approved July 22, 1847, it is provided, that, the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners may, in certain cases, substitute other food in lieu of the description required by the law of 1842, but they shall not increase the per diem allowance: The food, so substituted, shall be laden on board the vessel, at the expence of the owner or charterer, and shall be of a quality to be approved by the Emigration Officer at the port of

clearance; and that in default the owner, char=
terer, or master, shall be liable to a penalty
of fifty pounds.

No ship carrying passengers
shall be allowed to take, as cargo, any gunpow=
der, vitriol, or green hides.

Passengers shall at all times,
during the voyage, (weather permitting) have free
access to and from the between decks, by each
hatchway situate over the space appropriated
to their use; and if the main hatchway be not
one of the hatchways appropriated for such pur=
pose, or if the natural supply of light and air
through it be unduly impeded, the Emigration Of=
ficer may direct such improvements to be made
as will ensure a sufficiency of light and air
for the comfort of the passengers.

Ships proposing to carry pas=
sengers shall, when a demand is made by the Em=
igration Officer at the port of clearance, be sur=
veyed by two or more competent surveyors, — duly
authorized and approved of, either by the Commis=
sioners of Colonial Lands and Emigration or by the
Commissioners of Customs — and if such surveyors
shall report adversely to her sea-worthiness, she
shall not be cleared out until she has been ren=

dered, in all respects, fit for her intended voyage. This provision "shall, in all respects, and without distinction be the same for Foreign as British ships:" And furthermore, a clearance shall not be granted to such ship, until it has been satisfactorily ascertained by the proper authority, that she is manned with a full complement of men; nor shall she be allowed to proceed on a voyage until she obtains a certificate from the Emigration Officer at the port of clearance — or his assistant, or, in the absence of both, from the Officer of the Customs — that all the requirements of the present law, as well as of the law of 1842, have been duly complied with.

..... If a ship, having passengers on board, shall put into any port of the United Kingdom after sailing, she shall replenish her stock of food, water, and medical stores, so as to make up the full quantities of those articles, of the requisite kind and qualities: In default thereof the master shall incur a penalty not exceeding one hundred pounds.

In case any ship, carrying passengers, shall be wrecked or otherwise destroyed, or shall put into a port or place in a damaged state, or be prevented otherwise from landing her passen-

gers at their port of destination, she shall provide them with a passage in some other equally eligible vessel, and if the master should fail, in a reasonable time, to comply with this requisition, they shall be entitled to recover, by summary process before any two Justices of the Peace, from the owners, charterers, or master of such ship, all money which shall have been paid by or on account of them, together with a further sum not exceeding five pounds for each passenger, as shall in the opinion of the two Justices, compensate for the loss or inconvenience occasioned by the delay.

In order to remove the ambiguity of the act of 1842, respecting the number of passengers which a vessel may rightfully carry from a port of Great-Britain, it is provided, that, in reckoning the proportion of passengers to tonnage, two children under the age of fourteen years shall be computed as one passenger, and children under one year old shall not be counted.

Vessels may carry one passenger to every twenty-five tons of their measurement, without being subjected to the provisions of the Acts of Parliament, relating to passenger ships, except for the refunding, in certain cases, passage money, &c.

The aforegoing epitome will perhaps make you sufficiently acquainted with the laws of Great-Britain concerning emigration but I nevertheless consider it necessary for the purpose of reference, to furnish you with copies of the original enactments, and accordingly I herewith transmit them. The enforcement of the provisions of these acts devolves exclusively upon the "Emigration officers at London, Liverpool, Plymouth, Glasgow, Dublin, Cork, Belfast, Limerick, Sligo, Donnegal, Londonderry, Waterford, Baltimore, Galway, Newry, and Tralee, and at all other ports upon the "Officers of the Customs." It is their duty to procure and give information, when desired, gratuitously, as to the time of the sailing of ships, the price of passage, the out-fits and stores of provision indispensable for a voyage, and the regulations to be observed by passengers during the period they are at sea. The Emigration officers are selected from the lieutenants of the Royal Navy, and act under the immediate directions of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, by whom they are instructed to urge upon Captains, and Passengers, a faithful observance of the following rules: —

All the emigrants to be out of bed

by seven o'clock in the morning, and the children to be regularly washed and dressed. The fires to be lighted by seven A. M., and to be extinguished by seven P. M., unless the Captain should direct otherwise. When the emigrants are dressed, the beds to be rolled up, and, weather permitting, taken on deck. They are to be well shaken and aired at least twice a week. The bottom boards of the berths should, if not fixtures, be removed and dry scrubbed and taken on deck once or twice a week. The decks to be swept before breakfast, and after every meal; including in the first sweeping, the space under the bottom of the berths, the boards of which, if not fixtures, are to be lifted for the purpose. The decks to be also dry holy-stoned, or scraped, at nine A. M., and the occupants of each berth are to see that it be well brushed out, and the space in front made clean. All emigrants to be in bed by ten o'clock.

A party of six, or more, to be formed from all the adult males, above fourteen, taken in rotation, with the exception of the overseers, to clean such parts of the deck as do not belong to any particular berths, and also the ladders and water-closets, and hospitals, if there be any, and

to be sweepers for the day. The cooking and cooking utensils to be cleaned daily.

When the ship undertakes wholly to victual the emigrants, they should be divided in messes of not less than six nor more than twelve adults, and one or two men should be taken, in turn, to cook daily for all the messes. When the emigrants victual and cook for themselves, the overseers should see that each family has its regular turn at the fire place.

The issues of bread-stuffs, required by the "Passengers Act" of 1842, should be made by an officer of the ship in the presence of the overseers. They are intended merely to prevent destitution during the voyage, and further supplies, consequently, should be put on board by the passengers themselves, if they do not make an arrangement with the ship to victual them beyond the legal allowance.— Water to be issued also by an officer of the ship. Medicines to be had when wanted, by applying to the Captain.

Washing days Monday and Friday, or such other days as the Captain may find it more convenient to appoint, with reference to weather and other circumstances, but

no washing, or drying of wet clothes, to be suffered between decks on any pretence whatever. On every Sunday at half past ten, the passengers will be assembled, and it is expected that each of them will then shave clean and put on clean linen and decent apparel. The Lord's day is to be as religiously observed as circumstances will admit. Swearing and all improper language strictly forbidden. No fighting, riotous, or quarrelsome behaviour allowed. In cases of disputes, the matter should be at once submitted for the decision of the Captain, whose authority is to be duly respected, and swords, pistols, and other arms must be placed in his charge. No gambling permitted.

No passengers allowed to go to the ship's cook-house without a permit from the Captain or chief officer, or to be in the forecastle among the sailors, on any account; nor are sailors suffered to be in the between decks amongst the passengers, except on duty.

No spirits, or gunpowder, allowed to be brought on board: If discovered they will be taken from the party having them. No smoking allowed between decks; and no loose hay or straw permitted to be taken below.

A lamp to be kept burning all night at the main hatchway, but no other light after eight o'clock P. M.: No naked light allowed below on any account.

Since the disease usually called "ship fever," manifested itself, the Emigration Officers require passengers, before they proceed to sea, to submit to a medical examination, and such as are ascertained to be ill, are prevented from departing. The fever, originating from a want of nourishment in Ireland last autumn, — which numbered its hundreds of thousands of victims — is the identical malady that has produced such distressing mortality among the emigrants embarking from the ports of Great-Britain for our shores, and for the British possessions on our continent. This is the unanimous belief of the Emigration Officers, and the general one of physicians and others, in Ireland. Its correctness is corroborated by indisputable facts, one of which it may not be amiss to relate: On the 15th of March, last, a vessel sailed from Liverpool with 296 Irish emigrants — from the county of Roscommon — for Philadelphia. On the 17th of the same month, having in the mean time encountered a severe gale, in which she lost her foremast, she put into Belfast where she landed 56 passengers, who were prostrate

with "ship fever," many of whom subsequently died. On the 17th of April, after undergoing repairs, she again sailed, but soon losing her main and mizen masts entered Londonderry, in a distressed condition. There 24 of her passengers died, and ten were left in the hospital dangerously sick. The captain, the crew, and a surgeon who was aboard, contracted the disease, on which account the voyage could not be resumed until the 20th of July. Starvlings conveyed the distemper, engendered by destitution, to this vessel, and although the fever is of a less contagious character than some others, it communicated itself in a space so circumscribed as a "between decks" with frightful rapidity, to persons utterly free from it.

To one, travelling like myself, through the populous cities and districts of Ireland — even after the demon of starvation had been checked in his desolating career, by an abundant importation of supplies from our ever productive fields — there could be nothing wonderful, in view of the coming winter and the probable return of the melancholy occurrences of the past, that all who could, should seek a distant asylum. There is nothing unnatural in the desire of the unfortunate Irish to abandon their cheerless and damp cottages, and to crawl inch by inch, while they have yet a little strength, from the graves which

apparently yawn for their bodies. What will ~~not~~ poor humanity, tenacious of life, not do to avert the blow which death seems to aim? A case was related to me at Dublin of a young wife, many of whose family and friends had perished with hunger, which answers the interrogatory in emphatic language. She had gone aboard the bark, which was to convey her across the waters, and the night before the morning of sailing she became a mother. The circumstance was communicated to the Emigration officer of the port, who immediately proposed to carry her ashore and provide amply for her wants until she should be restored to her accustomed health and strength; but she promptly declined the benevolent offer, remarking, that she would rather start with the hope, however delusive it might prove, of arriving soon in America, than to remain under the positive certainty of a speedy recovery." In fleeing from famine and its concomitant pestilence all look for relief beyond the Atlantic, and those who by patient toil have accumulated a few pounds, to plenty and contentment. — It has repeatedly occurred, notwithstanding the well intended efforts of the examining physicians, that persons embarked with the disease when no evidences of its existence could be found upon them, and in consequence have not only become victims themselves but have rendered their fellow-passen-

seugers so likewise: But the fever in most instances is doubtlessly conveyed on ship board by another agency. In all Catholic countries there is an extraordinary degree of devotion — proceeding from the best impulses of the human heart — to the memory of the departed, and no where perhaps does this sentiment prevail to a greater extent, than in Ireland. It is indulged in by all classes and conditions. The humblest peasant, so destitute as to be unable to enjoy any other visible remembrancer of the lost ones dearest to him, fondly clings to the garments, however ragged and worthless, worn by them when living. From such clothing carried by emigrants, as well as that in use by themselves, an effluvium has arisen as fatal in its tendencies to all who come in contact with it, as that proceeding from the bodies of those suffering by the disease.

It must not be inferred, from the preceding remarks, that I desire to convey the impression that all, or any considerable number, of the emigrating Irish, are in indigent circumstances: On the contrary I was assured, at every port I visited, by individuals well informed upon the subject, that in the aggregate those embarking this year, compared with former ones, particularly to the United States, contrasted favorably, both as to respectability and pecuniary substance. They have been chiefly small farmers — (dischargeed at the

repeated crop failures) and agricultural laborers.

It is estimated upon reliable data that the sum of one million of dollars at least is annually remitted by individuals in the United States in drafts and "passage certificates" to their relations in Ireland, to enable them to reach our Atlantic ports. It was represented to me by each of the Emigration officers with whom I conversed that impositions were constantly practised — occasioning in most instances much distress — by the venders of passage certificates upon the purchasers and recipients of them. The accompanying copy of a letter marked A, addressed by Lieut. Forrest, R. O., at Glasgow, to the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, furnished me by Mr. Walcott their Secretary, with the passage certificate subjoined to it, will explain the nature of the grievances to which they are submitted. Inasmuch as the agreement is made in the United States, the holder of the certificate is without a remedy for a non-compliance of contract; but I learn that it is intended to revoke the license of any broker to whom a certificate is directed, and recognized, unless he promptly provides a passage for the party in whose favor it is drawn. If a similar punishment were inflicted upon the brokers, (to whom it would apply) in our cities, the evil would be speedily removed.

The following is a tabular statement of the number of emigrants, embarking from the ports of the United Kingdom, to all countries, between the 31st of December 1825 and the 30th of June 1847; being a period of twenty-two years and a half: —

Years.	United States.	North American Colonies.	Australia & New Zealand	All other places.	Total.
1825	5,551	8,741	485	114	14851
1826	7,063	12,818	913	116	20,910
1827	14,526	12,648	715	114	28,003
1828	12,817	12,084	1,056	135	26,092
1829	15,678	13,307	2,016	197	31,198
1830	24,887	30,574	1,242	204	56,907
1831	23,418	58,067	1,561	114	83,160
1832	32,872	66,339	3,739	196	103,146
1833	29,109	28,808	4,098	517	62,532
1834	33,074	40,660	2,800	288	76,222
1835	26,720	15,573	1,860	325	44,478
1836	37,774	34,226	3,124	293	75,417
1837	36,770	29,884	5,054	326	72,034
1838	14,332	4,577	14,021	292	33,222
1839	33,536	12,658	15,786	227	62,207
1840	40,642	32,293	15,850	1,958	90,743
1841	45,017	38,164	32,625	2,786	118,592
1842	63,852	54,123	8,534	1,835	128,344
1843	28,325	23,518	3,478	1,881	57,202
1844	49,600	22,924	2,229	1,873	76,626
1845	58,538	31,863	830	2,330	93,501
1846	82,289	43,439	2,347	1,826	129,901
1847	101,767	72,281	2,185	1,950	178,183.
first six mths.					
Total	818,157	698,909	126,548	19,897	1,663,511.

It will thus be seen, that for the first six months of 1847, the number destined for the United States exceeded that of last year, entire, nearly twenty per centum. It is quite certain that the increase

for the last six months will not be in the same ratio, yet I feel persuaded that we shall, nevertheless, receive more than double the number of persons from Great-Britain, in 1847, that we received in 1846.

Formerly about ninety-five per cent. of the British emigrants, proceeding to the United States, embarked at Liverpool. The departures for the first six months of the present year, show a diminution, of this proportion, of nearly a third. This results from the augmentation of the direct navigation intercourse, between the ports of the United States and those of Ireland.

From the answers to my numerous enquiries upon the subject, I am of the opinion, that of the emigrants who sailed from Great-Britain for the United States, between the first of January last and the thirtieth of June, 75,000 were Irish, 10,000 English, 10,000 Scotch, and 6,767 German.

It is a common practice in Ireland, for landlords to contribute pecuniary assistance to their more worthless tenants, in order to get rid of them, to enable them to emigrate to Canada; and I was informed at Limerick that several families had been forwarded in like manner from that port to the

United States. This custom, as relates to our country, does not prevail I am confident to any considerable extent, as I could not hear, after strict enquiry, of its having been adopted elsewhere: Nor do I believe that vicious persons or notorious paupers are encouraged by any British functionary, connected with the subject of emigration, to embark for the United States. On the contrary, I am satisfied, from the interviews which I had with the Secretary to the board of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, and the Emigration Officers, that emberkations of this description, would be prevented rather than countenanced. These Officers, without a solitary exception, seem not only to discharge their duties faithfully to their own government, but they are actuated also by motives of exalted humanity in protecting intending emigrants to our shores, as far as possible, against fraud and imposition.

I come now to France; and I regret to state that no laws, rules, or regulations, respecting merchant passengers ships exist in this kingdom. France is not an emigrating nation, and those who proceed from Havre to the United States are almost exclusively Germans and Swiss. The business of providing passages, is conducted by ship

brokers, ship agents, and merchants, who charter vessels for the purpose, or pay ship masters a stated amount for the conveyance of each passenger. No obligation is imposed, except such as may be agreed upon by the parties contracting, for the provisioning of emigrants. I found it impossible to get a statement which could be relied upon as authentic, of the extent of emigration from Havre, for any years previous to the commencement of 1843. Since then it has amounted, annually, to the following numbers: —

1843	"	8,553
1844	"	16,660
1845	"	23,500
1846	"	32,381
1847	first 6 months	16,000
Total		97,094.

The emigration through Havre, for the first six months of 1847, consisted of 15,250 Germans, 600 Swiss, and 150 French.

Belgium, like France, has, comparatively, no emigration of her own, and the people of no other country than Germany embark at her ports for the United States. By a decree of king Leopold of March 14, 1843, the "maritime Commissioners" are charged with the inspection of vessels engaged in transporting emigrants — reporting upon their condition — and deciding whether they are seaworthy or not. These officers are also empowered

to adopt such measures, as they may think necessary, to ensure the health and general well-being of passengers, during the voyage. If they have reason to believe that there is an infectious, or other disease, aboard a ship, it is their duty to have an examination made by a naval surgeon in such cases as they suspect, and to prevent those afflicted from embarking. Two passengers only are allowed to be carried to every five tons measurement of the ship, whatever may be her destination. Voyages are computed, to any port in the United States, (and must be provided for accordingly) to continue for ninety days. Ships are not permitted to clear, until it has been satisfactorily ascertained, that they have aboard the quantity, (and of good quality) of stores required by the Commissioners, viz.:— 90 lbs. biscuit, 10 lbs rice, 10 lbs flour, 22 lbs of beans and peas, 16 lbs salt meat, 6 lbs butter, 2 lbs: salt, 6 quarts vinegar, and 40 lbs coal for each passenger. Potatoes may be substituted, in part, for biscuit. Each passenger must be furnished daily with two-thirds of a gallon of good water, and the vessel must be properly supplied with fresh medicines, with directions for the taking of them, in cases where they may be needed.

Previous to the completion of the

rail-way line, from the Rhine to the Scheld, the number of emigrants sailing from Antwerp to ports in the United States, was very inconsiderable. The amount of embarcations, annually, for the four years and a half terminating on the last day of June, has been as follows: —

1843	"	2,745
1844	"	2,961
1845	"	4,549
1846	"	11,402
1847	first 6 months	8,900
Total		30,561.

Herewith I send you a copy of the Belgian decree to which I have made reference.

In Holland, under an ordinance of the king, dated December 28, 1837. — the substance of which I transmit in a separate form — all ship-owners, ship-brokers, and forwarding merchants, located in that kingdom, who wish to forward emigrants, must make a declaration of their intention to the "Supervisors of Emigration" who are appointed by the authorities of the port. Such declaration must be accompanied by a notarial act, reciting the nature of the obligations imposed on the person making application, to wit: That he shall make provision for the proper reception of the emigrants, desiring to pass through Holland, at the point at which they enter, and take care that

they are well fed and lodged, until they arrive at the port, at which they are to embark: That he shall provide a good vessel for them, which shall be well provisioned, and have good medical attendance: That she shall be in readiness for their immediate reception, with every necessary out-fit for the proposed voyage: That he shall make provision for the maintenance of the emigrants, at the port from which they are to embark, in the event of unavoidable delay in the sailing of the ship, at the time specified: That, in case of accidental damage, shipwreck, or other accident, either in rivers, on the coast, or in the European seas, he shall put the emigrants aboard another sea-worthy vessel, suitably fitted out with supplies, so that they may not be an expence to the kingdom: That he shall, furthermore, execute a general bond, with such sureties as shall be deemed by the proper authority good and sufficient, to the amount of one hundred and fifty guilders (sixty dollars U. S. currency) for each person furnished by him with a passage: That he shall be held responsible for all expences, damages, and loss of interest, which may result from his negligence, or those in his service, and also for any breach of good conduct of the emigrants in his charge,

previous to their departure. — The Superviseurs of Emigration are required to see, that there is a faithful compliance with the engagements entered into by ship-brokers and others, in all that relates to the forwarding of emigrants. They shall also judge of the sea-worthiness of vessels, and ascertain whether the customary supply of food, water &c. is aboard. A ship may carry from a port of Holland, to any country whose laws will permit, four passengers for every five lasts of her measurement (about ten tons) and two children, under fifteen years of age, may be counted as one passenger.

Each passenger must be provided with 50 lbs. bread; 100 lbs. potatoes; 25 lbs. beans and peas; 10 lbs. meat; 30 lbs. rice; 20 lbs. smoked or salted meat; and a proportionate quantity of butter, vinegar, and salt, together with a sufficiency of sweet water. If the voyage is to extend as far as New-Orleans 30 additional pounds of substantial food for every passenger must be put on the vessel. The captain has charge of the provisions and water, which he must distribute daily, in equal quantities among the passengers. — Two hundred pounds of baggage may be taken by an emigrant free of charge. Such clothing only, as is necessary for use, is permitted to remain in the steerage.

Number of emigrants embarking at Rotterdam for the United States for the four years and a half. terminating on the thirtieth of June 1847, inclusive

1843		1,387.
1844		1,143
1845		4,549
1846		5,010
1847	first 6 months	4,321
Total		17,410

Number embarking during same time at Amsterdam.

1843		261
1844		220
1845		282
1846		575
1847.	first 6 months	1226
Total		2,564.

Of the emigrants who embarked the first six months of this year, from Rotterdam and Amsterdam, 4500 were Germans and the remainder Hollanders.

By a decree of the government of Hamburgh of March 26, 1845, the business of forwarding emigrants is limited to citizens and inhabitants of the republic; but masters of foreign vessels may engage passengers, if citizens will become sureties that their engagements will be complied with. Contracts may be made by the individuals themselves, who undertake to transport emigrants, but it is preferable to make them

through others, sworn ship-brokers must be employed. The brokers are obliged, before the departure of the passengers, to designate the persons for whom they have made contracts. The broker, or if none has been employed, the contractor must hand over to the police office, before the vessel clears, a state: ment of all the emigrants embarking, their birth-pla: ces respectively, sex, age, occupation, and desti: nation. — The contractor must see that the ves: sel, which he employs for the purpose, is in good condition, and conveniently arranged to ensure com: fort to her passengers. The steerage, which must be exclusively restricted exclusively to their use, is required to be five feet and a half high, and divided into berths six feet long. Berths for four adults are to be six feet wide, and not more than two tiers shall be permitted, one above the other. No merchandize is permitted to be stowed between the berths of passengers. — The contractor must pro: vide a sufficient supply of provisions, (if the ves: sel is proceeding to any port in the United States) for a voyage of thirteen weeks: Each passenger must be furnished, weekly, with 2 lbs. beef, 1 lb. pork, and 5 lbs. bread; besides dried vegetables — such as beans, peas, &c. to the extent of 3½ lbs. per week: He must also provide 90 gallons of wa=

ter for each passenger, and a box of suitable medi=
cines, to which there shall be free access. — Chil=
dren under the age of one year are not to be taken
into the estimate of passengers; three between the
ages of 1 and 7 years are to be counted as one adult;
and two between the ages of 7 and 12 as one. —
The contractor must produce to the chief of the po=
lice an insurance policy, in which it must be stipu=
lated that the company or concern insuring engages
to pay all costs which may accrue to the passengers
in the event of accidents to the vessel, while she
is undergoing repairs (on account of board &c.)
and if the vessel shall be so disabled as to pre=
vent her from continuing the voyage, to provide
them with a passage to their port of destination.
— Deserters from the army of any of the states of the
German Confederacy are not permitted to embark,
nor are fugitives from justice. Minors, resi=
ding in the republic, can only embark with the
consent of their parents or guardians. — Where
a vessel is delayed beyond the time of sailing, a=
greed upon, the contractor must pay each pas=
senger a per diem allowance, (about 22 cents) un=
less he feeds and lodges him. — Each passenger
has a right to demand a certified copy of the con=
tract made by him, in the German language; and

copies of the decree, one of which I herewith transmit, must be posted up, in conspicuous places, in every emigrant ship.

Number of emigrants, embarking annually at Hamburgh, for the United States, from the 1st of January 1836 to the 30th of June 1847, inclusive: –

1836	"	2870	
1837	"	2177	
1838	"	484	
1839	"	1415	
1840	"	1720	
1841	"	1134	
1842	"	495	
1843	"	1756	
1844	"	1774	
1845	"	2388	
1846	"	3971	
1847	direct	5317	6.575
6 mo.	via Quebec	1258	
Total		26.759	

The Senate of Bremen has, from time to time, passed numerous laws for regulating the embarcation and the carriage of emigrants from the Weser. On the 12th of May last the different enactments were embodied into one, and such imperfections as they were believed to contain, remedied. The "government decree" I herewith transmit, – making as succinct an abstract from its provisions which relate to the United States, as is necessary to a proper understanding of them:

The right of engaging passengers

for a vessel intending to sail for a trans-Atlantic port, can be enjoyed only by ship-owners, their correspondents, or those at whose disposal a ship is placed by contract for carrying freight and passengers or passengers alone. Those who forward passengers are required not only to be citizens of the city of Bremen, but also to reside therein and transact business. Ships are not suffered to be advertised in the public papers of Bremen for passengers, except by their owners, their correspondents, the ship-brokers employed by them, and those by whom they have been taken up or chartered. Ship-brokers of the city of Bremen may themselves engage passengers, or they may have them engaged by agents, under contract to forward at a future period, but upon the express condition that they shall be turned over, with their consent however, for conveyance across the seas to a person properly authorized to take charge of them, as before provided for in this enactment. Any one who engages a passenger, or has one engaged by his agent, be it in the territory of the republic or elsewhere, must immediately furnish him with a certificate of engagement, in which his full name, together with the amount of passage money agreed upon, must be stated. Emigrants

upon their arrival at the city of Bremen must announce themselves in person at the police office; those going direct to Vegesack or Bremen-Haven to the authorities at those places. The police officers are required as far as in their power lies to prevent deserters from any army of the German Confederation from embarking.

The 14th section of the Decree manifests a spirit of such good faith towards our country, that I consider it proper to insert here a literal translation of it. It reads thus:

"Whereas in the United States of America fears are entertained that the liberty extended "to emigrants to take up their abode there is subjected to great abuses by persons fleeing from justice, "on account of crimes or misdemeanors committed, "and those sent thither from European prisons and "poor-houses; and whereas the friendly intercourse and "extended commercial relations which so happily subsist between this republic and the United States, give "to the Senate a particular cause for regarding the "interests of those States, it is determined that such "persons shall not be received on any vessel that "may be expedited from Bremen or its ports, and the "police authorities are especially enjoined not to permit "any such to embark: When discovered they shall "be arrested and sent back to the state they came from."

Ship-owners and others, engaged in the pursuit of forwarding emigrants, are prohibited from receiving, as passengers, persons intended to be embarked in the meaning of the preceding provision. Should any such be engaged by ship-brokers, or their agents, fraudulently, as soon as they are apprized of the fact, they must give information to the director of police. Any one who expedites a ship for a trans-Atlantic port, must hand to the "Inspection of Brokers" a complete list of all the passengers to be despatched, — mentioning the places of their birth, respectively, as well as age, sex, occupation, and destination. This must be accompanied by a declaration that, according to the best of his knowledge there is no person, whose name is thereon, who is endeavoring to evade the punishment awaiting him (or her) for any crime committed, or who has been sent away from any European house of correction or poor-house, and that he will not allow persons of this description to be received aboard the vessel. Where emigrants have been engaged by a ship-broker or his agent, the declaration must be accompanied by an oath. — If after a list has been made up, emigrants, whose names are not upon it, apply to the captain for a passage, whether at the port of embarcation or elsewhere, producing the proper certificate that they are entitled to it, he is author-

ized to append their names to his list, and make a declaration setting forth the facts of the case, before the Inspection of Brokers, or the authority for such purpose at Vegesack or Bremen-Haven. If the captain should receive passengers aboard, other than those on the copy of the original list, and those added to it in the manner prescribed, he is liable to a fine of one hundred Bremen dollars. The same fine is imposed upon every legalized carrier of passengers, who fails to declare, upon oath, that he has taken one or more emigrants aboard after the list was completed, without adding their names properly to it. — It is enjoined upon those, who may rightfully expedite vessels, to be careful not to have their passengers at the port of embarcation, before their vessels are in a suitable condition to receive them: In cases of detention beyond the time agreed upon, for sailing, the expense of maintaining the emigrants devolves upon the person for whom they were engaged, and if he should fail to make suitable provision, he will be held responsible, for any deficiency to the Bremen authorities. — Ships destined for other ports, than those of the United States, may carry two passengers to every four tons of her burthen, United States measurement — children are to be reckoned as adults. Vessels for passengers must be sea-worthy and in

all respects well provisioned. For voyages to the United States they must have a sufficiency of provisions to supply, for a term of thirteen weeks, each passenger irrespective of age or sex, with 2½ lbs pickled beef, 1 lb. pickled pork or ¾ lb. bacon, 5 lbs. bread, and ⅜ lb butter, weekly; to which must be added, for the passage 34 lbs. meal, beans, peas, peeled barley, rice, plums, and "sour krout" — ¾ bushel of potatoes — 1½ lbs molasses — 1½ lbs coffee — ¼ lb. sugar — ⅓ lb tea — 2 quarts vinegar, — besides a sufficient quantity of sago, wine, and medicines for children and sick persons; seventy five gallons of water must be taken aboard for each passenger, when the vessel sails for New-Orleans or a port in Texas, and sixty gallons when she sails for any other port in the Union. The quality, as well as the quantity of provisions taken aboard for the voyage, must be submitted to the inspection of a person commissioned for the purpose, who must be satisfied that the provisions of the law have been complied with, and whose certificate to that effect, shall be obtained, before the vessel will be allowed to start on her voyage. — The owner or correspondent of a vessel which is about to proceed on a voyage to a trans-Atlantic port, has to prove to the satisfaction of the Inspection of brokers, that, in case a misfortune should befal the vessel on the way to her port of destine-

tion, by which she would be unable to conclude or complete the voyage, he is prevented to refund the passage money with an additional sum of eighteen Bremen dollars to each passenger, in the way of remuneration for incidental expenses during detention. This must be done by effecting an insurance on the entire amount, at one of the insurance offices in Bremen, or with other underwriters, the policy to be approved by the Inspection of brokers, (a sanitorial committee,) and with them deposited for the benefit of all concerned.

Annual amount of emigration through Bremen, to the United States, for the fifteen years and a half, terminating on the Thirtieth of June last.

1832	"	9,792	
1833	"	8,086	
1834	"	13,185	
1835	"	6,811	
1836	"	11,600	
1837	"	14,372	
1838	"	9,312	
1839	"	12,421	
1840	"	12,650	
1840	"	9,501	
1842	"	13,563	
1843	"	9,844	
1844	"	19,145	
1845	"	31,358	
1846	"	31,667	
1847	direct.	15,990	21.911.
6 month.	via. Antwerp	5,921	
Total		235,158.	

Until this year no emigrants were

forwarded to the United States from Hamburgh and Bremen via Quebec, but since the first of May, the number is that which I have respectively stated. The number of British emigrants proceeding via Quebec to the United States, during the same period, I could not ascertain with any degree of accuracy, but from all the information which I collected, I am of the belief that it amounted to at least 10,000. The circumstance of so many emigrants having taken this new route is altogether attributable to the act, and its amendment "to regulate the carriage of passengers in merchant ships" passed at the last session of Congress. Ship-brokers, and their agents, had engaged as usual, in the winter and early spring months, emigrants at stipulated prices for passage—for a subsequent period, but as the provisions of the acts referred to, went so speedily into effect after their approval, vessels could not be obtained to sail with passengers to a port in the United States, at any thing like the rates which they previously accepted] after the publication of the acts. The ship-brokers, therefore, in order to secure themselves from ruinous losses, influenced the emigrants to change their destination as originally agreed upon for Quebec. Ships under contract, in many instances, made similar arrangements. — It is scarcely necessary for me to remark that a vessel may carry a third more passengers,

counting children above the age of one year as adults, to a British port in North America, than she is entitled to carry to a port in the United States.

The comparative, tabular statement, below, of emigration to the United States, through the ports of the United Kingdom, France (Havre) Belgium, Holland, and Germany, for the four years and a half terminating on the 30th of June, will show the annual increase of emigrations, for the period embraced: —

Years.	United Kingdom.	France.	Belgium.	Holland.	Hamburgh.	Bremen.	Total.
1843	28,875	8,553	2,749	1,648	1,756	9,844	53,425
1844	49,600	16,660	2,961	2,363	1,774	19,145	92,503
1845	58,558	23,500	4,549	4,831	2,398	31,358	125,194
1846	82,289	32,281	11,402	5,585	3,971	31,617	167,145
1847	101,767	16,000	8,900	5,547	3,317	15,590	168,700
Indirect	10,000				1,258	5,921	
Total.	331,089	96,994	30,561	19,974	14,474	113,875	606,967.

The increase of 1844 upon 1843, amounted to 73-1/2 per cent.; 1845 upon 1844, 35-1/3 per cent; 1846 upon 1845, 33-1/2 per cent.; and the first half year of 1847 upon the entire year of 1846, 15/16 of one per cent. — The emigration from the beginning of January to the end of June, of this year was composed — as far as an estimate can be correctly made — of 85,000 Irish; 10,000 English; 10,000 Scotch; 61,000 Germans; 1547 Dutch; 1000 Swiss; and 153 French. Counting two souls, with children at the breast, to every five tons burthen of a vessel, the amount of tonnage employed in moving this emigration from Europe to the United States, was 421,750;

two-thirds, at the lowest estimate, of which — from statements before me — was covered by the American flag.

It is not possible to form any thing like a correct estimate, of the amount of money carried by the emigrants to the United States annually. In former years I knew several instances, where German peasants embarked with credits, on commercial houses, for sums of $20,000. From answers to repeated enquiries, which I have made upon the subject, of persons well informed, I am induced to believe that the amount taken this year, in the aggregate, per head, was larger than usual — averaging at a moderate calculation $75. and making a sum total of $12,652,500.

The Emigration from the ports of Europe, other than those which I have noticed, is quite inconsiderable: For the first six months of this year the number could not have exceeded 1500.

There is but little emigration from the west and north of continental Europe to any other part of the globe except the United States. — The annual embarcations from Hamburgh and Antwerp to Brazil amount to about 1000, and from Bremen and Hamburgh to South Australia, to an equal number.

From the lists which I was per-

mitted to examine at the different ports, I am enabled to state that about ninety-five hundredths of this year's emigrants are farmers, and agricultural and other laborers: But very few mechanics have embarked.

It will be perceived, that I have made no mention of the emigration from the states bordering upon the Baltic. Until this year it has passed through Hamburgh, but since April several hundred persons have embarked from Sweden & Norway, and Denmark.

Having presented to you, in as explicit a manner as I well could, in a sketch, the general purport of the enactments and decrees of Great-Britain, Belgium, Holland, Hamburgh and Bremen, respecting emigration,—as well as all the information that I succeeded in procuring in connexion with this part of my mission,—I might here, with apparent propriety, stop: But I should have the consciousness of not having discharged my whole duty, were I to omit the contribution of my mite, for remedying the existing evils attendant upon emigration into the United States, as emigration is now conducted in one or more, of the nations of Europe.

The system of Great-Britain is

exceedingly imperfect. It is admitted to be so, and I was assured that there was an earnest desire among statesmen and politicians of all parties, to make further improvements upon it, than those contained in the Act of July, as soon as they knew how. The subject is assuredly an embarrassing one, but this years experience renders easily action indispensable. Up to August 12, about one passenger in every six, from Great-Britain, died or was dangerously ill, on their passage to, or after their arrival in, Canada. Much hesitation is manifested to adopt a measure, that would reduce the number of emigrants that a ship is allowed to carry, or compel her to provision those received aboard properly, lest by raising the price of passage, it may create insurmountable obstacles to many who are disposed to embark. — The object of providing the one pound of bread, per diem, for each passenger, was to guard against utter destitution: It surely never could have been contemplated that an adult should rely upon so scanty a portion for necessary sustenance from the day of his sailing to that of his landing. Yet to what an immense extent has this been practised, in voyages to Quebec, and occasionally in voyages to ports in the United States. The indigent Irish unfortunately avail of this pittance, and arrive out in a condition but

little better than that of starvlings, — so emaciated and prostrate that they have to be conveyed forthwith to hospitals. It would be better that vessels should not be required to supply the one pound of bread per diem, unless they at the same time supply a sufficiency of other suitable food, because this serves the brokers interior agent as an efficient instrument to decoy the poor, by deluding them into a belief that they will be abundantly fed at sea.

It is difficult to determine with a tolerable degree of accuracy what number of passengers may be carried to the tonnage, or superficial measurement between decks, in a vessel with safety to the health of all aboard. If only one pound of bread is furnished to each, ten passengers, to every hundred tons, would be too many: If provided with such an allowance of food, as is supplied by vessels sailing from the Weser, and the Elbe, no sickness would likely be experienced, where the emigrants all start entirely free from disease, from two to every four tons. In corroboration of this view of the matter, I make the following extract from the report of the board of health, of Quebec, dated August 12, 1847:

"The Larch reported this morning "from Sligo, sailed with 440 passengers of whom 108

"died on the passage and 150 were sick. The Virgin-
"ius sailed with 496 — 158 died on the passage, 186 were
"sick, and the remainder called feeble and tottering
"— the captain, mates, and crew, were all sick. —
"The Black Hole of Calcutta was a mercy, compared
"to the hold of these vessels. . . . Yet simultaneously,
"as if in reproof of those on whom the blame of all
"this wretchedness must fall, foreigners, Germans
"from Hamburgh and Bremen, are daily arriving:
"all healthful, robust, and cheerful."

I am, however, disposed to believe that our Act of Congress, approved on the 22nd of Feb. last, as construed by the Secretary of the Treasury in his Circular dated May 13, will, in the main, have a salutary tendency, with respect to the space allot-ted in the steerage to each passenger. Fourteen superficial feet of deck — berth included — are to be appropriated to an adult, on such vessels as do not pass within the tropics, but in cases where they pass within the tropics twenty superficial feet must be al-lowed to each. Under this provision, a ves-sel proceeding to New-Orleans by way of the Ba-hama Islands, that would be entitled to carry 200 passengers could only take 140 if she took the favorite, because less perilous, route around the Island of Cuba. At $30 per head

a difference would, consequently, be occasioned in her receipts from passengers, of $1800. It is clear, to my mind, that no such results, in the workings of the law, were contemplated at the time of its enaction. From any European to any United States' port, in well provisioned and well policed vessels, a space of fourteen superficial feet to a passenger, is believed to be sufficient to ensure his accustomed health, if proper attention be paid to personal cleanliness. — I am the more inclined to this opinion, from the facts which have fallen under my observation, connected with the colonization of South Australia. Emigrants embarking at ports on the North sea, for Adelaide, are usually out 120 days, and although much of this time is passed within the tropics, they, nevertheless, generally arrive in excellent condition. The superintendent of emigration to Australia, at Bremen, in a letter of the 11th inst., a copy of which I forward herewith, has obligingly communicated to me much valuable information. Among other things he says,

"In 1844 I commenced the agency on invitation of a member of the "South Australian "Company," and have now completed eight expedi- "tions of 2000 persons altogether; and I am now

"organizing an expedition for November and another
"for next spring. I have no doubt the current
"will constantly and gradually increase as the accounts
"are encouraging; but it never will detract from A-
"merica any great number, as the price of passage
"is necessarily double that to America, owing to dis-
"tance — and also land is much dearer in Australia than
"in America. The British government sells land
"in quarterly auctions in sections of 80 acres, at the fix-
"ed price of one pound per acre. . . . . In
"my expeditions I have been less restricted than the new
"American law restricts the transportation of passengers
"and have in fact placed as many people aboard as
"I had room, — making the berths in two rows, plac-
"ing five persons together in a berth, allowing for
"each eighteen inches width, and having two tiers
"in each row. A ship of 500 tons will, with a
"between decks of eight feet high, admit of twelve berths
"in a tier × 4 = 240 passengers. This is ton mea-
"surement, equal to 356 tons of Bremen. A ship
"of 100 tons more will not carry any more passengers.
"I have never had any disease on the passage, the births
"having always exceeded the deaths, but I have never
"sent away a vessel without a physician aboard, as is
"required by the English law."

There cannot be a question but that

our laws, "regulating the carriage of passengers in mer=
chant ships" are susceptible of great improvement.—
I will briefly state the additions required, as they occur
to my mind, after much reflection: —

1st. That the duration of a
voyage of passenger merchant ships, clearing from any
of the ports of Great-Britain, or from the Atlantic
ports of France, Spain, and Portugal, to a port in
the United States, shall be completed at seventy days;
That the duration of a voyage, of passenger merchant
ships, clearing from any of the ports on the North
Sea, to a port in the United States shall be comple=
ted at ninety days; that the duration of a voyage,
of passenger merchant ships, clearing from other Eu=
ropean ports, to a port in the United States, shall
be completed at one hundred days: That for
every passenger, received aboard, they shall provide
a weekly supply, (for the term specified, respectively,) of
5 1/2 gallons pure fresh water; 2 1/2 lbs. salted beef; 1 1/4 lb.
salted pork or instead thereof 1 lb. side bacon; 5 lbs bread; 2
lbs. flour; 1 lb. beans; 1 lb. peas; 1 lb. rice; 1/2 lb. oat-meal,
~~or~~ peeled barley; 12 lbs. potatoes; 1/2 pint molasses; 1/8 lb.
sugar; 1/8 lb coffee; 1/16 lb. tea; 1/4 lb. butter; salt, pepper,
and vinegar in proportion; 4 lbs. coal; besides all
necessary cooking utensils; and competent cooks: Al=
so a box of fresh medicines, and an abundance of av=

pow root, sago, castor-oil, and epsom salts.

2nd. That every passenger shall be examined by a competent physician at the port at which he embarks the day before his departure from the haven in which the vessel is moored, and pronounced free from all contagious or other distempers; and that he (or she) shall establish, to the satisfaction of the physician, that he has not been during the six months last past in any hospital, or elsewhere under medical treatment for the typhus or scorbutic fever.

3rd. That every passenger shall be required to bathe him, or herself, carefully one or more times, to be clearly apparelled throughout; to have all clothing composed of cotton, flax, or linen made thoroughly clean and dry, and that manufactured from other materials well aired, as well as bedding, trunks, and boxes, before going to sea.

4th. That the between decks of every passenger merchant ship, shall be appropriated exclusively for the use of the passengers, none of whom shall be permitted to stow in it more clothing than is necessary for a change from time to time, as they may require.

5th. That the bilge water of every passenger ship, shall be pumped out and the

hold made as clean as possible, before she receives em-
igrants aboard; and that she shall have wind sails
down the hatchways so as to communicate, as occa-
sion may require, a sufficiency of pure air to
the between decks.

6th. That the captain, or one of his
officers, of every passenger ship shall assemble the pas-
sengers on deck daily at 9 o'clock A. M., weather per-
mitting, and call a roll of their names; and all ab-
sentees, who plead sickness as a reason for non-at-
tendance, shall have suitable medicine administered
to them.

7th That no passenger ship shall
be permitted to disembark any portion of her passen-
gers, in a port of the United States, until her captain
has established to the satisfaction of the proper au-
thority thereat, that no person named in his list as
fleeing from punishment for a crime, or crimes, com-
mitted, or has been discharged from a house of cor-
rection, or forwarded or turned out of an alms or
poor-house.

8th. That passenger ships, shall
effect an insurance on the gross amount, of the pas-
sage money which they receive, with the addition of
thirty three and a third per cent thereon, for the benefit
of the passengers in the event of casualties on, or in the re-

gion of the American coast, or elsewhere, if they shall prosecute their voyage to the United States.

6th. That the captain of every passenger ship shall procure, as evidence that he has complied with the obligations imposed previous to the sailing of the vessel under his command, a certificate from the authority, or authorities, whose business it may be to attend to such matters, that all regulations as far as they could exclusive before the commencement of the voyage have been scrupulously observed. Such certificate, or certificates, shall be duly authenticated under the consular seal of the United States, at the port at which the vessel clears.

States, whose kindly sentiments for our country, influence them to legislate upon the subject of emigration, with an eye to the general well-being of the Union, are exceedingly discouraged when they learn that such persons, as have been prevented from embarking at their ports, for our shores, succeed in obtaining passages elsewhere.

It is obviously the true policy of the United States to confine, as far as it can be done justly, the embarcation of emigrants to the ports of the country in which they resided. I was assured in England that the Germans passing through London, Liverpool, and Hull, on their route to the United States, are, in consequence of

their utter ignorance of the english language, the constant duplicity of knaves.

In conclusion, I cannot decline stating in the most positive manner, after diligent enquiry, that no disease bearing any resemblance to the fever so prevalent and fatal in Ireland, and in vessels sailing from Liverpool and Irish ports, has been discovered to exist at either of the western continental ports of Europe, or in vessels clearing from them with passengers.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
With Faithful Esteem,
Your Ob't. S.v't.
A. Dudley Mann.

No. 3. A. D. Mann. Bremen. 13 Sept. 1847.

From Mr. Hobbs
November 1847. with Mr. Mannis No. 3.

ANNO QUINTO & SEXTO

VICTORIÆ REGINÆ.

CAP. CVII.

An Act for regulating the Carriage of Passengers in Merchant Vessels. [12th *August* 1842.]

WHEREAS it is expedient to make Provision respecting the Carriage of Passengers by Sea in certain Cases, and for that Purpose to repeal, except as herein-after is mentioned, an Act passed in the Session of Parliament held in the Fifth and Sixth Years of His late Majesty King *William* the Fourth, intituled *An Act to repeal an Act of the Ninth Year of His late Majesty, for regulating the Carriage of Passengers in Merchant Vessels from the United Kingdom to the* British *Possessions on the Continent and Islands of* North America; *and to make further Provision for regulating the Carriage of Passengers from the United Kingdom;* and also an Act passed in the Session of Parliament held in the Third and Fourth Years of Her present Majesty, intituled *An Act to extend to the* British *Colonies in the* West Indies *an Act passed in the Fifth and Sixth Year of His late Majesty King* William *the Fourth, for regulating the Carriage of Passengers in Merchant Vessels;* and also so much of an Act passed in the Session of Parliament held in the First and Second Years of Her present Majesty, intituled *An Act to amend the Laws relating to the Customs,* as extends the Provisions of the Act first before mentioned to Foreign Vessels, under certain Circumstances: Be it therefore enacted by the Queen's most Excellent

5 & 6 W. 4. c. 53.

3 & 4 Vict. c. 21.

1 & 2 Vict. c. 113. in part.

Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That the said recited Acts and Portion of an Act shall be and the same are hereby repealed, save and except so far as the first before-mentioned Act repeals an Act passed in the Ninth Year of the Reign of His late Majesty King *George* the Fourth, intituled *An Act to regulate the Carriage of Passengers in Merchants Vessels from the United Kingdom to the Continent and Islands of* North America, which shall remain and continue repealed: Provided nevertheless, that all Fines, Forfeitures, and Penalties to which any Person or Persons may have become liable under the said Acts or either of them shall and may be sued for, prosecuted, and recovered, and that any Right of Action which may have accrued to any Person or Persons by virtue of the said Acts or either of them shall and may be enforced hereafter in such and the same Manner, in all respects, as if this present Act had not been made.

Recited Acts and Part of Act repealed, except as to the Repeal of 9 G. 4. c. 21.

II. And be it enacted, That no Ship carrying Passengers on any Voyage from any Port or Place in the United Kingdom, or in the Islands of *Guernsey*, *Jersey*, *Alderney*, *Sark*, or *Man*, herein-after designated as the herein-before mentioned Islands, to or for any Port or Place out of *Europe*, and not being within the *Mediterranean Sea*, shall proceed on her Voyage with or shall carry more Persons on board than in the Proportion of Three Persons to every Five Tons of the registered Burden of such Ship, the Master and Crew being included in and forming Part of such prescribed Number, and that no such Ship shall, whatever be the Tonnage thereof, proceed on her Voyage with or carry more Passengers on board than in the following Proportion to the Space occupied by them and appropriated for their Use, and unoccupied by Stores not being the personal Luggage of Passengers; (that is to say,) on the Lower Deck or Platform One Passenger for every Ten such clear superficial Feet, if such Ship is not to pass within the Tropics during such Voyage, but if such Ship is to pass within the Tropics during such Voyage, then One Passenger for every Twelve such clear superficial Feet, if such Voyage is computed in manner herein-after mentioned not to exceed Twelve Weeks, and One Passenger for every Fifteen such clear superficial Feet if such Voyage is so computed to exceed Twelve Weeks; and under the Poop and on the Orlop Deck, if any, One Passenger for every Thirty such superficial Feet in all Cases; and that if any Ship carrying Passengers upon any such Voyage as aforesaid shall carry any Passengers beyond the Proportions herein-before respectively mentioned, or any of them, the Master of such Ship shall, for or in respect of every Passenger constituting such Excess, be liable, on such Conviction as herein-after is mentioned, to the Payment of a Penalty not exceeding Five Pounds, to be sued for and recovered as herein-after is mentioned.

Limitation of Numbers of Passengers according to Tonnage and Space.

III. And be it enacted, That no Ship shall carry Passengers on any such Voyage as aforesaid unless she have Lower or Hold Beams forming Part of the permanent Structure of the Vessel, and also a Lower Deck or Platform, of which the under Surface shall be not

Construction and Thickness of Lower Deck.

lower than Three Inches above the Bottom of the Lower Beams, and properly and substantially secured to the same, nor unless such Lower Deck or Platform shall be of not less than One and a Half Inch in Thickness.

Height between Decks.

IV. And be it enacted, That no Ship shall carry any Passengers upon any such Voyage as aforesaid unless such Ship shall be of the Height of Six Feet at the least between the Upper Deck and the Lower Deck or Platform herein-before mentioned, nor carry Passengers on the Orlop Deck, if any, unless the Height between such Orlop Deck and the Deck immediately above the same be Six Feet at the least.

Sleeping Berths.

V. And be it enacted, That no Ship carrying Passengers on any such Voyage as aforesaid shall have more than Two Tiers of Berths, and that in no such Ship shall the Interval between the Floor of the Berths and the Deck or Platform beneath them be less than Six Inches; and further, than the Berths shall be securely constructed, and that their Dimensions shall not be less than after the Rate of Six Feet in Length and Eighteen Inches in Width for each Passenger.

Quantities of Provisions and Water to be issued to each Passenger.

VI. And be it enacted, That on board every Ship carrying Passengers on any such Voyage as aforesaid there shall be issued to the Passengers daily a Supply of Water at the Rate of at least Three Quarts for each Passenger *per* Day, and that there shall also be issued at convenient Times, not less often than Twice a Week, a Supply of Provisions after the Rate of Seven Pounds of Bread, Biscuit, Flour, Oatmeal, or Rice *per* Week, provided that One Half at least of the Supply shall consist of Bread or Biscuit, and that Potatoes may be employed to the Extent of the remaining Half of the Supply, Five Pounds, however, of Potatoes being computed as equal to One Pound of the other Articles above enumerated; and that such Issues as aforesaid shall be made throughout the whole Voyage, including the Time of Detention, if any, at any Port or Place before the End of such Voyage; and further, that no Ship proceeding on any such Voyage as aforesaid shall be cleared out until there shall be laden and on board such Quantity of pure Water, and of good and wholesome Provisions of the requisite Kind, as shall be sufficient to allow of the Issues aforesaid during the Period assigned to such Voyage under the Provisions of this Act.

Further Regulations as to Water.

VII. And be it enacted, That in any such Ship the Water to be laden on board as herein-before required shall be carried in Tanks or sweet Casks, and that none of such Casks shall exceed Three hundred Gallons in Capacity; and further, that when any Ship shall be destined to call at a Port or Place in the course of her Voyage for the Purpose of filling up her Water, a Supply of Water at the Rate before mentioned for every Week of the computed Voyage to such Port or Place of calling shall be deemed to be a Compliance with the Provisions

Provisions of this Act, subject to the following Conditions; (that is to say,)

First, That the Government Emigration Agent at Ports where there is one, and the Collector or Comptroller of Customs at Ports where there is no such Agent, signify his Approval, in Writing, and that the same be carried amongst the Papers of the Ship, to be delivered to the Collector of Customs or Her Majesty's Consul, as the Case may be, on reaching her final Destination;

Secondly, That an Engagement to call at such Port or Place be inserted in the Bond which is herein-after required to be given to the Crown by the Owner or Charterer and Master;

Thirdly, That if the computed Length of Voyage to such Port or Place be not declared in this Act it shall be competent to the Government Emigration Agent, or the Collector or Comptroller of Customs, as aforesaid, as the Case may be, to fix the same in each Case; and,

Fourthly, That the Ship shall have on board, at the Time of clearing out, Tanks or Water Casks sufficient for stowing the Quantity of Water required for the longest Portion of the whole Voyage.

Computed Length of different Voyages.

VIII. And be it enacted, That the Number of Weeks deemed to be necessary for the Voyage of any such Ship, according to her Destination, shall be determined by the following Rule of Computation; (that is to say,)

For a Voyage to *North America*, except the West Coast thereof, Ten Weeks:

For a Voyage to the *West Indies*, including under that Term the *Bahama Islands* and *British Guiana*, Ten Weeks:

For a Voyage to any Part of the Continent of *Central* or *South America*, except the West Coast thereof, and except *British Guaina*, Twelve Weeks:

For a Voyage to the West Coast of *Africa*, Twelve Weeks:

For a Voyage to the *Cape of Good Hope* or the *Falkland Islands*, Fifteen Weeks:

For a Voyage to the *Mauritius*, Eighteen Weeks:

For a Voyage to *Western Australia*, Twenty Weeks:

For a Voyage to any other of the *Australian* Colonies, Twenty-two Weeks:

For a Voyage to *New Zealand*, Twenty-four Weeks.

How Children are to be computed in the Enumeration of Passengers.

IX. Provided always, and be it enacted, That for the Purposes and within the Meaning of this Act it shall in all Cases be computed that Two Children, each being under the Age of Fourteen Years, shall be equal to One Passenger, and that Children under the Age of One Year shall not be included in the Computation of the Number of Passengers.

Government Emigration Agents or Officers of

X. And be it enacted, That before any such Ship shall be cleared out for the Voyage the Government Emigration Agent, at Ports where there is such an Officer, or in the Absence of such Agent, and

and in Ports where there is no such Agent, the Collector or Comptrollers of Customs, shall survey or cause to be surveyed by some competent Person the Provisions and Water herein-before required for the Consumption of the Passengers, and shall ascertain that the same are in a sweet and good Condition, and shall also ascertain that over and above the same there is on board an ample Supply of Water and Stores for the victualling of the Crew of the Ship and other Persons (if any) on board.

Customs to survey Provisions and Water.

XI. And be it enacted, That such Officers shall see that the other Directions contained in this Act be complied with, so far as the same can be complied with, before the Departure of such Ship from any Port or Place in the United Kingdom or in the herein-before mentioned Islands.

The same Officers to attend generally to Enforcement of the Act.

XII. And be it enacted, That if Doubts shall arise whether any Ship about to proceed with Passengers as aforesaid is seaworthy, so as to be fit for her intended Voyage, and such Doubts shall not be removed to the Satisfaction of the Collector and Comptroller of the Customs at the Port from which such Vessel is to be cleared out, or in case there shall be a Government Emigration Agent at such Port, then to the Satisfaction of such Emigration Agent, it shall be lawful for such Collector and Comptroller, or for such Government Emigration Agent, (as the Case may be,) at any Time to cause such Ship to be surveyed by Two competent Persons, and if it shall be reported by those Persons that such Ship is not in their Opinion seaworthy with reference to such Voyage, such Ship shall not be cleared out, unless the Contents of such Report be disproved to the Satisfaction of the Commissioners of the Customs, or of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners in those Cases in which the Report shall have been made at the Instance of a Government Emigration Agent, or until such Ship shall have been rendered seaworthy.

Seaworthiness of the Ship may be ascertained by Survey.

XIII. And be it enacted, That no Ship shall carry any Passengers on any such Voyage as aforesaid unless such Ship shall be provided with good sound Boats of suitable Size, and properly supplied with all Requisites for their Use, in the following Proportion to the registered Tonnage of such Ship as aforesaid; (that is to say,)

Two Boats, if the Tonnage of such Ship be One hundred and fifty Tons and upwards, but under Two hundred and fifty Tons:

Three Boats, if the Tonnage of such Ship be Two hundred and fifty Tons and upwards:

Four Boats, if the Tonnage of such Ship be Five hundred Tons and upwards, and the Number of Passengers exceed Two hundred:

Nor unless One of such Boats be a long Boat of a Size duly proportioned to the Tonnage of the Ship.

Sufficient Boats to be carried.

XIV. And be it enacted, That Two Copies of this Act shall be kept on board every Ship carrying Passengers on any such Voyage as aforesaid, and that for this Purpose Two Copies of the same, provided and issued by the Authority of the Commissioners of the Customs, shall

Copies of the Act to be kept on board, and produced if demanded,

shall be delivered to the Master, on demand, by the Collector or Comptroller of the Customs at the Port and Time of Clearance of the Ship; and One of such Copies shall, upon Request made at seasonable Times to the Master of the Ship, be produced to any Passenger for his Perusal.

In every Ship (except to North America) carrying 100 Passengers, or 50 Passengers if the Voyage be longer than Twelve Weeks, a Medical Practitioner and Medicines to be carried, and in every other Ship a proper Supply of Medicines.

XV. And be it enacted, That no Ship carrying Passengers on any such Voyage as aforesaid to any such Port or Place as aforesaid, except any Port or Place in *North America*, shall, in case the Number of such Passengers shall amount to or exceed One hundred, or in case the estimated Length of the Voyage, computed as herein-before is mentioned, shall exceed Twelve Weeks, and the Number of such Passengers shall amount to or exceed Fifty, clear out for such Voyage from any Port in the United Kingdom or in the herein-before mentioned Islands, unless there shall be rated upon the Ship's Company, and shall be actually serving on board such Ship, some Person duly authorized by Law to practise in this Kingdom as a Physician or Surgeon or Apothecary, and that no such Ship shall actually put to Sea or proceed on such Voyage unless such Medical Practitioner shall be therein, and shall *bonâ fide* proceed on such Voyage, taking with him a Medicine Chest, and a proper Supply of Medicines, Instruments, and other Things suitable to the intended Voyage and no Ship carrying Passengers on any Voyage from any Port or Place in the United Kingdom or in the herein-before mentioned Islands, to or for any Port or Place out of *Europe*, and not being within the *Mediterranean Sea*, shall clear out for any such Voyage unless and until there shall be actually laden and on board such Ship Medicines, and printed or written Directions for the Use of the same, and other Things necessary for the Medical Treatment of the Passengers on board during such intended Voyage, and available for that Purpose, nor unless such Medicines and other Things shall be adequate in Amount and Kind to the probable Exigencies of any such Voyage, and, together with such Medicines and other Things, shall also be put on board every such Ship previously to her clearing out for any such Voyage as aforesaid a Certificate under the Hands of any One or more such Medical Practitioner, qualified as aforesaid, who shall not have been the Seller of the Medicines and other Things, or any Part of them, to the Effect that the same have been inspected by him, and are in his Judgment adequate to meet any such probable Exigencies as aforesaid, and further, that he has no pecuniary Interest in the Supply of the same.

Sale of Spirits to Passengers prohibited.

XVI. And be it enacted, That in any Ship carrying Passengers upon any such Voyage as aforesaid no Spirits or Strong Waters shall be sold to any Passenger during the Voyage; and that if the Master of the Ship shall, directly or indirectly, sell or cause to be sold any Spirits or Strong Waters to any Passenger during the Voyage, he shall be liable to a Penalty not exceeding One hundred Pounds, to be sued for and recovered in manner herein-after mentioned.

List of Passengers to be delivered before clearing.

XVII. And be it enacted, That the Master of every Ship carrying Passengers on any such Voyage as aforesaid shall, before clearing out his said Ship for such Voyage from any Port or Place in the United

Kingdom or in the herein-before mentioned Islands, sign and deliver, in Duplicate, to the Collector or to such Officer of Her Majesty's Customs at such Port or Place as may clear the Ship, a List, made out according to the Form contained in Schedule (A.) hereto annexed, of all and every the Passengers on board of such Ship, specifying, as accurately as may be, all the Particulars in the said Form required, and such Collector or other Officer shall thereupon countersign and return to the said Master one of such Duplicate Lists; and the said Master shall exhibit such Duplicate List, with the Additions, if any, to be made thereto, as herein-after directed, to the Collector or other chief Officer of Her Majesty's Customs at any Port or Place in Her Majesty's Possessions, or to Her Majesty's Consul at any Foreign Port at which the said Passengers or any of them shall be landed, and shall deposit the same with such Collector or chief Officer of Customs, or such Consul, as the Case may be, at his final Port of Discharge.

Lists of additional Passengers after clearing out.

XVIII. And be it enacted, That in case any such Vessel shall have cleared out as aforesaid with a Number of Passengers less than the Number she could lawfully carry under the Provisions of this Act, or in case any Passenger or Passengers named in the List afore mentioned shall not proceed on the Voyage, and there shall afterwards be taken on board any additional Passenger or Passengers, the Master shall in every such Case add to the first List so countersigned and returned to him as aforesaid, and in the same Manner as is required in such first List, the Names and Particulars of such additional Passenger or Passengers; and shall moreover prepare, in the Form aforesaid, a separate List of such additional Passenger or Passengers, and deliver the same, together with the said first List so added to as aforesaid, both being duly signed by him, to the Collector or other Officer of Customs as aforesaid at the Port or Place where any such additional Passenger or Passengers may have embarked, and thereupon such Collector or other Officer of Customs shall countersign the Additions so made to such first List as aforesaid, and shall return the same to the said Master, and retain the separate additional List, and so on in like Manner whenever any additional Passenger or Passengers may be taken on board: Provided always, that in the event of there being no Collector or other Officer of Customs stationed at any Port or Place where such additional Passenger or Passengers may be taken on board, then such separate List, and also the said first List, with the Additions so to be made to it as aforesaid, shall, in case the Vessel shall subsequently touch at any Port or Place at which there shall be stationed any Officer of Her Majesty's Customs, be delivered by the said Master to such Officer of Customs, and the same respectively shall be dealt with in all respects by such Officer of Customs as it would have been dealt with by the Collector or other Officer of Customs as aforesaid had there been one at the Port or Place where such additional Passenger or Passengers embarked.

Written Receipts to be given in respect of

XIX. And be it enacted, That if any Owner, Charterer, or Master of a Ship, or any Passage Broker, Agent, or other Person, shall receive any Money from any Person, for or in respect of the Conveyance

Passengers to North America.

veyance of any Person as a Passenger on any such Voyage as aforesaid to any Port or Place in *North America*, the Person so receiving such Money shall give a written Acknowledgment for the same to the Party from whom the same shall have been received, in the Form contained in the Schedule (B.) hereto annexed, and in default thereof shall be liable to a Penalty not exceeding Ten Pounds in respect of each such Passenger, to be sued for and recovered as herein-after is mentioned, and if he shall be so licensed as herein-after is mentioned his Licence shall be forfeited, in case the Justices before whom the Penalty shall be sued for shall declare the Forfeiture thereof.

Licences to be taken out by Dealers and Brokers in respect of Passages to North America.

XX. And be it enacted, That from and after the Commencement of this Act no Person, not being the Owner or Master of the Ship in which such Passages as are herein-after mentioned shall be taken, shall carry on the Business of a Passage Broker or Passage Dealer in respect of Passages from the United Kingdom or the herein-before mentioned Islands to any Port or Place in *North America*, or shall sell or let, or agree to sell or let, to any Person, any such Passage, unless he shall have previously taken out a Licence to carry on the Business of a Passage Broker or Passage Dealer as herein-after is mentioned, and unless such Licence shall continue in force; and if any Person shall carry on such Business, or sell or let, or agree to sell or let, any such Passage, contrary to this Enactment, every Person so offending shall be liable to a Penalty not exceeding Ten Pounds in respect of each and every such Offence, to be sued for and recovered as herein-after is mentioned, and shall further be subject to all the same Penalties and Liabilities to which licensed Passage Brokers and Passage Dealers are subject under this Act;

Licences to be granted by Justices, and Notice thereof transmitted to Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners.

and that it shall be lawful for any Person desiring to carry on the Business of a Passage Broker or Passage Dealer, in respect of such Passages to *North America* as aforesaid, to make Application to the Justices assembled in Petty or Quarter Sessions held for the District or Place in which such Person shall reside, for a Licence to carry on such Business, and such Justices so assembled are hereby authorized to grant such Licence to the Party making Application for the same, such Licence to be made out according to the Form contained in the Schedule (C.) hereunto annexed, and to continue in force for the Period named in such Form, unless sooner forfeited in manner herein-after mentioned; and where any such Licence shall be granted such Justices shall cause Notice thereof to be forthwith transmitted by the Post to the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners at their Office in *London*: Provided nevertheless, that no such Licence shall be granted unless the Party applying for the same shall show to the Satisfaction of the Justices that he has given Notice to the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners of his Intention to apply for the same Twenty-one clear Days at least before such Application, such Notice to be transmitted by the Post to the Office of the said Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, and to be in the Form contained in the said Schedule (D.) hereunto annexed.

Notice to be given to Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners of intended Application for Licences.

Penalties for acting without written

XXI. And be it enacted, That if any licensed Broker or Dealer as aforesaid shall receive Money for or on account of the Passage of

of any Passenger for any such Voyage as aforesaid to any Port or Place in *North America*, without having a written Authority to act as Agent for the Party on whose Behalf the Contract for such Passage purports to be made, or shall by any Fraud or false Pretence whatsoever induce any Person to purchase, hire, or engage a Passage in any Ship for any such Voyage as aforesaid, every such Broker or Dealer shall be liable, upon Conviction, as herein-after is mentioned, in respect of every such Offence, to a Penalty not exceeding Ten Pounds, to be sued for and recovered in manner herein-after mentioned; and it shall be lawful for the Justices before whom the Penalty shall be sued for to declare, if they shall think fit, the Licence of such Broker or Dealer to be forfeited, and the same shall upon such Declaration be forfeited accordingly: Provided always, that in any Case in which under the Provisions of this Act any Justices shall declare the Licence of any Passage Broker or Passage Dealer to be forfeited, such Justices shall cause Notice of such Forfeiture, in the Form contained in the Schedule (E.) hereunto annexed, to be forthwith transmitted by the Post to the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, at their Office in *London*.

Authority from Principals, and for obtaining Passage Money fraudulently.

XXII. And be it enacted, That if any Passenger or Person on his Behalf shall have entered into a Contract for a Passage or Passages for such Passenger, or for him and his Family, in any Ship, for any such Voyage as aforesaid, from any Port in the United Kingdom or in the herein-before mentioned Islands, to or for any Port or Place out of *Europe*, and not being in the *Mediterranean Sea*, and if such Passenger, or such Passenger and his Family, (as the Case may be,) shall be at the Place of Embarkation at the Time appointed for that Purpose in and by such Contract, and such Passenger shall apply for such Passage or Passages, and shall, on demand, pay or tender such Part of the Passage Money not already paid as shall be payable under such Contract previously to Embarkation, and if, owing to the previous Departure of the Ship in which such Passage or Passages shall have been engaged, or the Neglect, Refusal, or other Default of the Owner, Charterer, or Master thereof, or of the Party with whom such Passage or Passages shall have been contracted for, such Passenger shall not obtain such Passage or Passages, or shall not within a reasonable Time obtain a Passage or Passages by some other equally eligible Vessel to the same Port or Place, and in the meantime be paid Subsistence Money, or be provided with Lodging and Maintenance as herein-after mentioned, such Passenger shall be entitled to recover, in manner herein-after provided, all Monies which he shall have paid for such Passage or Passages, from the Party to whom he shall have paid the same, or from the Owner or Charterer of the Ship for whom such Party shall be the Agent, and also such further Sum not exceeding Ten Pounds in respect of each such Passage as shall, in the Opinion of the Justices who shall adjudicate on the Complaint, be a reasonable Compensation for the Loss or Inconvenience occasioned to such Passenger or his Family by the Loss of such Passage or Passages.

Return of Passage Money and Compensation to Passengers, in certain Cases.

XXIII. And be it enacted, That if any Ship shall not actually put to Sea, and proceed upon any such intended Voyage as aforesaid, on the

Subsistence in case of Detention.

the Day for that Purpose appointed in and by any Contract made by the Owner, Master, or Charterer of such Ship, or by their Agent, with any Passenger who shall on that Day be on board the same, or ready to proceed on such intended Voyage, then and in every such Case the Master of such Ship shall victual each and every such Passenger in like Manner as if the Voyage had commenced, and if the Ship does not put to Sea after the Interval of Two clear working Days from the Day appointed for sailing shall be liable to pay to each and every such Passenger, instead of victualling him, Subsistence Money, after the Rate of One Shilling in respect of each Day of Delay, until the actual clearing out and final Departure of such Ship on such Voyage, and the same may be recovered in manner herein-after mentioned; provided, however, that such Subsistence Money shall not be payable in lieu of victualling in respect of any unavoidable Detention by Wind or Weather, and also shall not be payable to any Passenger who shall, with his own Consent, be suitably lodged and maintained on shore at the Expence of the Parties who are bound to provide him with a Passage.

Passengers not to be landed without their Consent at any other Place.

XXIV. And be it enacted, That the Master of any Ship carrying Passengers under the Provisions of this Act shall not land or put on shore, or cause to be landed or put on shore, any Passenger, without his previous Consent, at any Port or Place other than the Port or Place at which he may have contracted to land or put such Passenger on shore.

Passengers to be maintained for Forty-eight Hours after their Arrival.

XXV. And be it enacted, That at the Close of any such Voyage as aforesaid every Person arriving as a Passenger at any Port or Place shall, during the Space of Forty-eight Hours next after such Arrival, be entitled to continue on board such Ship, and to be provided for and maintained on board the same, in such and the same Manner as during such Voyage, unless in the ulterior Prosecution of her Voyage any such Ship shall quit any such Port or Place within the said Period of Forty-eight Hours.

Facilities to be given to the proper Officers for Inspection of Ship, &c.

XXVI. And be it enacted, That the Master of every Ship carrying Passengers on any such Voyage as aforesaid shall afford to the Government Agent for Emigration, or to the proper Officer of Customs at any Port or Place in Her Majesty's Dominions from which such Ship shall sail, or at which such Ship shall touch during the Voyage, or at which such Ship shall arrive at the End of such Voyage, and to Her Majesty's Consul at any Port or Place at which such Ship shall arrive, being in a Foreign Country, every Facility for the Inspection of the Ship, and for Communication with the Passengers, and for ascertaining that the Act has been duly observed.

Penalties.

XXVII. And be it enacted, That if in any Ship carrying Passengers on any such Voyage as aforesaid such Lower Dock or Platform of such Thickness as herein-before directed shall not be laid and continued throughout the whole Duration of any such Voyage in such Manner as is herein-before required; or if the Height between such Lower Deck or Platform and the Upper Deck shall be less than Six Feet;

Feet; or if there shall be more than Two Tiers of Berths; or if such Berths shall not be securely constructed, or shall not be of the Dimensions herein-before required; or if there shall not be throughout the whole Duration of any such Voyage such an Interval as is herein-before prescribed between the Deck and the Floor of the Berths; or if any such Ship shall clear out and put to Sea not having on board Tanks or sweet Casks of such Size and Number as aforesaid, and such Water and Provisions as aforesaid, for the Use and Consumption of the said Passengers, of the Kind and to the Amount and in the Proportion herein-before required; or if such Water and Provisions shall not be issued in manner herein-before required; or if such Ship shall not be provided with good Boats according to the Rates aforesaid; or if Copies of this Act shall not have been kept on board and produced on Demand as herein-before required; or if there shall not be on board any such Vessel such Medical Practitioner as aforesaid, or such Medicines and other Things necessary to the Medical Treatment of the Passengers as is herein-before required; or if any such Ship shall be cleared out before such List of Passengers as herein-before mentioned shall have been delivered in manner and form aforesaid to such Officer as aforesaid; or if the Additions to such List and such additional separate List or Lists as aforesaid be not made in the Cases aforesaid, and delivered in the Cases in which they are herein-before required to be delivered; or if any such List, or the Additions to the same, shall be wilfully false; or if any such List, including the Additions, if any, to the same, shall not be exhibited to or deposited with the proper Officer at any Port or Place at which it is herein-before required to be exhibited or deposited; or if any Passenger shall, without his previous Consent, be put on shore at any Place other than the Place at which the Master had contracted to land such Passenger; or if any Passenger shall not be allowed to continue on board such Ship in manner herein-before provided; or if every such Facility for Inspection shall not be afforded as is herein-before required, the Master of any such Ship shall for and in respect of each and every such Offence be liable, on such summary Conviction as herein-after mentioned, to the Payment of a Fine not exceeding Fifty Pounds Sterling *British* Money.

The Right of Action of Passengers not to be taken away or abridged.

XXVIII. Provided nevertheless, and be it enacted, That nothing herein contained shall take away or abridge any Right of Suit or Action which may accrue to any Passenger in any such Ship, or to any other Person, in respect of the Breach or Nonperformance of any Contract made or entered into between or on behalf of any such Passenger or other Person and the Master, Owner or Owners, of any such Ship.

Recovery of Penalties.

XXIX. And be it enacted, That all Penalties imposed by this Act for any Offence against the same may be sued for and recovered to the Use of Her Majesty as herein-after is mentioned; (that is to say,) in the United Kingdom by any Government Emigration Agent, or any Collector or Comptroller of Her Majesty's Customs, or by any other Officer of Her Majesty's Customs authorized in Writing by the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Customs to sue for Penalties under this Act; and in any of Her Majesty's Possessions

sions abroad, by any such Government Agent, Collector, or Comptroller, or other Officer so authorized as aforesaid, and also by any Officer authorized to sue for Penalties under this Act, by Writing under the Hand and Seal of the Governor or Officer administering the Government of any such Possession; which respective Authorities the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Customs and such Governors or other Officers are hereby empowered to grant; and all Sums of Money made recoverable by this Act as Return of Passage Money, Subsistence Money, or Compensation, may be sued for and recovered, as herein-after is mentioned, by or to the Use of any Passenger entitled thereto under this Act, or by any of such Officers as aforesaid, on behalf and to the Use of any such Passenger, or on behalf and to the respective Use of any Number of such Passengers, and either by one or several Complaints; and all such Penalties and Sums of Money may be sued for and recovered before any Two or more Justices of the Peace acting in any Part of Her Majesty's Dominions in which the Offence shall have been committed or the Cause of Complaint shall have arisen, or in which the Offender or Party complained against shall happen to be; and upon Complaint being made before any One Justice of the Peace as aforesaid he shall issue a Summons requiring the Party offending or complained against to appear on a Day and at an Hour and Place to be named in such Summons; and every such Summons shall be served on the Party offending or complained against, or shall be left at his last House, Place of Residence or of Business, or on board any Ship to which he may belong; and either upon the Appearance or Default to appear by the Party offending or complained against it shall be lawful for any Two or more Justices to proceed summarily upon the Case, and either with or without any written Information; and upon Proof of the Offence or of the Complainant's Claim (as the Case may be), either by Confession of the Party offending or complained against, or upon the Oath of One or more credible Witness or Witnesses (which Oath such Justices are hereby authorized to administer), it shall be lawful for such Justices to convict the Offender or adjudicate the Complaint, and upon such Conviction or Adjudication to order the Offender or Party complained against to pay such Penalty, within the Limits herein-before expressed, as the Justices may declare to have been incurred, or (as the Case may be) to pay to the Party suing for the same the Sum of Money sued for, or so much thereof as such Justices shall think the Complainant justly entitled to, and also to pay the Costs attending the Information or Complaint, Summons, Conviction, or Adjudication; and if forthwith upon any such Order the Monies thereby ordered to be paid be not paid, the same may be levied, together with the Costs of the Distress and Sale, by Distress and Sale of the Goods and Chattels of the Party ordered to pay such Monies, the Surplus, if any, to be returned to him, upon Demand; and any such Justices may issue their Warrant accordingly, and may also order such Party to be detained and kept in safe Custody until Return can conveniently be made to such Warrant of Distress, unless such Party give sufficient Security, to the Satisfaction of such Justices, for his Appearance before them on the Day appointed for such Return, such Day or Days not being more than Eight Days from the Time of taking such Security; but if it shall appear to such

Justices, by the Admission of such Party or otherwise, that no sufficient Distress can be had whereon to levy the Monies so adjudged to be paid, they may, if they think fit, refrain from issuing such Warrant of Distress; and in such Case, or if such Warrant shall have been issued, and upon the Return thereof such Insufficiency as aforesaid shall be made to appear to the Justices, or any Two or more such Justices, as aforesaid, then such Justices shall by Warrant cause the Party ordered to pay such Monies and Costs as aforesaid to be committed to Gaol, there to remain without Bail for any Term not exceeding Three Months, unless such Monies and Costs ordered to be paid, and such Costs of Distress and Sale as aforesaid, be sooner paid and satisfied.

Vivâ voce Evidence may be given of a Party being a Government Agent or Officer.

XXX. And be it enacted, That if in any Proceeding before any Justice or Justices under this Act, or upon any Action, Suit, or other Proceeding whatsoever against any Person or Persons for any thing done either contrary to or in pursuance of this Act, a Question should arise whether any Person is a Government Emigration Agent, or an Officer of the Customs, *vivâ voce* Evidence may be given of such Fact, and shall be deemed legal and sufficient Evidence.

Passengers suing not incompetent Witnesses.

XXXI. And be it enacted, That any Passenger suing, as hereinbefore is mentioned, for any Sum of Money made recoverable by this Act as Return of Passage Money, Subsistence Money, or Compensation, shall not be deemed an incompetent Witness in any Proceeding for the Recovery thereof, notwithstanding the same, if recovered, shall be applicable to his own Use and Benefit.

Distress not to be unlawful for Informality.

XXXII. And be it enacted, That where any Distress shall be made for any Penalty, Monies, or Costs to be levied by virtue of this Act, the Distress itself shall not be deemed unlawful, nor the Party making the same be deemed a Trespasser, on account of any Defect or Want of Form in the Information, Summons, Conviction, Warrant of Distress, or other Proceedings relating thereto, nor shall the Party distraining be deemed a Trespasser *ab initio* on account of any Irregularity which shall be afterwards committed by the Party so distraining, but the Person aggrieved by such Irregularity may recover full Satisfaction for the special Damage in an Action upon the Case.

Tender of Amends.

XXXIII. And be it enacted, That no Plaintiff shall recover in any Action against any Person for any thing done in pursuance of this Act if Tender of sufficient Amends shall have been made before such Action brought, or if, after Action brought, a sufficient Sum of Money shall have been paid into Court, with Costs, by or on behalf of the Defendant.

Limitation of Actions.

XXXIV. And be it enacted, That no Action or Suit shall be commenced against any Person for any thing done in pursuance of or under the Authority of this Act until Twenty-one Days Notice has been given thereof in Writing to the Party or Person against whom such Action or Suit is intended to be brought, nor after Three Calendar Months next after the Act committed for which such

Action or Suit shall be so brought; and every such Action shall be brought, laid, and tried where the Cause of Action shall have arisen, and not in any other Place; and the Defendant in such Action or Suit may plead the General Issue, and give this Act and any special Matter in Evidence at any Trial which shall be had thereupon; and if the Matter or Thing shall appear to have been done under or by virtue of this Act, or if it shall appear that such Action or Suit was brought before Twenty-one Days Notice thereof given as aforesaid, or if any Action or Suit shall not be commenced within the Time herein-before limited, or shall be brought or laid in any other Place than as aforesaid, then the Jury shall find a Verdict for the Defendant therein; and if a Verdict shall be found for such Defendant, or if the Plaintiff in such Action or Suit shall become nonsuited, or suffer a Discontinuance of such Action, or if upon any Demurrer in such Action Judgment shall be given for the Defendant thereon, then and in any of the Cases aforesaid such Defendant shall and may recover Treble Costs, and shall have such Remedy for recovering the same as any Defendant may have for his Costs in any other Case by Law.

Defendant may plead the General Issue, &c.

Costs.

Owners or Charterers and Masters of Vessels to enter into Bond (without Stamps) for the due Performance of the Regulations prescribed by this Act.

XXXV. And for the more effectually securing the Observance of the aforesaid Rules, and the Payment of the Penalties, be it enacted, That before any Ship carrying Passengers, if the Number of such Passengers shall exceed Fifty, shall clear out for any such Voyage as aforesaid from any Port or Place in the United Kingdom or in the herein-before mentioned Islands, the Owner or Charterer, or, in the event of the Absence of such Owner or Charterer, One good and sufficient Person on his Behalf, to be approved by the Collector or chief Officer of Customs at such Port, and the Master of the said Ship, shall enter into a joint and several Bond to Her Majesty, Her Heirs and Successors, in the Sum of One thousand Pounds, the Condition of which Bond shall be that the said Ship is seaworthy, and that all and every the Rules and Regulations made and prescribed by this Act for the Carriage of Passengers shall be well and truly performed before and during such intended Voyage, and that all Penalties, Fines, and Forfeitures which the Master of such Ship may be sentenced or adjudged to pay for or in respect of the Breach or Nonperformance, before or during such Voyage, of any such Rules and Regulations, shall be well and truly paid: Provided always, that such Bond shall be without Stamps; and that no such Bond shall be put in Suit, and that no Prosecution, Suit, Action, Information, or Complaint shall be brought under or by virtue of this Act, or upon or by reason of the Breach of any of the Provisions thereof, in any of Her Majesty's Possessions abroad, after the Expiration of Twelve Calendar Months next succeeding the Commencement of any such Voyage as aforesaid, nor in the United Kingdom, or any of the Islands before mentioned, after the Expiration of Twelve Calendar Months next after the Return of the said Ship or of the said Master to the United Kingdom or the herein-before mentioned Islands.

Limitation of Prosecutions.

Exception of particular Kinds of Ships.

XXXVI. And be it enacted, That nothing in this Act contained shall extend or be construed to extend to Ships carrying Passengers on such Voyage as aforesaid if the Number of such Passengers shall

not amount to or exceed Thirty, nor shall any thing in this Act contained extend to any of Her Majesty's Ships of War, or to any Ship in the Service of the Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of the United Kingdom, or to Ships of War or Transports in the Service of the *East India* Company.

Extension of Act to West Indies, Western Africa, Malta, and the Mauritius.

XXXVII. And whereas it is expedient to provide in certain Cases for the Regulation of Voyages from the Colonies; be it therefore enacted, That this Act shall, except as herein-after is excepted, extend and apply to the Carriage of Passengers by Sea from any of the *British West Indies*, in which Term are included the *British West India* Islands, the *Bahamas*, and *British Guiana*, and from *Malta*, and from the *British* Possessions in *Africa*, and from the *Mauritius*, to any other Place whatsoever.

Power to Governors of other Colonies to adopt the Act.

XXXVIII. And be it enacted, That it shall be lawful for the Governor or Officer administering the Government of any *British* Colony not enumerated in the Enactment lastly herein-before contained to declare by Proclamation, to be issued for that Purpose, that this Act, except as herein-after is excepted, shall be extended and shall apply to the Carriage of Passengers by Sea from such Colony to such Places as may by him be named for the Purpose in such Proclamation, and thereupon this Act shall be thenceforth so extended and shall so apply accordingly.

Governors empowered to declare computed Length of Voyage.

XXXIX. And be it enacted, That it shall be lawful for the Governor or Officer administering the Government of any of the *British* Colonies to which this Act, as respects the Carriage of Passengers by Sea therefrom, has been hereby extended or shall have been extended by Proclamation, as herein-before is mentioned, by any Proclamation or Proclamations to be by him from Time to Time issued for that Purpose, to declare the Rule of Computation by which the Length of the Voyage of any Ship carrying Passengers from such Colony to any other Place shall be estimated for the Purposes of this Act: Provided nevertheless, that this Act shall not, except as respects the *West Indies*, and except as herein-after is mentioned, extend or apply to any such Voyage if the Length thereof so computed shall not be Three Weeks or upwards.

Proviso.

The Governor, &c. may issue Proclamation substituting other Articles of Food, &c. if equivalent.

XL. And be it enacted, That it shall be lawful for the Governor or Officer administering the Government of any of the *British* Colonies to which this Act has, as respects the Carriage of Passengers by Sea therefrom, been hereby extended, or shall have been so extended by Proclamation as herein-before is mentioned, by any Proclamation or Proclamations to be by him from Time to Time issued for that Purpose, to substitute for the Articles of Food and Provisions specified in this Act such other Articles of Food and Provisions as shall be a full Equivalent for the same.

Such Proclamation to be transmitted for Her Majesty's Con-

XLI. Provided always, and be it enacted, That every such Proclamation as aforesaid, or as herein-after is mentioned, shall be transmitted by the Governor or Officer by whom the same may have been issued to Her Majesty, through One of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries

firmation or Disallowance.

Secretaries of State, for Her Majesty's Confirmation or Disallowance; and in case the same shall be disallowed by any Order to be made by Her Majesty for that Purpose, with the Advice of Her Privy Council, then from and after the Promulgation of any such Order in Council within any such Colony any such Proclamation shall cease to be of any Force or Authority, but until so disallowed the same shall be duly observed and obeyed: Provided also, that on the Production at any One of the Colonies aforesaid of an attested Copy of any such Proclamation as aforesaid, or as herein-after is mentioned, under the Hand of the Governor or the Officer administering the Government of the Colony wherein the same may have been issued, and under the public Seal of such Colony, such attested Copy shall, in the Colony wherein the same shall be so produced, be received as good and sufficient Evidence of the issuing and of the Contents of any such Proclamation.

Attested Copy of such Proclamation to be received as Evidence in the Colony in which it may be produced.

Powers for determining the Seaworthiness of any Ship vested in Governors, &c.

XLII. And be it enacted, That all the Powers and Authorities which are herein-before vested in the Collector and Comptroller of the Customs, for determining the Seaworthiness of any Ship carrying Passengers from any Port in the United Kingdom, shall, in respect of any Ship carrying Passengers from any Port in any of the Colonies aforesaid, be and the same are hereby vested in the respective Governors or Officers administering the Government of the said Colonies respectively.

No Bond required for Voyages from the Colonies.

XLIII. Provided always, and be it enacted, That as respect Voyages from the Colonies it shall not be necessary for the Master, Owner, or Charterer of any Ship carrying Passengers on any such Voyage to enter into any such Bond as is herein-before required to be entered into by the Master and Owner or Charterer of any Ship carrying Passengers on any such Voyage as herein-before is mentioned.

Exception of certain Provisions of this Act in the Case of Voyages from the Colonies.

XLIV. Provided also, and be it enacted, That the Provisions of this Act shall not extend or apply to Voyages from the Colonies, so far as relates to the following Subjects; (namely,)

The keeping Copies of the Act on board:

The Use of the Form of Receipt herein-before required to be given for Passage Money:

The licensing of Passage Brokers:

The Return of Passage Money and Compensation, in case the Party cannot be forwarded by the appointed Ship, or by some other eligible Vessel, and victualling or the Payment of Subsistence Money in case of Detention.

Extension of the Act, with further Exceptions, to Voyages shorter than Three Weeks in the West Indies.

XLV. Provided always, and be it enacted, That, except as herein-before is excepted with respect to Voyages from the Colonies, the Provisions and Regulations of this Act shall extend and apply to Voyages from the *West Indies* of less Duration, so computed as aforesaid, than Three Weeks, but being of not less Duration, so computed as aforesaid, than Three Days, save and except so far as relates to the following Subjects; (namely,)

The Construction or Thickness of the lower Deck or Platform:

The Berths:

The

The Height between Decks:
The Surgeon and Medicine Chest:
The Maintenance of Passengers for Forty-eight Hours after Arrival:

Provided also, that as respects such Voyages from the *West Indies* of less computed Duration than Three Weeks, the Owner or Charterer of a Ship may, if he think fit, contract with the Passengers engaging Passages therein, that they shall respectively provide themselves with necessary Food (not including Water) for the Voyage; and in such Case the Regulations of this Act respecting the Issue of Provisions by the Master shall not be applicable to such Passengers on such Voyage.

Power to Governors of other Colonies to adopt the same Extension of the Act to Voyages shorter than Three Weeks.

XLVI. Provided also, and be it enacted, That it shall be lawful for the Governor or Officer administering the Government of any *British* Colony (other than the *West Indies*) to which this Act, as respects the Carriage of Passengers by Sea therefrom, has been hereby extended, or shall hereafter be extended by Proclamation, as herein-before is mentioned, by the same, or by any subsequent Proclamation to be by him issued for that Purpose, to declare that the Enactment herein-before contained respecting Voyages from the *West Indies* of shorter Duration than Three Weeks shall extend and apply to Voyages from the Colony in respect of which such Proclamation shall be issued, such Voyage being of less Duration, so computed as aforesaid, than Three Weeks, but not of less Duration, so computed as aforesaid, than Three Days; and thereupon such Enactment shall extend and apply to such Voyage accordingly.

This Act not to prevent the Enactment by Colonial Assemblies, or by Her Majesty in Council, of Laws necessary for establishing the Rules and Regulations required by said recited Act and this Act.

XLVII. And be it enacted, That nothing in this Act contained extends or shall be construed to extend to prevent the Enactment by the respective Governors, Councils, and Assemblies, or other local Legislatures, in the *British West Indies* and *South America*, and in the *Bahama Islands*, and in *Bermuda*, or by Her Majesty, with the Advice of Her Privy Council, of any such Acts of General Assembly, or Ordinances, or Orders in Council, as may be requisite for making and establishing such several Rules and Regulations as are required by this Act, or any of them, or for carrying the same into full and complete Effect: Provided nevertheless, that it shall not be lawful for any such Governor, Council, and Assembly, or for any such local Legislature, or for Her Majesty in Council, by any such Acts of Assembly, Ordinances, or Orders in Council as aforesaid, to make or establish any Enactment, Provision, Rule, or Order which shall be in anywise repugnant or contradictory to this Act or any Part thereof, but that every such Enactment, Regulation, Provision, Rule, or Order shall be and is hereby declared to be absolutely null and void and of no Effect.

Power to the Governor General of India in Council to adopt this Act, with

XLVIII. Provided always, and be it enacted, That nothing herein-before contained shall be construed to apply to any of the Territories or Places under the Government of the *East India* Company, or to any of the Governors appointed by the said Company; nor shall any thing herein-before contained affect or be construed to affect the Powers now vested in the Governor General of *India* in Council to

certain Exceptions in India.

make Laws and Regulations whereby the Provisions of this Act, or such of them as to the said Governor General of *India* in Council shall seem expedient, shall or may be extended to the Territories and Places under the Government of the said Company, or for or in respect of which the said Governor General in Council has now by Law a Power of Legislation; but it is hereby enacted, that it shall be lawful for the Governor General of *India* in Council, from Time to Time, by any Act or Acts to be passed for that Purpose, to declare that this Act, with such Exceptions as are herein-before mentioned, shall extend and apply to the Carriage of Passengers upon any Voyage from any Ports or Places within the Territories of the *East India* Company to be specified or described in such Act or Acts, to any other Places whatsoever, to be also specified or described in such Act or Acts, and also in like Manner to authorize the Substitution, as respects such Voyages, of other equivalent Articles of Food and Provisions for those herein-before enumerated, and to declare the Rule of Computation by which the Length of any such Voyage shall be estimated, and to confer the Powers herein-before conferred upon Government Emigration Agents, and Collectors and Comptrollers of the Customs, with respect to ascertaining and deciding on the Seaworthiness of a Ship, upon such Officers of the *East India* Company as the said Governor General in Council may think proper; and from and after the passing of such Act or Acts, and whilst the same shall remain in force, this Act shall, with such Exceptions as are herein-before made as respects Voyages from the Colonies, apply to and extend to the Carriage of Passengers upon such Voyages as in the said Act or Acts shall be specified; which Acts shall nevertheless be subject to Disallowance and Repeal, and shall in the same Manner be transmitted to *England*, and be laid before both Houses of Parliament, as in the Case of any other Laws or Regulations which the said Governor General in Council is now by Law empowered to make.

Mode of proceeding for Recovery of Penalties in India to be regulated by the Governor in Council.

XLIX. And be it enacted, That it shall be lawful for the Governor General of *India* in Council, from Time to Time, by any Act or Acts to be passed for that Purpose, to declare in what Manner, and before what Authorities, and by what Form of Proceedings, the Penalties imposed and the Sums of Money made recoverable by this Act shall be sued for and recovered within any Places or Territories under the Government of the *East India* Company, and to what Uses such Penalties shall be applied.

Act to extend to Foreign Vessels.

L. And be it enacted, That the Provisions, Regulations, Penalties, and Forfeitures set forth in this Act shall extend and be deemed to extend to Foreign Vessels carrying Passengers upon any Voyage from any Port or Place in the United Kingdom, or in the herein-before mentioned Islands, to or for any Port or Place out of *Europe*, and not being within the *Mediterranean Sea*, or upon any other Voyage to which the Provisions of this Act shall for the Time being extend.

Act not to extend to Cabin Passengers.

LI. And be it enacted, That wherever the Term "Passage" or "Passenger" is used in this Act, it shall be held not to include or extend to the Class of Passages or Passengers commonly known and understood by the Name of Cabin Passages and Cabin Passengers.

LII. And

LII. And be it enacted, That in the Construction of this Act, unless there be something in the Subject or Context repugnant to such Construction, every Word importing the Singular Number or the Masculine Gender only shall be understood to include and shall be applied to several Persons, Matters, or Things, as well as One Person, Matter, or Thing, and Females as well as Males respectively. Interpretation of Act.

LIII. And be it enacted, That in all Proceedings it shall be sufficient to cite this Act by the Title of "The Passengers Act." Title of the Act.

LIV. And be it enacted, That this Act shall commence on the First Day of *October* One thousand eight hundred and forty-two, and not sooner. Commencement of Act

SCHE-

SCHEDULES referred to by the foregoing Act.

SCHEDULE (A.)

Referred to in the 17th Section of the Passengers Act.

Ship's Name.	Master's Name.	Tons per Register.	Aggregate Number of superficial Feet in the several Compartments set apart for Steerage and Intermediate Passengers.	Total Number of Statute Adults the Ship can legally carry.	Where bound.

I hereby certify, That the Provisions actually laden on board this Ship, according to the Section of the Passengers Act, are sufficient for Passengers, computed according to the Act.

(Signed) _____ } Master.
_____ }

Date _____

NOMINAL LIST of PASSENGERS.*

Ports of Embarkation.	Name of Passengers.	Adults.			Children under 14 Years.			Profession, Occupation, or Calling of Passenger.	Port at which Passengers have contracted to be landed.
		M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.		
	Total Number of Souls equal to Statute Adults								

* We hereby certify the above is a correct List of all the Passengers who embarked at the Port of _____

(Signed) _____ Master.

(Countersigned) _____ Officer of Customs.

N.B.—*Lines should be ruled in the same Form, for any Additions to the List after the Ship first clears out; and similar Certificates be subjoined to such Additions, according to the Requirements of the Act.*

SCHE-

SCHEDULE (B.) referred to in the 19th Section of this Act.

Passengers Contract Ticket.

N.B.—*Any one receiving Money from or in respect of any Passenger about leaving the United Kingdom for any Place in North America, without using this Form, and correctly filling up the Blanks therein, and signing it with his Name in full, will be liable to a Penalty not exceeding £10 for each such Passenger.*

Ship_____ of _____ Tons Register Burden,
to sail from _____ for _____
on the _____ Day of _____ 18____.

Names.	Ages.	Equal to Statute Adults.

I engage that the Parties herein named shall be provided with a Steerage Passage to _____ in the Ship _____ with not less than Ten Cubic Feet for Luggage for each Statute Adult, for the Sum of £_____ including Head Money, if any, at the Place of landing, and every other Charge; and I hereby acknowledge to have received the Sum of £_____ in $\frac{\text{full}}{\text{part}}$ Payment.

Water and Provisions according to the annexed Scale will be supplied by the Ship, as required by Law, and also Fires and suitable Hearths for cooking.

Utensils for eating and drinking will be provided by _____.*

Bedding will be provided by _____.*

Signature _____ { N. B.—If signed by a Broker or Agent, state on whose Behalf.

Date _____

[*At End of this Contract insert the Victualling Scale, which must in no Case be less than required under the Provisions of the Passengers Act.*]

* Fill up these Blanks by stating in each Case, whether the Articles are to be supplied by the Ship or by the Passenger.

Deposit £ _____

Balance £ _____ to be paid at _____

Total £ _____

SCHEDULE (C.) referred to in the 20th Section of this Act.

FORM of PASSENGER BROKER'S LICENCE.

* The Names in full, with the Additions and Address of the Party applying for the Licence, must be correctly inserted.

*A.B.** of in the having shown to the Satisfaction of us, the undersigned Justices of the Peace in Quarter / Petty Sessions assembled, That he hath duly given Notice to Her Majesty's Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners of his Intention to make Application for a Licence to carry on the Business of a Passage Broker or Passage Dealer in respect to Passages to North America: We, the undersigned Justices so assembled as aforesaid, and having had no sufficient Cause shown to us why the said *A.B.* should not receive such Licence, do hereby license and authorize the said *A.B.* to carry on the Business of a Passenger Broker or Passage Dealer as aforesaid, until the 31st Day of December in the Year following the present Year, unless this Licence shall be sooner determined by Forfeiture for Misconduct on the Part of the said *A.B.*, as in the Passengers Act is provided.

Given under our respective Hands and Seals, this Day of 18 at

(L.S.)
Justice of the Peace.

(L.S.)
Justice of the Peace.

SCHEDULE (D.) referred to in the 20th Section of this Act.

FORM of NOTICE to be given by Passage Broker to Her Majesty's Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners.

N.B.—The Names in full, with the Additions and Address of the Party, must be here correctly inserted.

N.B.—Name the Place or District in which the Party giving the Notice resides.

Gentlemen,

I *A.B.* of in do hereby give you Notice, That it is my Intention to apply, after the Expiration of Twenty-one clear Days from the putting of this Notice into the Post, to the Justices to be assembled in the Quarter / Petty Sessions to be held for for a Licence to carry on the Business of a Passenger Broker or Passage Dealer in respect of Passages to North America.

Signature

Date

To Her Majesty's Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners.

SCHE-

SCHEDULE (E.) referred to in the 21st Section of this Act.

FORM of NOTICE to be given to Her Majesty's Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners of Forfeiture of Passage Broker's Licence.

Gentlemen,

THIS is to give you Notice, That the Licence granted on the Day of 18 , to *A.B.* of in to act as a Passage Broker or Passage Dealer, was on the Day of now last past duly declared by us, the undersigned Justices of the Peace in Petty Sessions assembled, to be forfeited,

The Names in full, with the Additions and Address of the Party, to be here inserted.

Here state the Reasons for the forfeiture.

Signatures _____

_____

Date _____

To Her Majesty's Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, London.

LONDON: Printed by GEORGE E. EYRE and WILLIAM SPOTTISWOODE, Printers to the Queen's most Excellent Majesty. 1847.

Rec.d 12 Nov. with M. Mann's R.o 3.

ANNO DECIMO & UNDECIMO

VICTORIÆ REGINÆ.

CAP. CIII.

An Act to amend the Passengers Act, and to make further Provision for the Carriage of Passengers by Sea. [22d *July* 1847.]

WHEREAS by an Act passed in the Session of Parliament holden in the Fifth and Sixth Years of the Reign of Her present Majesty, intituled *An Act for regulating the Carriage of Passengers in Merchant Vessels*, it is amongst other things provided, that the said Act shall not extend to any Ship carrying less than Thirty Passengers, and it is expedient that the said Act should be amended in that respect: Be it therefore enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That the said recited Act shall hereafter extend and the same is hereby extended to the Case of every Ship carrying any Passenger on any such Voyage as in the said recited Act is mentioned: Provided that when the Number of Passengers carried in any such Ship shall not bear to the registered Tonnage thereof a greater Proportion than that of One Passenger to every Twenty-five Tons, so much and such Parts only as are next herein-after specified of the said recited Act shall extend and are hereby extended to the Case of any such Ship; that is to say, such Parts thereof as relate to the Recovery of Money in certain Cases by way of Return of Passage Money;

5 & 6 Vict. c. 107.

Extent to which the Passengers Act (5 & 6 Vict. c. 107.) shall apply.

Money; or as relate to Subsistence Money; or as relate to Compensation to be made for the Loss of Passage; or as relate to the giving Receipts for Money received for or in respect of any Passage to *North America;* or as relate to the Receipt of Money for or in respect of any such Passage by any Person as Agent, not having a written Authority from his Principal to act in that Capacity; or as relate to the inducing of any Person by any Fraud or false Pretence to engage any such Passage; or as relate to any Prosecution or other Proceeding at Law for the Recovery of such Passage or Subsistence Money, or of such Compensation as aforesaid, or for the Infliction of any Fines or Penalties in respect of any of the Matters or Things aforesaid: Provided also, that if in any Suit, Action, Prosecution, or other legal Proceeding under the said recited Act any Question shall arise whether any Ship proceeding on any Voyage did or did not carry a greater Number of Passengers than aforesaid in proportion to the Tonnage thereof, the Burden of proving that the Number of Passengers so carried in proportion to the Tonnage of the Ship was not greater than that of One Person to every Twenty-five Tons shall lie upon the Person against whom any such Suit, Action, or other legal Proceeding may be brought, and failing such Proof it shall for any such Purpose as aforesaid be taken and adjudged that the Number of Passengers so carried did exceed that Proportion.

Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners may in certain Cases substitute other Articles of Food for that mentioned in recited Act.

II. And whereas it may from Time to Time be necessary that for the Articles of Food mentioned in the said recited Act, or for some of them, other equivalent Articles should be substituted; be it enacted, That it shall be lawful for Her Majesty's Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners for the Time being, acting under the Authority of One of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, from Time to Time, by any Notice or Notices for that Purpose, issued under the Hands of any Two of such Commissioners, and published in the "*London Gazette*," to substitute for any of the Articles of Food mentioned in the said recited Act any other Article or Articles of Food, as to the said Commissioners shall seem meet, and any such Notice or Notices from Time to Time to alter, amend, or revoke as Occasion may require: Provided always, that all the Clauses and Provisions in the said recited Act contained respecting the Articles of Food therein mentioned shall extend and are hereby extended to the Case of such substituted Articles.

All Articles of Food required by recited Act to be furnished at the Expence of the Owners or Charterers, and to be of good Quality.

III. And be it enacted, That all Articles of Food required by the said recited Act, or by any such Notice or Notices as aforesaid, to be laden on board any Ship carrying Passengers, shall before such Ship shall be cleared out be furnished and laden on board by and at the Expence of the Owner or Charterer of such Ship, for the Purposes in the said recited Act provided, and shall be of a Quality to be approved of by the Emigration Officer at the Port of Clearance, or his Assistant, or, where there is no such Officer, or in his Absence, by the Officer of Customs from whom a Clearance shall be demanded; and that in case of any Default herein the Owner, Charterer, or Master of such Ship shall be liable to the Payment of a Penalty not exceeding Fifty Pounds.

IV. And

Regulation with respect to the Carriage of Gunpowder, &c.

IV. And be it enacted, That in any Ship carrying on any such Voyage as in the said recited Act is mentioned a greater Number of Passengers than in the Proportion of One Passenger to every Twenty-five Tons of the registered Tonnage of such Ship, it shall not be lawful to put on board or carry as Cargo any Gunpowder, Vitriol, or Green Hides, and that no such Ship having on board as Cargo any such Articles as aforesaid shall be allowed to clear out or proceed on her Voyage.

Regulations for ensuring proper Light and Ventilation.

V. And be it enacted, That for the Purpose of ensuring a proper Supply of Light and Air in every Ship carrying on any such Voyage as in the said recited Act mentioned a greater Number of Passengers than in the Proportion of One Passenger to every Twenty-five Tons of the registered Tonnage of such Ship, the Passengers shall, at all Times during the Voyage (Weather permitting), have free Access to and from the between Decks by each Hatchway situate over the Space appropriated to the Use of such Passengers: Provided always, that if the Main Hatchway be not one of the Hatchways appropriated to the Use of the Passengers, or if the natural Supply of Light and Air through the same be in any Manner unduly impeded, it shall be lawful for the Emigration Officer at the Port of Clearance, or his Assistant, or, where there is no such Officer, or in his Absence, to the chief Officer of Customs at the Port from which a Clearance shall be demanded, to direct such other Provision to be made for affording Light and Air to the between Decks as the Circumstances of the Case may, in the Judgment of such Officer, appear to require, which Directions shall be duly carried out to his Satisfaction; and in case of any Default herein the Master of the said Ship shall be liable to the Payment of a Penalty not exceeding Fifty Pounds Sterling.

Officer from whom a Clearance is demanded to require Ship to be surveyed, at the Expence of the Owner.

VI. And be it enacted, That the Emigration Officer at the Port of Clearance, or his Assistant, or, where there is no such Officer, or in his Absence, the Officer of Customs from whom a Clearance shall be demanded, shall in all Cases require any Ship fitted or about to carry Passengers on any such Voyage as in the said recited Act is mentioned to be surveyed, at the Expence of the Owner or Charterer thereof, by Two or more competent Surveyors, to be duly authorized and approved of, either by the Commissioners of Colonial Lands and Emigration or by the Commissioners of Customs, as the Case may be; and if it shall be reported by such Surveyors that they have surveyed such Ship, and that such Ship is not in their Opinion seaworthy, so as to be fit in all respects for her intended Voyage, such Ship shall not be cleared out until the same or Two other Surveyors appointed as aforesaid shall report that such Ship has been rendered seaworthy, and in all respects fit for her intended Voyage: Provided always, that the Precautions for ascertaining the Seaworthiness of Ships, and their State of Repair and Efficiency for their intended Voyages respectively, shall in all respects, and without Distinction, be the same for Foreign as for *British* Ships.

If Ship reported not seaworthy, the same not to be cleared until rendered so.

Ship not to be cleared out until reported to be

VII. And be it enacted, That unless it shall be proved to the Satisfaction of the Emigration Officer at the Port of Clearance, or his Assistant, or, where there is no such Officer, or in his Absence, the

properly manned.

the Officer of Customs from whom a Clearance shall be demanded, that such Ship as aforesaid is manned with a full Complement of Men, such Ship shall not be cleared out.

No Ship to be cleared until a Certificate is obtained, that all the Requirements of the Law have been complied with.

VIII. And be it enacted, That no Ship carrying on any such Voyage as in the said recited Act is mentioned a greater Number of Passengers than in the Proportion of One Passenger to every Twenty-five Tons of the registered Tonnage of such Ship shall be allowed to clear out or proceed on her Voyage until the Master thereof shall have obtained from the Emigration Officer at the Port of Clearance, or his Assistant, or, where there is no such Officer, or in his Absence, from the Officer of Customs from whom a Clearance shall be demanded, a Certificate under his Hand that all the Requirements, as well of this Act as of the said recited Act, so far as the same can be complied with before the Departure of such Ship, have been duly complied with.

Ships putting into any Port in the United Kingdom after sailing to replenish Provisions, &c.

IX. And be it enacted, That if any Ship carrying on any such Voyage as in the said recited Act is mentioned a greater Number of Passengers than in the Proportion of One Passenger to every Twenty-five Tons of the registered Tonnage of such Ship shall put to Sea, and shall afterwards put into or touch at any Port or Place in the United Kingdom, it shall not be lawful for such Ship to leave such Port or Place until there shall have been laden on board, as herein-before is mentioned, such further Supply of pure Water, wholesome Provisions of the requisite Kinds and Qualities, and Medical Stores, as may be necessary to make up the full Quantities of those Articles required by the herein-before recited Act or this Act for the Use of the Passengers during the whole of the intended Voyage, nor until the Master of the said Ship shall have obtained from the Emigration Officer, or his Assistant, or, where there is no such Officer, or in his Absence, from the Officer of Customs, as the Case may be, at such Port or Place, a Certificate to the same Effect as the Certificate herein-before required to enable the Ship to be cleared out; and in case of any Default herein, the Master of the said Ship shall be liable to the Payment of a Penalty not exceeding One hundred Pounds Sterling.

In case Ship is wrecked, &c., or prevented from landing her Passengers in a reasonable Time, they shall be provided with a Passage by some other Vessel;

and in default, Passengers, &c. may recover Ex-

X. And be it enacted, That in case any Ship carrying Passengers on any such Voyage as in the said recited Act is mentioned shall be wrecked or otherwise destroyed, and shall thereby or by any other Cause whatsoever be prevented from landing her Passengers at the Place they may have respectively contracted to land, or in case such Ship shall put into any Port or Place in a damaged State, and shall not within a reasonable Time be ready to proceed with her Passengers on her intended Voyage, after having been first efficiently repaired, and in all respects put into a sound and seaworthy Condition, then and in any of such Cases such Passengers respectively shall be provided with a Passage by some other equally eligible Vessel to the Port or Place at which they respectively may have originally contracted to land; and in default thereof within a reasonable Time, such Passengers respectively, or any Emigration Officer on their Behalf, shall be entitled to recover, by summary

Process before any Two or more Justices of the Peace, in like Manner as in the said recited Act is provided in the Cases of Monies thereby made recoverable, all Monies which shall have been paid by or on account of such Passengers, or any of them, for such Passage, from the Party to whom the same may have been paid, or from the Owner, Charterer, or Master of such Ship, and also such further Sum, not exceeding Five Pounds in respect of each such Passage, as shall in the Opinion of the Justices who shall adjudicate on the Complaint be a reasonable Compensation for any Loss or Inconvenience occasioned to any such Passenger, or his or her Family, by reason of the Loss of such Passage.

pences by summary Process.

XI. And in order to remove Doubts which have arisen in the Construction of the said recited Act, be it enacted, That, for the Purpose of determining the Number of Persons which according to the said Act can be carried in any Ship in proportion to the registered Tonnage thereof, Two Children under the Age of Fourteen Years shall be computed as One Person, and that Children under the Age of One Year shall not be included in such Computation: Provided always, that if any Ship shall carry upon any such Voyage as in the said recited Act is mentioned a greater Number of Persons, computed as aforesaid, in proportion to the registered Tonnage thereof, than in the Proportion in the said recited Act mentioned, the Master of such Ship shall, for and in respect of every Person constituting such Excess, be liable to the Payment of a Penalty not exceeding Five Pounds Sterling.

How Children are to be computed in reckoning the Proportion of Passengers to Tonnage.

Penalty for Excess of Numbers in proportion to Tonnage.

XII. And be it enacted, That all Penalties imposed by this Act shall be sued for and recovered by such Persons only and in such and the same Manner as in the said recited Act is provided in the Case of the Penalties thereby imposed.

Recovery of Penalties.

XIII. And whereas in many Cases Persons having received under the Requirements of the said recited Act Contract Tickets or written Acknowledgments for Money in respect of Passengers to *North America* have afterwards been induced to part with the same, whereby they have been deprived of the Means of enforcing their Rights under such Contract Tickets; be it enacted, That any Owner, Charterer, or Master of a Ship, or any Passage Broker or other Person, who shall induce any Person to part with, render useless, or destroy any such Contract Ticket or Acknowledgment for Passage Money as aforesaid during the Continuance of the Contract which it is intended to be Evidence, shall be liable in each Case to a Penalty not exceeding Five Pounds.

Penalty on Person inducing another to part with Acknowledgment for Passage Money.

XIV. And be it enacted, That the Officers known as Government Emigration Agents may henceforward be styled "Emigration Officers;" and that all Powers, Functions, and Privileges vested in such Government Emigration Agents by the said recited Act or by any other Act shall vest in and be exercised by the "Emigration Officers" for the Time being, in like Manner as if they bore the Designation of Government Emigration Agent.

Government Emigration Agents to be henceforth styled "Emigration Officers."

Definition of Terms used in this Act.

XV. And be it enacted, That whenever the Term "Passenger" or "Passage" is used in this Act it shall be held not to include or extend to the Class of Passengers or Passages commonly known and understood by the Name of "Cabin Passengers" and "Cabin Passages;" and that the Term "Ship" shall include and mean every Description of Vessel, whether *British* or Foreign, carrying Passengers upon any Voyage to which the Provisions of the said herein-before recited Passengers Act or this Act shall for the Time being extend.

Act may be amended, &c.

XVI. And be it enacted, That this Act may be amended or repealed during the present Session of Parliament.

London: Printed by George E. Eyre and William Spottiswoode, Printers to the Queen's most Excellent Majesty. 1847.

Recd. 12 Nov. with Mr. Mann's No. 3.

A.

Copy.

Glasgow, 9th July, 1847

Sir,

From numerous applications made at this office it appears that much distress has been occasioned to the poorer class of Emigrants, by Passagebrokers in New-York, in connexion with English Brokers, contracting for a larger number of passengers from this country, than they can forward, and after receiving payment for such passages in New-York, leaving the Emigrants to shift for themselves. In such cases, as we cannot sue in this country for contracts made in New-York the only remedy that appears practicable, is to make the agents in this country (who, by correspondence have acknowledged themselves to be such) liable to the parties in all expenses incurred in consequence of being detained

J. Walcott Esqr.

&c. &c. &c.

beyond a reasonable time, and unless they agree to make such remuneration that they should be deprived of their licenses. – I have no doubt that all those Emigrants would have been shipped at the proper time had others not been engaged in their room at a higher rate of freight. –

I beg to state one case which would show the hardship to which Emigrants have been subjected from such duplicity.

A Passage was contracted with Joseph Mc Murray, 100, Pine Street New-York on the 5th of February last, for Edward Douds, his wife and 3 children, from Liverpool to New-York, for which 60 Dollars was paid, and the parties referred to James Beckett and Son 115 Waterloo Road, Liverpool, who should provide a ship, as their Agents, the passage Ticket was received by Edwd Douds in Ireland on the 28th of March, who wrote to Beckett & Son, desiring to know when he would require to be in Liverpool, an answer was returned, that notice would be sent when a ship was provided, upon this the poor man relying that he would not

have to wait long, sold off all that he had upon a small farm, and prepared for embarking, but although he had frequently written to Beckett, he has yet got no passage nor satisfaction, and is now reduced to a state of beggary with his family, having expended all the money he received for his stock. –

I enclose the last letter he received from Liverpool of date 12th May, where he is told to come forward in six weeks from that date, but he is now so reduced that he has not the means of reaching Liverpool, having been for some time subsisting upon charity. –

A remonstrance from the Commissioners might induce this Broker, at least, to enable this man with his family to reach Liverpool, and appoint a ship and day of sailing, by which he is to be conveyed.

Please to return the enclosed document, which I have forwarded for your information.

I have &c. &c.

(signed) James R. Forrest.

Rec.d 12 Nov. with M. Mann's No. 3.

(Copy.)

Certificate –

Liverpool and New-York Passage Offices.

Messrs. J. Beckett & Son
or
Mr. Richard Murphy } No. 115 Waterloo Road, Liverpool.

Joseph Mc. Murray, 100 Pine Street. New-York.

	Aged		
Letitia Terrance	"	Passage Money	$47.00
Alexander do	8 years	Hospital &c –	2.50
Rose do –	6 "	Passage from	
Thomas do	4 "	to Liverpool	
Child	2	Bread Money –	7.50

To come in the Stephen Whitney;
sails from Liverpool 26th June

New-York, 20th April 1847.

William Boyd having engaged passage for you from Liverpool to New-York (dangers of the seas excepted) in the steerage of one of my vessels, – Messrs. James Beckett & Son or Mr. Richard Murphy No. 115 Waterloo Road Liverpool, will write to you, and inform you when to be in Liverpool prepared to embark; and, on presenting this certificate to them they will provide you with comfortable accommodations. If you cannot be in Liver.

pool at the time requested by them, you must write to them, and inform them when you can be there, and they will give you a passage in another vessel. Should any circumstance prevent your coming to America, you must also in this case write to Messrs. James Beckett & Son, or Mr. Richard Murphy, informing them of that fact and return this certificate, enclosed in a letter direct to the person who paid your passage here, in order that I may return the amount paid for your passage. — You are to provide your own cooking utensils, Bedding and Stores, except breadstuffs, which will be provided by the ship, and for which the Captain is responsible. — If there be more persons (embark) than are named in this certificate, and only a portion of them embark, it shall be the duty of the person or persons embarking, to bring along with them an order for the return of the passagemoney of those who did not embark, from James Beckett & Son or Richard Murphy, Liverpool, and the amount after deducting the necessary expenses, will be returned to the persons from whom it

was originally received. If such order be not brought agreably to these directions, the person who paid the passage cannot have the money refunded.

Your letter you will direct to J. Beckett & Son or to Richard Murphy No 115 Waterloo Road, Liverpool, and please pay the postage.

The above certificate good for the passage of one Adult and no children under 13 years of age,

Any friends desirous of coming with you, can be accommadated with good Berths in the same Ship, at moderate rates, by making application at the same office.

(Signed) J. McMurray.
p. H. O'Brien.

Rec.d 12 Nov. with Mr. Mann's No 3.

Police Maritime

Léopold, Roi des Belges

A tous présents et à venir, salut

Vu la loi du 27 Septembre 1842, sur la Police maritime; considérant qu'il importe, dans l'interêt de l'humanité, de prendre des mesures d'ordre et de salubrité à l'égard de l'embarquement des émigrans étrangers vers les ports des pays transatlantiques;

Sur la proposition de notre Ministre des affaires étrangères,

Avons arrêté et arrêtons:

Art. 1er. Les Commissaires maritimes sont chargés de la surveillance des navires destinés au transport des émigrans et de tout ce qui concerne ces transports.

Art. 2. Les Commissaires maritimes seront au besoin, assistés d'un officier de santé de la marine et d'experts nommés par l'Etat.

Art 3. Leur surveillance s'exercera spécialement sur les points suivants:

1o L'état de navigabilité des navires destinés au transport des emigrans,

leur gréement, leur équipement et leur appropriation à ce service.

2.° Les entreponts et les couchettes qu'ils renferment, ainsi que les objets de couchage;

Ils pourront prescrire à cet égard toutes les mesures qu'ils jugeront propres à assurer la santé et le bien-être des emigrans.

La hauteur des entreponts sous barots doit être au moins d'un mètre cinquante centimètres;

3.° La qualité et la quantité des approvisionnemens des rivres et d'eau fraiche.

Cette quantité est déterminée à raison de la durée présumée du voyage, d'après l'indication suivante:

90 jours pour les Etats Unis d'Amerique;

100 jours pour le Golfe du Mexique et le Brésil;

110 jours pour la rivière de la Plata;

180 jours pour les pays situés au dela du Cap Horn ou du Cap de bonne Espérance.

Les futailles à eau doivent

être bonnes, propres et bien conditionnées

Les deux tiers au moins de l'approvisionnement d'eau fraiche devront être arrimés sous le pont.

4°. L'embarquement à bord de chaque Navire d'une Caisse à médicamens avec l'instruction necessaire pour s'en servir;

5°. La quantité et la bonne qualité des médicamens;

6°. L'embarquement d'un approvisionnement suffisant de combustible et de luminaire.

Art: 4. Les provisions de mer doivent être faites et distribuées aux émigrans par les soins du Capitaine.

Cependant les émigrans seront autorisés à embarquer, pour leur propre usage, des comestibles en boissons supplementaires.

Art. 5. Les provisions de mer ne pourront être entamées avant le départ.

Art. 6. Les émigrans auront le droit d'être admis et logés à bord huit jours au moins avant l'époque fixée pour le départ du navire, mais en ce cas, les vi-

vres, feu et lumière, restent à leur charge, jus-
qu'au jour déterminé pour le départ.

Art 7 Les Commissaires maritimes fix-
ent le nombre d'émigrans que chaque navire
peut transporter, en égard à sa construction
et à sa capacité.

Dans aucun cas, un navire ne
peut embarquer plus de deux passagers pour
cinq tonneaux de jauge

Art. 8 A dater du 1er Avril 1843, les ex-
peditions de sortie ne seront délivrées à des
navires à voiles ayant plus de 25 passagers,
que sur la production d'un certificat consta-
tant l'accomplissement de toutes les obligati-
ons imposées par le present arrêté.

Art 9. Les arrêtés royaux du 28 Février
et du 12 Juillet 1828, sont abrogés.

Art 10. Notre Ministre des Affaires
Etrangères est chargé de l'exécution du
present arrêté.

Donné à Bruxelles le 14 Mars 1843

Léopold,

Par le Roi

Le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères

(signed) Comte de Briey.

Rec.d 12 Nov. with M. Maim's N.o 3.

Substance of an Ordinance of the King of Holland, of 28 December 1837, respecting emigrant passengers.

Art. 1. All ship owners, ship brokers, and forwarding merchants, settled in this King= dom, who may be desirous of occupying them. selves with the transit of Emigrants, must declare their intention to the supervisors, appoin. ted by the authorities of the place in which they reside; and who shall be composed of one member of the City Council, and two or more accredited Traders, forwarding Merchants, or ship-Owners.

Art 2. This declaration shall contain a state= ment of the number, either entire or in di. visions, of the Emigrants to be expedited, in order to serve as a basis of the bond and security herein after to be mentioned. Said declaration must be also accompanied:

1st. by a notarial Act, in which the ship. Owners, as other aforenamed persons, bind them= selves: —

a) to provide for the proper reception

vres, feu et lumière, restent à leur charge, jusqu'au jour déterminé pour le départ.

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Art 2. This declaration shall contain a statement of the number, either entire or in divisions, of the Emigrants to be expedited, in order to serve as a basis of the bond and security, herein after to be mentioned. Said declaration must be also accompanied:

1st. by a notarial Act, in which the ship-Owners, as other aforenamed persons, bind themselves:

a) to provide for the proper reception

of the Emigrants on their arrival at the frontier of this Kingdom, and for their regular passage, besides the necessary Lodgings, maintenance, &c during the Journey from the frontier to the port of Shipment.

b.) to provide a good vessel for such transport: — well provisioned, and with proper medical attendence.

c) to make provision that the vessel be in perfect readiness, with all proper necessaries for the Seavoyage, in time for the immediate embarcation of the Emigrant.

d) to provide for the necessary domiciles and maintenance of the Emigrants, in the event of any unexpected delay in the port of Trans-shipment, on the part of the vessel destined to transport them.

e) in case of Sea-damage, or shipwreck, either in the River, on the Coast, or in the European seas, to provide the emigrants with another vessel, well fitted out with the necessaries, in order that they may not prove a burden to the Country: — towards which and the Commanders of the vessels must be provided with the necessary funds or credits; or such securities from the owners or shipmas-

ters, that the requisite money be deposited in a good source, or that the amount be insured in a safe Insurance Company.

2nd by a notarial Act, Containing a general bond, to be enforced for the benefit of the Kingdom in cases of necessity; to be witnessed by said board of supervision, to the amount of one hundred and fifty Guilders per person, to the extent of the number of Emigrants specified in the Statement. Said bond to be strengthened by the security of two or more well known houses of credit resident in this country, and who shall be satisfactory to said board of supervision; which security must be binding upon all persons jointly and severally in relation to the various particulars contained in the beginning of this article.

3d inclusive of the amount in Article IIe, sub 2nd, in said bond there must be mentioned, for the satisfaction of the Kingdom, and by means of said board of Supervision, all expenses, damage, and interest which may accrue, not only through the negligence of the persons undertaking the enterprize in not fulfilling the aforesaid requirements, laid down

in Art II; and those, which may follow in the hereafter mentioned Articles; but likewise through the conduct of the Emigrants, for whose transportation they have become responsible.

6th. said board of supervision shall keep a vigilant eye to the upholding said bond, as long as the declaration alluded to in Art I. shall remain in force, in order that the same may always present a sufficient security. They shall in judging of the seaworthiness of the vessels destined for the transportation of Emigrants, direct their attention to the existence of: —

a) the necessary shipsroom, taking as a basis the limit of four persons to every five lasts, according to the Netherland register; two children under fifteen years, to be calculated to an adult person. Said board further to notice whether the requisite quantity of provisions, for the maintenance of the Emigrants, be onboard.

b) the funds, credit or insurance enumerated at the end of Art IIe letter b); and lastly, to have exhibited to them the proper evidences of policies of Insurance, in order that the report hereinafter required in Art. 7 can be made.

5th the hereinnamed ship-owners, shipbrokers, and forwarding Merchants, shall impo

instance exceed the specifications before made according to Art II, give notice thereof to the board of supervision, and take care that an agent on their part, upon the arrival of the Emigrants on the frontier, be stationed at the nearest custom-house depot, in order, under the superintendance of an authorized officer, to receive authentic copies of the document required in Art II regularly qualified by the board of supervisors besides a numeral list in duplicate of the Emigrants belonging to the transport, whose entry they shall facilitate, and farther direct them in the prosecution of their journey: — the said officer shall take due notice, that in the name of the manager of the enterprize, who shall have exhibited his documents, in the first instance, no larger number of Emigrants be admitted, than is specified in his documents: in order, by further transports, by him to see the exact numbe, forwarded by his list, for which purpose the original number of Emigrants already passed through, shall be deducted, in compliance with the observance of what is afterwards specified in Art. VII.

6th.) one of these numerical Lists

signed by the Agent of the Managers, shall remain in possession of the aforesaid officer, in order that he may immediately dispatch the same, with his endorsement to the board of Supervision: this board shall retain a copy of its contents, and send the original with a statement of the name and Master, to the chief officer of the revenues at the port of embarcation, who shall deposit the same in the hands of a special officer, whose duty it shall be to watch the dispatch of the vessel until the last moment, when he shall compare the list with the number of Emigrants actually on board, and return the same accompanied with his endorsement, to the board of supervisors, in order, after entering the same upon their records, to be forwarded to the last Custom House on the river side.

7th as soon as the vessel, in which a formed number of Emigrants has entered upon the passage, can be considered, as having left the European seas, and consequently no more responsibility resting upon the Managers in reference to the subject specified in Art 12, letter e, they shall give notice thereof to the board of supervision, in order to obtain a

certificate to that effect, which certificate, after a proper examination as to the correctness thereof, can be delivered and transmitted to the officer of the last customhouse on the river side, who upon the receipt thereof, shall deduct the specified number of Emigrants actually passed through from the whole amount of Emigrants bonded by the particular managers who, on their part, shall be again credited for a similar number during the existence under Art II sub 3d, of the contract and bond in which their entire number is specified; giving however immediate notice to the aforesaid officer, at the expiration of the bond, of the renewal of the same by the board of supervision, for the whole, or part of the number.

8th the ship-owner, ship-owners, shipbrokers, and forwarding Merchants shall through their agent give notice to the Emigrants, upon treating with them of the particulars of these conditions, besides which there shall be hung up on board of the vessels the necessary copies of this ordinance in the Dutch and German languages, in order that the Emigrants may make themselves acquainted with it.

The Emigrants may, if they should desire it, prior to making arrangements, apply to the Netherland Minister, Charge d'Affaires or Consul residing in the Country whence they wish to depart, in order to be informed of said particulars.

9th the shipowners, shipbrokers and forwarding merchants, shall, through Agents, take notice, that the Emigrants be provided with the necessary passports, upon which be specified, according to Art V the therein mentioned numerical statement, and whenever the passport require the signature of a Diplomatic or Consular agent, it shall be granted by the Netherland Minister, Charge d'Affaires, or Consul, in the Countries whence the Emigrants either depart or pass through, provided the necessary documents be exhibited to them by the said Agent of the ship owners, ship brokers, or forwarding Merchants, who have contracted with the Emigrant.

10th on the arrival of the Emigrant on the Frontier of this Kingdom, and during their Journey thence to the port of embarcation, there shall be exten-

ded to the Agents of the ship-owners &, by the public Authorities, every necessary aid and assistance: similar assistance and protection shall also be extended to the Managers at the port of embarcation, in order that the parties be spared from every possible detention.

11th The Ordinance of the 28th February and the 12th July 1828, and 9th July 1832 are cancelled, and rendered null and void.

Rec.d 12 Nov. mit M. Manifest No. 3.

Revidirte Verordnung

in Betreff

der Verschiffung

der

über Hamburg direct nach andern Welttheilen

Auswandernden.

Auf Befehl

Eines Hochedlen Raths

der freien und Hansestadt Hamburg

publicirt

den 26. März 1845.



Gedruckt bei Joh. Aug. Meißner, E. Hochedl. und Hochw. Raths Buchdrucker.

E. H. Rath hat es für angemessen erachtet, die Verordnung in Betreff der Verschiffung der, über hier nach andern Welttheilen Auswandernden, vom 27. Februar 1837, u. w. d. a. einer Revision zu unterziehen, und bringt in obrigkeitlicher Fürsorge für die Auswandernden, so wie im Interesse der hiesigen Schifffahrt, nachstehende revidirte Verordnung zur öffentlichen Kunde. Alle früheren, die directe Beförderung von Auswanderern betreffenden Verordnungen, insofern die Vorschriften derselben nicht ohnehin in sonstigen Gesetzen begründet sind, werden hierdurch aufgehoben.

§. 1.

Diese Verordnung erstreckt sich auf alle Schiffe, auf denen von Hamburg oder Cuxhaven aus mehr als 25 Zwischendecks-Passagiere direct nach andern Welttheilen befördert werden sollen.

§. 2.

Das Geschäft der Beförderung von Auswanderern ist nur hiesigen Bürgern und Einwohnern, und außerdem nur solchen fremden Schiffern, welche durch hier ansässige schuldige Bürgen vertreten sind, gestattet. Die betreffenden Contracte können von den Ueberfahrern selbst abgeschlossen werden; findet aber eine Vermittelung statt, so steht diese ausschließlich den hiesigen Schiffsmaklern zu, welchen die gesetzliche Courtage nur von dem Befrachter und nicht von den Passagieren zu bezahlen ist.

§. 3.

Der Makler ist verpflichtet, vor Einschiffung der Passagiere, der Polizei-Behörde denjenigen namhaft zu machen, welcher durch ihn Contracte wegen Beförderung von Auswanderern hat abschließen lassen. Wenn kein Makler hinzugezogen ist, hat der Contrahent selbst die Anzeige zu machen.

§. 4.

Der Makler, oder wenn keiner hinzugezogen ist, der Contrahent selbst, hat vor Abgang des Schiffs der Polizeibehörde ein Verzeichniß aller mit diesem Schiffe zu befördernden Auswanderer, unter Angabe des Geburtsortes, Geschlechts, Alters, Berufs und Bestimmungsortes derselben, einzureichen. Gehen

nicht alle engagirten Auswanderer mit, so ist ein Namensverzeichniß der Zurückgebliebenen unmittelbar nach Abgang des Schiffs bei derselben Behörde einzureichen.

§. 5.

Der Contrahent hat dafür zu sorgen, daß das Schiff zu der beabsichtigten Reise in völlig seetüchtigem Zustande sich befinde und zur Aufnahme der mitreisenden Passagiere bequem eingerichtet sey. Das zur Aufnahme derselben bestimmte Zwischendeck muß eine Höhe von mindestens 5½ Fuß haben und in Kojen von mindestens 6 Fuß Länge eingetheilt seyn. Die 4-Mannskojen müssen mindestens 6 Fuß Breite haben. Es dürfen nicht mehr als 2 Kojen über einander angebracht, und zwischen den Schlafstellen der Passagiere keine Güter geladen werden.

§. 6.

Der Contrahent hat ferner dafür zu sorgen, daß für die wahrscheinlich längste Dauer der Reise hinlänglicher und guter Proviant mitgenommen werde, und zwar liegt ihm diese Verpflichtung auch dann ob, wenn er die Verproviantirung contractlich den Passagieren selbst überlassen hat. Der mitzunehmende Proviant muß mindestens in 2 ℔ Fleisch und 1 ℔ Speck, [illegible] 6 ℔ Brod pr. Woche für jeden Passagier bestehen. Außerdem muß eine hinlängliche Quantität von trockenem

Gemüse, als Bohnen, Erbsen, Graupen und Mehl, und zwar zusammen zum Betrage von mindestens 3½ ℔ pr. Woche für jeden Passagier, mitgenommen werden.

Als wahrscheinlich längste Dauer der Reise wird angesehen:

a) nach der Ostküste von Nord-America, Westindien, Para und Maranhao, bis zum Cap St. Roque in Brasilien einschließlich . . 13 Wochen.

b) nach der brasilischen Küste vom Cap St. Roque bis einschließlich der Mündung des Plata-Stromes . . . . . 16 Wochen.

c) nach dem Cap der guten Hoffnung . . . 18 Wochen.

d) nach Australien, van Diemens-Land und Neuseeland . . . . . 27 Wochen.

Schiffe die von hier direct nach fremden Welttheilen gehen, müssen an gutem Wasser, wenn der Bestimmungsort weiter als das Cap St. Roque liegt, 2 Oxhoft, wenn er an der Ostküste von America zwischen dem Cap St. Roque und dem 32. Grad nördl. Breite liegt, 1½ Oxhoft, wenn nördlicher als der 32. Grad nördl. Breite 1 Oxhoft für die Person mitnehmen.

Rücksichtlich der Verproviantirung und des Schiffsraumes sind 3 Kinder unter 7 Jahren, und 2 Kinder unter 12 Jahren

für Einen Passagier, Kinder unter 12 Monaten gar nicht zu rechnen.

Außerdem ist für Mitnahme der erforderlichen Medicin-Kiste Sorge zu tragen.

§. 7.

Der Contrahent ist verpflichtet, vor Einschiffung der Passagiere, dem Hafenherrn nachzuweisen, daß den Vorschriften der vorstehenden §§. 5 und 6 vollständig genügt sey, und hat zu dem Behuf, wenn er selbst ein Hiesiger und auch das Schiff ein Hamburgisches ist, eine desfallsige Versicherung auf geleistetem Bürgereid zu geben, sonst aber ein Attest zweier, von der Commerz-Deputation zu ernennender, beeidigter Schiffsbesichtiger beizubringen.

§. 8.

Der Contrahent ist ferner verpflichtet, vor Abgang des Schiffes, dem Polizeiherrn durch Producirung der Police nachzuweisen, daß die gehörige Versicherung für die ganze Dauer der Reise geschlossen sey. Die Versicherung muß dahin lauten, daß der Versicherer sich verbindlich macht, die Kosten zu ersetzen, welche aufzuwenden sind, um im Schadensfalle die Passagiere sowohl während einer etwaigen Reparatur zu beköstigen und zu behausen, als auch um, falls das Schiff seine Reise nicht fortsetzen könnte, die Beförderung der Passagiere an den Be-

stimmungsort zu beschaffen. Die den hiesigen Behörden aus einem solchen Unfall etwa erwachsenden Kosten sind gleichfalls aus dieser Versicherung zu ersetzen.

Eine glaubwürdige Abschrift der Police ist bei der Polizei-Behörde zu deponiren.

An die Stelle der Versicherung kann eine genügende Caution, zum Belaufe des vollen Passagegeldes nebst Bco.*m*$\frac{k}{}$ 40. für jeden Passagier, zugelassen werden.

§. 9.

Sobald die in §§. 7 und 8 vorgeschriebenen Nachweisungen beschafft sind, erhält der Contrahent vom Polizeiherrn eine Bescheinigung darüber; ohne eine solche darf kein in die Kathegorie des §. 1 gehöriges Schiff den Hafen verlassen.

§. 10.

Nach Maaßgabe des Bundescartells als Deserteurs oder entwichene Militairpflichtige anzusehende Personen, so wie auch solche, die sich der Strafe begangener Vergehen oder Verbrechen zu entziehen suchen, dürfen nicht als Passagiere angenommen werden. Hiesigen Unmündigen wird die Einschiffung nur mit Zustimmung ihrer Eltern, Vormünder oder diese vertretender Personen und Behörden gestattet.

§. 11.

Die von hier zu befördernden Auswanderer haben sich sofort nach ihrer Ankunft bei der Polizei-Behörde zu melden und deren Anweisungen Folge zu leisten.

§. 12.

Bei verzögertem Abgange des Schiffes hat der Contrahent, von dem im Contracte bestimmten Termin der Expedirung an, jedem Passagier, sofern er ihn nicht am Bord oder am Lande beherbergt und beköstigt, eine Vergütung von 12 ß pr. Tag zu bezahlen.

§. 13.

Jeder Passagier hat das Recht, eine schriftliche Ausfertigung des von ihm geschlossenen Contractes in deutscher Sprache, so wie die Einsicht dieser Verordnung zu verlangen, von welcher überdies einige Exemplare durch Anschlag am Bord eines jeden Auswandererschiffes zur Kenntniß der Passagiere zu bringen sind.

§. 14.

Beschwerden der Auswanderer gegen den Contrahenten, oder dieser gegen jene, vor Abgang des Schiffes, sind bei dem Polizeiherrn oder, falls das Schiff hier abgegangen und in Cuxhaven eingelaufen wäre, bei dem Herrn Amtmann zu

Ritzebüttel anzubringen. Desgleichen können Beschwerden über das, dieser Verordnung oder dem geschlossenen Contracte nicht entsprechende Verfahren des Schiffers oder sonstiger Mandatare des Contrahenten während der Reise, falls sie sich nicht am Bestimmungsorte erledigen, entweder direct oder durch Vermittlung eines hamburgischen Consulats, bei dem Polizeiherrn angebracht werden, welcher deren Untersuchung und eventuelle Bestrafung verfügen oder das Weitere nach Befinden der Umstände veranlassen wird.

§. 15.

Rücksichtlich der von Cuxhaven expedirten, in die Kathegorie des §. 1 gehörigen Schiffe stehen dem Herrn Amtmann zu Ritzebüttel dieselben Befugnisse zu, welche durch diese Verordnung hinsichtlich der von Hamburg expedirten Schiffe dem Polizeiherrn, dem Hafenherrn und der Commerz-Deputation zugewiesen werden.

Gegeben in Unserer Raths-Versammlung zu Hamburg am 26. März 1845.

Rec.d 12 Nov. with W. Mann's No. 3.

Obrigkeitliche Verordnung.

1847. Mai 21. Revidirte Verordnung in Betreff der Beförderung von Schiffspassagieren.

Da es für zweckmäßig erachtet worden, die bisherigen Verordnungen über die **Beförderung von Schiffspassagieren**, insbesondere von Auswanderern, einer Revision zu unterziehen, und nicht blos die in mehreren frühern Verordnungen enthaltenen Vorschriften zur bessern Uebersicht in Eine allgemeine Verordnung zusammen zu fassen, sondern auch mit Benutzung der bisherigen Erfahrungen diejenigen Modificationen eintreten zu lassen, welche sich sowohl im allgemeinen Interesse als in dem aller Betheiligten als nothwendig oder nützlich ergeben haben, so verordnet der Senat das Folgende:

§. 1.

Die Befugniß, Cajüts- oder Zwischendecks-Passagiere zur Ueberfahrt nach einem überseeischen Hafen für ein Schiff anzunehmen, steht nur dessen Rheder oder Correspondenten, sowie demjenigen zu, welchem vermöge eines mit dem Rheder oder Correspondenten geschlossenen Befrachtungs-Contracts das Schiff im Ganzen oder doch für sämmtliche damit zu verschiffende Passagiere zu eigner alleiniger Disposition gestellt ist.

Bei dieser Vorschrift bleibt es indeß auch andern Personen unbenommen, auswärts Passagiere zum Zweck ihrer demnächstigen Verschiffung anzunehmen oder annehmen zu lassen, bevor für dieselben ein bestimmtes Schiff zur Disposition steht.

§. 2.

Die bisherige Vorschrift, daß jeder, welcher in Gemäßheit der vorstehenden Bestimmungen Passagiere annehmen will, nicht nur das Bremische Bürgerrecht mit Handlungsfreiheit besitzen, sondern auch zugleich in Bremen selbst wohnen und von Bremen aus das Geschäft betreiben muß, bleibt bis auf Weiteres in Kraft.

§. 3.

Wer auf erlaubte Weise Passagiere angenommen hat, jedoch demnächst in der Lage sich befindet, sie nicht selbst befördern zu können, darf sie zwar, wenn anders sein Vertragsverhältniß zu ihnen es gestattet, einem andern Schiffsexpedienten überlassen.

Damit aber diese Befugniß nicht gemißbraucht und namentlich nicht auch dazu benutzt werde, um einem unstatthaften Zwischenverkehre zum Vorwande zu dienen, wird zugleich festgesetzt:

a) daß wer zu einer solchen Ueberlassung sich bewogen findet, dabei immer nur in der Art verfahren darf, daß von ihm dem Uebernehmer kein geringeres Passagegeld, als das ihm von den Passagieren bezahlte, entrichtet wird, wobei er indeß zum Ersatze für alle wegen Annahme und Ueberlassung der Passagiere gehabten Kosten und Bemühungen vier Procent des Passagegeldes in Absatz bringen darf;

b) daß er, wenn er etwa wegen veränderter Zeitumstände die Passagiere zu einem geringern Passagegelde unterbringt, verpflichtet ist, denselben diesen Ueberschuß auf das von ihnen bezahlte Passagegeld zurückzuzahlen.

§. 4.

Die Ankündigung eines Schiffs in öffentlichen Blättern für Passagiere ist nur dem Rheder oder Correspondenten desselben und dem damit beauftragten Schiffsmäkler, sowie demjenigen gestattet, welchem nach der Bestimmung des § 1. zufolge eines Befrachtungs-Contracts die Disposition über das Schiff zusteht.

Sollte indeß Jemand, um auswärts Passagiere für ein Schiff anzunehmen, dasselbe schon vor wirklichem Abschlusse eines solchen Befrachtungs-Contracts in auswärtigen öffentlichen Blättern anzukündigen wünschen, so soll ihm dieses zwar unverwehrt sein, jedoch nur nachdem er zuvor von dem Rheder oder Correspondenten des Schiffs eine bestimmte Autorisation dazu erlangt hat.

§. 5.

Die Vermittelung der Passagierannahme steht ausschließlich den hiesigen Schiffsmäklern zu, welche nach den sie betreffenden amtlichen Vorschriften und Anordnungen zu verfahren haben.

An Courtage dürfen sie außer den taxmäßigen zwei Procent des Passagegeldes noch für die durch Vermittelung ihrer auswärtigen Agenten angenommenen Auswanderer eine Vergütung von zwei Procent des von diesen zu zahlenden Passagegeldes berechnen.

§. 6.

Bis auf Weiteres ist es den hiesigen Schiffsmäklern auch gestattet, Passagiere zum Zwecke ihrer demnächstigen Verschiffung selbst anzunehmen oder für ihre Rechnung annehmen zu lassen und die wegen ihrer Beförderung erforderlichen Verträge einzugehen, jedoch mit der ausdrücklichen Beschränkung, daß dieselben an eine der im §. 1 gedachten Personen, welche für die Befolgung der Vorschriften dieser Verordnung verantwortlich ist und die Expedition des Schiffs besorgt, zur endlichen Verschiffung zu überlassen sind, und die betreffenden Schiffsmäkler sich dieserhalb mit den von ihnen angenommenen Passagieren zu verständigen haben; im Uebrigen aber bleiben die bisherigen Verordnungen wegen des Geschäftsbetriebs der Schiffsmäkler in Kraft.

Diese Vorschrift findet auch auf vor Publikation dieser Verordnung von den Schiffsmäklern etwa schon geschlossene derartige Verträge Anwendung.

§. 7.

Allen denen, welche zufolge §. 1 und 2 dieser Verordnung zur Annahme von Passagieren berechtigt sind, bleibt es unbenommen, mit denselben ohne Zuziehung eines Schiffsmäklers auf ihren Namen Ueberfahrtsverträge abzuschließen.

§. 8.

Jede Uebertretung der im §. 1. bis 6. enthaltenen Vorschriften zieht eine Geldbuße bis zu Funfzig Thalern, und im Wiederholungsfalle eine angemessene höhere Geldbuße nach sich, insbesondere trifft diese Strafe Jeden, welcher sich als Unterhändler unbefugter Weise mit der Annahme von Passagieren befaßt.

§. 9.

Um darüber, ob in Betreff der Annahme der Auswanderer vorschriftsmäßig verfahren worden, eine genaue Controlle zu erlangen, wird hiedurch festgesetzt, daß Jeder, welcher, es sei im Bremischen Staatsgebiete oder aus-

wärts, einen Auswanderer annimmt oder durch seinen Agenten annehmen läßt, demselben sofort einen Schein über diese Annahme zustellen oder durch seinen Agenten zustellen lassen muß, auf welchem stets der Name und Vorname des oder der Angenommenen und die Summe, wozu die Ueberfahrt bedungen worden, zu bemerken ist. Auch ist auf diesem Scheine über die theilweise oder zum Vollen geschehene Zahlung zu quittiren.

Diese Annahme-Scheine dienen den Passagieren zu ihrer Legitimation und sind, nachdem das etwa weiter Erforderliche hier darauf bemerkt worden, am Bord des Seeschiffs dem Capitain desselben einzuhändigen, welcher sie alsdann dem Rheder oder Correspondenten einzusenden hat.

§. 10.

Da seither manche Personen sich ordnungswidriger Weise damit befaßt haben, hier ankommende Auswanderer durch Ueberredungen und Vorspiegelungen für ein Schiff zu gewinnen und dem Expedienten desselben oder dem von ihm mit der Besorgung beauftragten Schiffsmäkler gegen eine Vergütung zuzuweisen, die gänzliche Abstellung dieses Unfugs aber zur Aufrechthaltung der Ordnung überhaupt und der gegen unberechtigte Vermittler bestehenden Vorschriften insbesondere, so wie im Interesse der Auswanderer und der Schiffsexpedienten, durchaus nothwendig ist, so wird in dieser Rücksicht das Folgende verordnet:

a) Es ist Niemand gestattet, sich dafür, daß er einen Passagier einem Dritten zuführt oder zuweiset, um dadurch die Annahme desselben für ein Schiff zu bewirken, eine Vergütung an Geld oder Geldeswerth, wenn auch nur mittelbarer Weise, leisten oder auch nur versprechen zu lassen, und zwar ohne Unterschied, ob die Vergütung auf einzelne Fälle, oder auf einen fortgesetzten Betrieb der Art sich bezieht, und ohne Unterschied, von wem dieselbe ihm gegeben oder verheißen werden mag.

Jede Uebertretung dieses Verbots zieht sowohl für den, welcher sich eine solche Vergütung hat leisten oder versprechen lassen, als auch, sofern nicht etwa der Passagier selbst dazu verleitet sein sollte, für jeden Andern, welcher sie geleistet oder versprochen hat, eine nach den Umständen zu ermessende Geld- oder Gefängnißstrafe nach sich.

b) Die nämliche Strafe trifft Jeden, welcher einen Auswanderer für ein bestimmtes Schiff oder für einen bestimmten Schiffsexpedienten oder Schiffsmäkler durch unwahre Vorstellungen zu gewinnen sich bemüht, oder welcher einen Auswanderer, von dem er weiß, daß er bereits von einem Andern für die Ueberfahrt angenommen ist, diesem auf irgend eine Weise abspenstig zu machen sucht.

c) Insbesondere wird es allen Gast- und Schenkwirthen sowohl in der Stadt als auch im Gebiete, bei Vermeidung derselben Strafe, auch den Umständen nach bei Verlust ihrer Concession, zur Pflicht gemacht, nicht nur selbst keine unerlaubte Handlungen der Art sich zu Schulden kommen zu lassen, sondern auch sorgfältig und streng darauf zu halten, daß solches nicht von ihren Dienstboten oder sonstigen Angehörigen geschehe.

§. 11.

Da es zur Abwendung von Aufenthalt und sonstigen Nachtheilen erforderlich ist, daß die Auswanderer schon vor ihrer Reise nach Bremen die für ihre demnächstige Einschiffung nöthigen Einschickungen treffen, so werden dieselben dringend aufgefordert, vorab an die hiesigen Schiffsexpedienten oder Schiffsmäkler oder an die auswärtigen Bevollmächtigten derselben sich zu wenden und wegen der Schiffsgelegenheit für ihre Ueberfahrt, wegen der darauf sich beziehenden Bedingungen, sowie wegen der Zeit, da das Schiff abgefertigt werden soll und sie sich folglich hieselbst einzufinden haben, das Erforderliche zu verabreden, auch vorab mit den zur Bezahlung des Passagegeldes und zur Bestreitung ihrer anderweitigen Bedürfnisse nöthigen Geldmitteln sich zu versehen.

So wie ihnen, wenn sie unter solchen Verhältnissen anlangen, von den Bremischen Behörden jeder gesetzliche Schutz gewährt werden wird, so würde ihnen im entgegengesetzten Falle, sofern es ihnen an den für ihren Unterhalt während ihres hiesigen Verweilens und für die Ueberfahrt erforderlichen Mitteln fehlen sollte, der Aufenthalt hieselbst nicht gestattet werden können.

§. 12.

Die Auswanderer sind ferner verpflichtet, sich persönlich für sich und ihre Angehörigen in Bremen bei der Polizei-Direction zu melden, um daselbst nach vorgängiger Legitimation einen Erlaubnißschein für ihren hiesigen Aufenthalt, nebst den sonst etwa nöthigen Anweisungen zu erhalten.

Sollten dennoch Einzelne sich, ohne nach Bremen zu kommen, direct nach Bremerhaven oder Vegesack, als dem Einschiffungsplatze begeben haben, so haben sie jene Anmeldung und Legitimation sofort bei dem dortigen Amte zu verfügen.

§. 13.

Die Polizeibehörden haben besonders darauf zu achten, daß, falls Deserteure oder Militairpflichtige eines andern Deutschen Bundesstaats sich durch Auswanderung ihren Verbindlichkeiten zu entziehen versuchen würden, in Gemäßheit der bestehenden Cartell-Conventionen, namentlich der am 7. März 1831 hieselbst publicirten Bundes-Cartell-Convention sämmtlicher Deutscher Bundesstaaten, verfahren werde.

§. 14.

Da sich in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika die Besorgniß verbreitet hat, daß die daselbst bisher gewährte Freiheit zur Ansiedelung durch solche Einwanderer, welche sich begangener Verbrechen oder Vergehen halber der Strafe zu entziehen suchen oder von Europäischen Straf- oder Armen-Anstalten dorthin gesandt würden, gemißbraucht werde, solche Individuen aber auf Schiffen, die von Bremen oder dessen Häfen aus expedirt werden, um so weniger Aufnahme finden können, als vielmehr die befreundeten Verbindungen und die ausgedehnten Handelsverhältnisse, welche zwischen Bremen und den Vereinigten Staaten bestehen, dem Senate einen besondern Anlaß darbieten, das Interesse dieser Staaten zu berücksichtigen, so haben die Polizeibehörden sorgfältig darauf zu achten, daß nicht Personen der gedachten Art als Passagiere aufgenommen werden. Im Betretungsfalle haben sie dieselben anzuhalten und deren Rücksendung in ihre Heimath zu bewirken.

§. 15.

§. 15.

Allen Schiffsrhedern, Schiffscorrespondenten und Schiffsbefrachtern ist untersagt, solche in den §. §. 13 und 14 bezeichnete Personen als Passagiere für ihre Schiffe anzunehmen. Sie sind daher auch, falls sie wissentlich diesem Verbote zuwider handeln, unbeschadet der etwa sie treffenden Strafen und sonstigen nachtheiligen Folgen, dem Staate für die deshalb etwa entstehenden Kosten verantwortlich.

§. 16.

Die Schiffsmäkler sind, bei Vermeidung gleicher Nachtheile, angewiesen, sich jeder Abschließung von Ueberfahrtsverträgen für solche Personen zu enthalten. Auch haben sie, sobald sie in Erfahrung bringen, daß die durch sie angenommenen Passagiere Individuen der erwähnten Art seien, dieses der Polizei-Direction anzuzeigen und deren weiteren Anordnung zu befolgen.

§. 17.

Jeder, welcher in der Stadt oder dem Gebiete einen fremden Auswanderer ohne Aufenthaltskarte oder nach deren Ablauf beherbergt, verfällt in Gemäßheit der wegen Beherbergung von Fremden bestehenden Polizeivorschriften in eine Geldbuße bis zu zehn Thalern.

§. 18.

Alle Schiffsexpedienten werden dringend aufgefordert, die Auswanderer nicht eher nach dem Einschiffungsplatze gelangen zu lassen, als bis das für sie bestimmte Schiff so vollständig bereit und versehen ist, daß sie auf demselben gleich nach ihrer Ankunft Aufnahme finden können.

Sie haben daher für solche etwanige Fälle, da bei der Ankunft der Passagiere in Bremerhaven oder Vegesack diese Aufnahme noch nicht sogleich erfolgen könnte, für einstweiliges Unterkommen und einstweiligen Unterhalt derselben durch einen daselbst anwesenden Bevollmächtigten die gehörigen Einschickungen zu treffen, widrigenfalls sie für alle von den Bremischen Behörden etwa aufzuwendenden Kosten verantwortlich sein werden.

§. 19.

Wer als Rheder, Correspondent oder Befrachter ein Schiff expedirt, für welches wenigstens fünf und zwanzig Cajüts- oder Zwischendecks-Passagiere zur Ueberfahrt nach einem überseeischen Hafen angenommen sind, hat der Inspection der Mäkler ein vollständiges Verzeichniß sämmtlicher Passagiere mit Angabe des Geburtslandes, des Berufs, Alters, Geschlechts und Bestimmungsorts einzureichen, und dasselbe mit einer Erklärung an Eidesstatt und zwar dahin zu versehen:

daß nach seinem besten Wissen unter den auf diesem Verzeichnisse stehenden Personen keine solche seien, welche der Strafe für begangene Verbrechen zu entgehen suchen oder von Europäischen Straf- oder Armen-Anstalten weggeschickt werden sollen, oder welche als Deserteure oder Militairpflichtige eines Deutschen Bundesstaats, um sich etwanigen Reclamationen zu entziehen, befördert sein wollen; daß er auch nicht gestatten wolle, daß noch Personen solcher Art für das zu expedirende Schiff angenommen würden.

Soweit aber die Annahme der Passagiere durch einen Schiffsmäkler oder dessen Agenten geschehen ist, hat der Schiffsmäkler eine solche eidliche Erklärung beizufügen. Die Einreichung des mit dieser Erklärung versehenen Verzeichnisses muß übrigens vor Ablauf von acht Tagen, nachdem das Schiff expedirt worden, erfolgt sein.

§. 20.

Ein mit obigem Verzeichnisse völlig gleichlautendes Verzeichniß der Passagiere ist vom Schiffsexpedienten stets dem Capitain einzuhändigen.

Sollten demnächst ausnahmsweise noch außer den daselbst namhaft gemachten Personen, sei es nun an dem Einschiffungshafen oder sonst irgendwo, Passagiere sich anmelden und nach erfolgter Legitimation angenommen werden, so ist unter nachträglicher Namhaftmachung derselben auf dem Verzeichnisse des Capitains von diesem in Betreff solcher Passagiere eine gleichmäßige eidliche Erklärung abzugeben, welche in allen diesen Fällen entweder bei der Inspection der Mäkler oder bei einem der Aemter Vegesack und Bremerhaven, und zwar bevor das Schiff in See geht, erfolgen muß.

Die Aemter haben wegen dieser hinzugekommenen Passagiere der Inspection der Mäkler die erforderliche Anzeige zu machen.

§. 21.

Der Capitain darf bei Vermeidung einer Geldbuße bis zu 100 Thalern nur solche Passagiere, welche auf dem Verzeichnisse gleich Anfangs namhaft gemacht oder in den gedachten besonderen Fällen unter Abgebung der erwähnten Erklärung nachträglich hinzugefügt sind, mit dem Schiffe befördern.

Eine gleiche Geldbuße trifft jeden Andern, welcher die ihm dem Obigen nach obliegende eidliche Erklärung in Ansehung eines oder mehrerer mit dem Schiffe beförderter Passagiere unterlassen hat.

§. 22.

Ferner gelten für jedes Schiff, für welches wenigstens fünfundzwanzig Cajüts- oder Zwischendecks-Passagiere zur Ueberfahrt nach einem überseeischen Hafen angenommen worden sind, hinsichtlich der Zahl der zu verschiffenden Passagiere, der Tüchtigkeit des Schiffs, der Verproviantirung, der zu beschaffenden Assecuranz, so wie der Erlangung und Einreichung der erforderlichen Bescheinigungen und sonstigen Documente die folgenden Vorschriften der §. §. 23 bis 37.

§. 23.

In Ansehung der Zahl der zu verschiffenden Passagiere bedarf es zwar für die nach einem Hafen der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika zu expedirenden Schiffe für jetzt keiner Vorschriften, da schon durch die dortigen Gesetze einer Ueberfüllung der Schiffe genügend vorgebeugt ist.

Dagegen wird in Betreff der nach andern Häfen bestimmten Schiffe hierdurch festgesetzt:

a) die Zahl der mitzunehmenden Passagiere richtet sich nach dem Tonnengehalte des Schiffs und darf in keinem Falle mehr als Eine Person auf zwei Tonnen gerechnet betragen;

b) ist für das Schiff ein amerikanischer Meßbrief vorhanden, so wird die darin angeführte Tonnenzahl zum Grunde gelegt, sonst aber

wird die Messung nach den in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika geltenden Vorschriften vorgenommen, und darnach die nicht zu überschreitende Zahl der Passagiere berechnet;

c) bei dieser Berechnung der Zahl der Passagiere wird zwischen Erwachsenen und Kindern, so wie zwischen Cajüts- und Zwischendecks-Passagieren kein Unterschied gemacht;

d) die Nachweisung wegen des Tonnengehalts des zur Einnahme von Passagieren bestimmten Schiffs ist, bevor Letztere an Bord gehen, der Inspection der Mäkler einzureichen.

§. 24.

Der Rheder oder Correspondent des Schiffs ist verpflichtet:

a) dafür zu sorgen, daß das Schiff in einem für die beabsichtigte Reise und den gedachten Zweck völlig tüchtigen Zustande sich befinde und vorschriftsmäßig mit gesunden, haltbaren und hinreichenden Proviant versehen werde, und

b) sich mit den erforderlichen Bescheinigungen zu versehen, und solche der Inspection der Mäkler zu rechter Zeit einzuliefern.

Ist das Schiff von dem Rheder oder Correspondenten einem Dritten mittelst eines Befrachtungs-Contracts im Ganzen oder doch für sämmtliche damit zu verschiffende Passagiere zur Disposition gestellt, so treffen diese Verpflichtungen den Befrachter.

§. 25.

In Ansehung der Einrichtung der zur Passagierfahrt bestimmten Schiffe wird noch besonders festgesetzt:

a) in Schiffen ohne feste Zwischendecksbalken ist das Zwischendeck so einzurichten, daß es unter den Balken mindestens eine Höhe von 5 Fuß 6 Zoll hat;

b) in den übrigen Theilen des Schiffs ist für das Passagiergut so viel Raum anzuweisen, daß das Zwischendeck durch Letzteres nicht über Gebühr beengt wird;

c) wird das Zwischendeck zur Beförderung von Frachtgütern oder anderweitig als für die Passagiere oder deren Gut auf der betreffenden Reise benutzt, so ist dafür eine entsprechende Anzahl Passagiere abzusetzen.

§. 26.

Wenn gleich nach der bisherigen Erfahrung von den Bremischen Schiffsexpedienten bei der Verproviantirung der Schiffe in Ansehung der Güte und des Betrags der Lebensmittel für die Passagiere, im Allgemeinen mit gewissenhafter Sorgfalt verfahren wird, so ist doch, besonders um für die Hauptartikel einen festen Maaßstab zu haben, eine desfallsige nähere Bestimmung gewünscht, und wird daher festgesetzt:

1) die Verproviantirung muß, sofern das Schiff nach einem Hafen der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika bestimmt ist, wenigstens für eine Zeit von dreizehn Wochen, bei andern Bestimmungshäfen aber nach diesem Verhältnisse für einen von der Inspection für genügend erachteten Zeitraum geschehen.

2) Zur Verproviantirung muß, was die Hauptartikel betrifft, außer dem Proviant für die Schiffsmannschaft wenigstens mitgenommen werden, und zwar im Durchschnitte für jeden Passagier ohne Unterschied des Geschlechts und des Alters,

a) an Wasser: ein Orhoft für die Zeit von dreizehn Wochen; ist das Schiff jedoch nach Neworleans oder einem Hafen von Texas bestimmt, 1¼ Orhoft;

b) an Fleisch: 2½ ℔ und an Speck, wenn es gesalzen ist, 1 ℔ oder, wenn es geräuchert ist, ¾ ℔ für die Woche, oder, sofern in einzelnen Fällen ein anderes Verhältniß zwischen Fleisch und Speck vorgezogen werden sollte, nach dem Maaßstabe, daß 1 ℔ Fleisch gleich ¾ ℔ gesalzenem oder ½ ℔ geräuchertem Specke geachtet wird, ohne daß übrigens bei diesen verschiedenen Gewichtsbestimmungen die Pökel in Anschlag gebracht werden darf;

c) an Brod: 5 ℔ für die Woche;

d) an Butter: ⅜ ℔ für die Woche;

e) an Mehl, Bohnen, Erbsen, Scheldegerste, Reis, Pflaumen, Sauerkohl für 13 Wochen — 34 ℔;

f) an Kartoffeln für 13 Wochen — 1½ Viertel. Werden weniger Kartoffeln mitgegeben, so ist das sub e) erwähnte Quantum verhältnißmäßig zu erhöhen;

g) an Syrop für 13 Wochen — 1½ ℔;

h) „ Caffee „ „ „ — 1½ „

i) „ Cichorien „ „ „ — ¼ „

k) „ Thee „ „ „ — ⅕ „

l) „ Essig „ „ „ — 2 Quart;

m) für Kranke und Kinder an Sago, Wein, Zucker, Pflaumen, Grütze, Medicamenten ein hinreichendes Quantum nach Verhältniß der Anzahl der Passagiere.

§. 27.

Hinsichtlich der Nachweisung des Vorhandenseins des Proviants in genügender Menge und Güte behält es zwar dabei sein Bewenden, daß die bisher üblichen Declarationen auch künftig der Inspection der Mäkler einzureichen sind; zu noch größerer Sicherstellung der Passagiere und dem eigenen Wunsche vieler Rheder und Correspondenten entsprechend, sowie um jeden Irrthum und jegliches Versehen möglichst zu beseitigen oder sofort unschädlich zu machen, wird indessen die Anordnung getroffen, daß vor dem Abgange des Schiffs das Nachsehen des Proviants von einer der damit beauftragten, im §. 29 gedachten Personen in der Weise erfolgen muß, daß derselben die Proviantliste und der Proviant vorzuzeigen ist, und sie von Letzterem den einen oder den andern Artikel nachsieht, aber auch berechtigt und nach Beschaffenheit der Umstände verpflichtet ist, die Vorräthe genauer zu prüfen und nachwägen zu lassen, auch die Verbesserung und Ergänzung etwaniger Mängel zu verlangen.

§. 28.

§. 28.

Der Abgang des Schiffs ist nicht eher gestattet, als bis die im §. 27 gedachte Nachsehung des Proviants Statt gefunden, ein genügendes Resultat ergeben hat und darüber so wie über die Tüchtigkeit des Schiffs die vorschriftsmäßigen Bescheinigungen erlangt worden sind.

§. 29.

Um die eine wie die andere Bescheinigung zu erlangen, haben sich die Betheiligten bis auf Weiteres an den Oberlootsen Hermann Graue oder an den Schiffscapitain Diedrich Sammann, und zwar hinsichtlich der zu Bremerhaven liegenden Schiffe zu ihrer eignen Bequemlichkeit an den Oberlootsen Graue, sonst aber an den Schiffscapitain Sammann zu wenden, und dieselben zu den erforderlichen Schritten und zur Ertheilung der nöthigen Bescheinigungen hinsichtlich des Schiffs und des Proviants zu veranlassen. In Verhinderungsfällen der oben gedachten Personen wird die Inspection der Mäkler andere dazu bestimmen.

§. 30.

Den im §. 29 gedachten Personen ist für die Ausstellung solcher Bescheinigungen einschließlich der Vergütung für ihre vorgängigen Bemühungen zu bezahlen:

wegen der in Bremerhaven liegenden Schiffe:

für eine Bescheinigung wegen Tüchtigkeit des Schiffs 1 ℔ 36 ß,
für eine Bescheinigung wegen des Proviants..... 1 „ 36 „

sonst aber der doppelte Betrag dieser Summe.

Sollte indessen das Nachsehen und Nachwägen des gesammten Proviants erforderlich werden, wozu der Capitain die nöthigen Mittel zu beschaffen hat, so wird dafür eine größere, von der Inspection der Mäkler nöthigenfalls festzusetzende Vergütung bezahlt.

§. 31.

Die Bescheinigungen über die Tüchtigkeit des Schiffs und über den Tonnengehalt desselben, so wie die bisher üblichen, im §. 27 erwähnten Declarationen wegen des Proviants müssen, bevor die Passagiere an Bord gehen, die übrigen Bescheinigungen aber binnen 8 Tagen, von der Expedition des Schiffs angerechnet, der Inspection der Mäkler eingereicht werden.

§. 32.

Der Rheder oder Correspondent eines zur Beförderung von mindestens 25 Passagieren nach einem überseeischen Hafen bestimmten Schiffs hat der Inspection der Mäkler nachzuweisen, daß für den Fall, da dem Schiffe auf der Reise vom Abgangeplatze bis zu erfolgter Landung am Bestimmungsorte ein Unglück zustoßen sollte, wodurch dasselbe an der Fortsetzung der Reise verhindert oder die Reise unterbrochen werden sollte, das Passagegeld sämmtlicher Passagiere und außerdem eine auf achtzehn Thaler für Jeden derselben sich belaufende Summe zur Verwendung stehe, um damit zunächst die Kosten

der Rettung der Passagiere und ihrer Effecten und die Kosten ihres einstweiligen Unterhalts, sowie die zu ihrer Weiterbeförderung nöthigen Passagegelder zu bestreiten, sodann auch wegen aller den Bremischen Behörden für alle wegen der Passagiere in Folge des Unglücksfalls gemachten Auslagen, wofür sonst der Rheder oder Correspondent persönlich denselben verhaftet ist, Ersatz und Sicherheit zu leisten, sodann aber den Passagieren erweisliche Verluste, soviel thunlich, nach Verhältniß zu ersetzen.

§. 33.

Diese Verbindlichkeit des Rhebers und Correspondenten tritt auch dann ein, wenn in Folge eines Befrachtungs-Contracts das Schiff für die in Frage stehende Reise einem Andern überlassen ist.

§. 34.

Zur Erfüllung der in §. §. 32 und 33 erwähnten Verbindlichkeit hat der Rheder oder Correspondent den im §. 32 erwähnten Betrag bei einer der hiesigen Assecuranz-Compagnien oder bei zwei hiesigen soliden Privat-Assecuradeurs, welche dann solidarisch für die Versicherungs-Summe verhaftet sind, versichern zu lassen, und mittelst Einlieferung der Versicherungs-Police der Inspection der Mäkler für den im §. 32 erwähnten Fall zur Disposition zu stellen. Ereignet sich demnächst ein Unglücksfall der angegebenen Art, so ist die Verwendung jenes Betrags, nach Maaßgabe der Bestimmungen des §. 32, zu bewerkstelligen und daß solches geschehen, der Inspection darzulegen, widrigenfalls die Inspection ermächtigt ist, selbst den Versicherungsbetrag zu erheben und zu verwenden.

§. 35.

Die Nachweisung wegen der Versicherung und die Einlieferung der Police muß spätestens vor Ablauf von acht Tagen nach Expedition des Schiffs geschehen. Bis dahin, daß sie erfolgt ist, bleiben der Rheder oder Correspondent für den erwähnten Betrag persönlich verhaftet.

§. 36.

Die Uebertretungen der in vorstehenden §. §. 22 bis 35 einschließlich enthaltenen Vorschriften ziehen folgende Strafen nach sich:

a) die Ueberschreitung der vorgeschriebenen Zahl der Passagiere für jeden zu viel verschifften Passagier eine Geldstrafe vom einfachen bis zum dreifachen Betrage des durchschnittlichen Passagepreises;

b) die Versäumung der in den §. §. 24 bis 28 enthaltenen Verpflichtungen wegen Tüchtigkeit des Schiffs und wegen der vorschriftsmäßigen Verproviantirung desselben, sowie wegen Erlangung der erforderlichen Bescheinigungen eine Geldstrafe bis zu 500 Thalern;

c) die Versäumung der rechtzeitigen Einreichung der nach §. §. 19 bis 35 erforderlichen Bescheinigungen, Declarationen und der Versicherungs-Police eine Geldstrafe bis zu 50 Thalern;

d) die Nichtbeachtung der Vorschrift des §. 25 wegen Einrichtung des Schiffs eine Geldstrafe bis zu 50 Thalern.

§. 37.

Die Bestimmungen der gegenwärtigen Verordnung gelten nicht nur für alle Seeschiffe, welche mit Passagieren von Bremerhaven oder Vegesack abgehen, sondern umfassen auch, soweit sie sich nicht speciell auf diese Plätze beziehen, diejenigen Fälle, wo die Annahme und Beförderung der Passagiere mit einem Bremischen Schiffe oder von einem Bremischen Expedienten geschehen ist, die Einschiffung für die Seereise aber nicht in den genannten Häfen, sondern anderswo erfolgen soll. Auch finden in diesen letzteren Fällen, sofern die Einschiffung nicht auf der Weser, sondern in einem entfernteren Hafen geschehen soll, die Vorschriften der §. §. 32 bis 35 wegen des Versicherungsbetrags ebenmäßig auf die Fahrt von der Weser bis nach jenem Hafen Anwendung, so daß also namentlich die Versicherung nicht bloß auf die Seereise, sondern auch auf diese Fahrt sich beziehen muß.

§. 38.

Die Inspection der Mäkler ist beauftragt, die genaue Befolgung dieser Verordnung zu beachten, die zu deren Aufrechthaltung in eiligen Fällen nöthigen vorläufigen Verfügungen zu treffen und bei etwanigen Uebertretungen erforderlichen Falles das Einschreiten der zuständigen Behörden zu veranlassen, wie auch Differenzen, die hinsichtlich der Ueberfahrt zwischen einzelnen Auswanderern selbst und zwischen diesen und den Expedienten, den Schiffsmäklern oder sonstigen Personen entstehen sollten, so viel thunlich, in gütlichem Wege auszugleichen.

§. 39.

Alle bisher publicirten Vorschriften sind, soweit sie die Auswanderer und die Beförderung von Passagieren betreffen, aufgehoben.

§. 40.

Alle Schiffsexpedienten und Schiffsmäkler werden hiedurch aufgefordert, falls sie sich bei ihrem Geschäftsbetriebe wegen der Auswanderer auswärtiger Agenten bedienen, diese von dem Inhalte der gegenwärtigen Verordnung unverzüglich in Kenntniß zu setzen und ihnen die genaue Beachtung der sie berührenden Bestimmungen zur Pflicht zu machen.

Beschlossen Bremen in der Versammlung des Senats am 12. und publicirt am 21. Mai 1847.

Rec. 12 Nov. with W. Mann's No. 3.

Bremen. 11 Sept. 1847.

A. D. Mann.

&c. &c. &c.

Dear Sir!

With the greatest pleasure I respond to your desire, to state the means by which I succeeded in directing the current of emigration to South Australia, as I think the plan which I pursued, with the aid of the South Australian C°. in London, deserves imitation.

In 1837 said Company appro-priated 8,000 £ - for the purpose of paying passages to Reverend A. Kavel of Klemzig and his flock, who settled in the neighbor-hood of the new city of Adelaide, the capi-tal of South-Australia. They founded a village of the name of New-Klemzig, two miles north of the same and soon af-terwards they purchased land in Bastheval-ley, where they founded Hahndorf, which you will see in the accompanying chart. They are very prosperous, and repay the ad-vances made to them by instalments. — The emigration was interrupted during 3

years, owing to a speculative period and a subsequent reaction, reducing the value of live stock to one half its former value. In 1844 I commenced the agency on invitation of a member of the S. Australian Co., and have now completed 8 expeditions of 2000 persons altogether and I am organising one expedition for November and another for next spring. I have no doubt the current will continually and gradually increase, as the accounts are encouraging, but it never will detract from America any great number, as the price of passage is necessarily double that to America, owing to the distance, and also land is much dearer in Australia than in America. The British Government sells land in quarterly auctions, in sections of 80 acres at the fixed price of 1 £ pr. acre. One half of this amount of money goes to the Emigration Fund and the other half to the colonial Treasury. The government made an appropriation of £. 160,000 to construct roads, bridges, wharfs and Barracks, and keeps a Garison free of any expense to the Colony. As soon as 50.000 settlers are established, a Local Parliament will be established, which will

be the case in a few years, after the model of Canada. The finances are in a most flourishing condition. The expenditure is £30,000,- and the income from Customs, Licenses, Tolls and Land-sales is £. 40,000 (1846) – The export of wool to England is 1 million lb, and besides copper-ore, gum and wheat amounted to upwards of 100,000 £ in value, which for a colony 10 years old, is without precedent.–

In my expeditions I have been less restricted than the new american law restricts the transportation of passengers, and have in fact placed as many people on board as I had room, making the berths in five rows, placing five persons together in a berth allowing for each 1½ foot width and having tiers in each row. A ship of 300 tons will, with a tweendecks of 8 feet high, admit of 12 berths in a tier ×4 = 240 passengers. Ton measurement equal to 350 lasts of Burmen. A ship of 100 tons more will not carry any more passengers. I have never had any disease on the passage, the births having always exceeded the deaths, but I have never sent away a vessel without a physician on board, as is required by the English

Rec'd 8th Nov. 47.

W. Parke

No. 4.

Hanover, October 12, 1847. —

Sir; —

Maj. Hobbie, of the Post-Office Department, — who returns in the steam-ship "Washington" — has obligingly taken charge of my report to you, upon the subject of European emigration to the United States, and has promised to place it in your hands, together with the documents therewith transmitted, immediately after reaching his destination. — Maj. H. will probably arrive at Washington by the 12th November, but should a casualty occur, by which he may be prevented from delivering the parcel entrusted to him, I trust that I shall be informed of it in due time, in order that I may furnish a duplicate.

I have had, within the last few days, several interviews with the Ministers of Foreign Affairs for the Kingdom of Hanover and the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg, relative to the abolition of the import duty on paddy or unhusked rice; and I have received assurances that the subject should be forthwith submitted to the proper departments, and that the request of the United States

Hon. James Buchanan,
Secretary of State. Washington.

should be acceded to, if, after examination into the probable workings of such a measure, it be ascertained that its adoption, just now, would not interfere too materially with the receipts of the "Steuer-verein". — The revenue of Hanover and Oldenburg, has been considerably impaired, this year, on account of the crop failure of 1846, and latterly a diminution has been experienced under the stipulations of our treaty. This occasions no inconvenience to Oldenburg, as she is free from public debt; but the deficit is very embarrassing to the finances of Hanover, and consequently she is not in a condition, at this moment, to consent to changes in her tariff of duties, calculated to weaken still further her pecuniary strength, unless a certain benefit is to be derived to her subjects: In a note which I addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Oldenburg, and afterwards to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Hanover, — a copy of which I forward herewith — I endeavored to show that such a result would inevitably ensue, if the duty on paddy should be taken off; and the natural advantages embraced, which these states possess, for nulling the article. — My mission in connexion with this subject, I am quite persuaded, will eventuate successfully.

The Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin has just returned from a tour to Vienna, and I shall immediately set out for his capital, to enter

upon the discharge of my duties there.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

With Faithful Esteem,

Your Ob't. S. v't.

A. Dudley Mann.

No 4. A. D. Mann. Hanover. 12 Oct. 1847.

Rec.d 8 Nov. with M. Mann's No. 4.

Oldenburg; Oct 5. 1847.

Sir;

In repeated conversations, which I had the honor to have with your Excellency, relating to an extension of the commercial intercourse between the Kingdom of Hanover and the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg and the United States during my former mission, I expressed the belief that the general interests of the "Steuverein" would be benefitted by admitting Paddy, or rice in the husk, free of duty.

I now beg to call your attention to the subject, in a more formal manner than I was authorized to do when I was previously accredited to the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg; and to state some facts in connection with the advantages likely to be derived from such a measure, by your country, which I was not then prepared to do.

His Excellency

The Baron von Beaulieu

&c &c &c Oldenburg.

A ship of sufficient capacity to carry 1000 Bales of Cotton, can carry 22.000 bushels of Paddy, or rice in the husk. She may receive the article in her hold loose, and convey it in a sound condition any distance, provided it is carefully put aboard. A bushel weighs 45 english pounds and consequently a cargo of the above named size would weigh 990.000 lbs. — This will yield, when of good quality, milled or peled 610,000 lbs. prime rice — 37,000 lbs middling or cracked — 46,200 lbs small or inferior — 94.000 lbs Flour. — In all 787.200 lbs. — Less than weight in husk, — 102,800 lbs.

From the most reliable estimates that can be made at the present prices of South Carolina rice, there would be left to the miller in Hanover or Oldenburg, a recompense for clearing of 1 Russian Thaler per centner. I learn that it is customary for the miller to give for 22 bushels of Paddy 5 3/4 centners prime or merchantable rice.

The milling of rice is undoubtedly a profitable pursuit, and could be engaged in any where adjacent to the sea-board in Hanover or Oldenburg with

every prospect of success, as there are so many suitable sites for wind-mills. — Besides the profitable additional employment that would thus be afforded, there would always be a demand, by the peasantry throughout Germany, for the inferior qualities and the flour of the article, because of the low prices at which they could be furnished. — It is very certain that the general benefits which would accrue to the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg, would more than compensate for the loss of revenue sustained.

I need scarcely remark that any measure on the part of Oldenburg and Hanover, calculated to extend the consumption of this important staple of the United States in Germany would be duly appreciated by my government.

Availing myself of this occasion, to renew to you the assurances of my sincere regard and esteem, I have the honor to be, your Excellency's very Obt Sv't.

A. Dudley McNeil.

A
Monsi
premier
Départe
des Etat

id Feb. 3d.

Mr Schaeffer

Oct 18. 1847

Monsieur,

Mons.r Dudley Mann m'a remis l'office que Votre Excellence m'a fait l'honneur de m'adresser à la date du 26 Juin dernier pour me prévenir de la mission particulière dont Monsieur le Président des Etats-Unis de l'Amérique a bien voulu charger cet Agent distingué dans le but de resserrer les liens d'amitié et de bonne intelligence qui unissent les deux pays.

Sachant apprécier à toute leur valeur les vues élevées qui ont dicté cette résolution, j'ai vu, avec une véritable satisfaction, Mons.r Dudley Mann arriver ici, et je me suis fait un devoir d'assurer aux propositions qu'il sera dans le cas de me faire de la part de Votre Excellence tous les égards conformes à l'attention que le Gouvernement du Roi aime à vouer aux communications qui Lui arrivent du côté de la Sérenissime Confédération Américaine.

C'est avec empressement que je saisis cette occasion d'offrir à Votre Excellence l'expression réitérée de ma très-haute considération

Hanovre ce 18. Octobre 1847.

Le baron de Schaeffer

Son Excellence
eur James Buchanan,
r Secrétaire d'Etat au
ment des affaires étrangères
s-Unis de l'Amérique
Washington.

Rec'd 22 Nov. by

M. Barker

No. 5.

Extracts from the dispatch sent to the Union 2 Dec.

Schwerin, Germany, Oct. 20, 1847.

Sir; —

It is of sufficient importance I conceive, to make it the subject of a special despatch, that I should acquaint you with the existing tax, established by the German Customs Union, upon Tobacco imported in hogsheads and Rice in Tierces, as I ascertained it to be upon the frontiers of the Duchy of Brunswick, when journeying to this place a few days ago.

The tax on a hogshead of Tobacco is 12 per cent: If the hogshead should weigh over 12 per cent, for the quantity of Tobacco contained in it, the additional weight pays duty at the rate of 5½ Prussian thalers per Zoll cent: ner — equal to about $3.33 cts. per 100 lbs. Hogsheads which contain 1000 lbs Tobacco, weigh in the aggregate, I have been told — some more and some much less — 200 lbs. Consequently 80 lbs. of wood, or hogshead, pays Tobacco duty — amounting to $2.68 40/100 cts.

This extra tax upon their staple product the planters may avoid by making their hogsheads uniformly of the same size, — not to exceed in weight if they are to hold 1050 lbs of Tobacco, 120 lbs. This, if the wood be good, would ensure sufficient strength.

The Zollverein imported during the year 1846, 29,000 hogsheads of Tobacco and stems. If therefore a duty of 20 per cent. instead of 12 was realized for here our staple was taxed unnecessarily $77,731.75 cts.

The tare allowed on Rice in tierces, entering the states of the Zollverein, is 13 per cent. It is to the interest of the producers of Rice in the United States, to be careful that there should be no excess of tare, beyond this, inasmuch as they have a formidable competitor in Holland in the German markets. The Java Rice is all imported in bags, upon which a tare of 4 per cent. is allowed in the Zollverein. This the Dutch, with their habitual good economy, avoid exceeding.]

This information may be serviceable to the interests engaged in growing Tobacco and Rice, particularly at a season when the articles are in a state of preparation for shipment.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

With Faithful Esteem,

Your ob't. s'v't.

A. Dudley Mann.

Hon. James Buchanan.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

No 5. A. D. Mann. Schwerin 2te Oct. 1847

Rec'd 22 Nov. 47.

No. 6.

Schwerin, Oct. 28, 1847.

Sir; —

In my first interview with the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, during my present visit, he manifested a decided disinclination to make his government a party to the Hanover Treaty, alleging as a reason that more advantages were enjoyed under the Proclamation of the President in navigation, than it would be entitled to by the stipulations of the Treaty. This fact, I admitted, was indisputable, inasmuch as all vessels owned by Mecklenburg subjects, and sailing under the Mecklenburg flag, wherever built, were permitted to engage in the indirect carrying to the United States, while the provisions of the Treaty would confine this navigation intercourse exclusively to vessels the build of Mecklenburg, or such as should be purchased from the United States. But while making such admission I would with all sincerity state, not more on my own opinion than upon the opinions of others much better informed upon the subject than myself, that there was a considerable degree of certainty that the Act of Con-

Hon. James Buchanan.

Secretary of State.

Washington.

gress, authorizing the President's Proclamation, by which the Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin was entitled to the privileges of the indirect carrying, would be repealed at an early day, and that, consequently, the advantages in commerce and navigation, which it bestowed upon her flag, would be lost.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs appeared to attach no great importance to the trade carrying to the United States, but considered the direct trade to, and the indirect from, vastly more valuable to his country — a trade which under our navigation system it could not be deprived of. I replied that circumstances might arise to render a change of this system, even indispensable: That we might be forced in justice to ourselves to repeal the law of 1824, and act in a spirit of retaliation — as we had done successfully against Great-Britain at an early period of our history — by levying tonnage duties upon the vessels of every state that collected transit duties on our staple products, in their movements to a third state, to double or thrice-fold the amount at present exacted: And, that while we entertained a disposition to extend the utmost liberality, without discrimination, to such states it was a primary object of our government, in order to extend the consumption of our rapidly augmenting

agricultural and other products, to receive in return a similar liberality.

The view of the subject thus presented to the consideration of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, caused the Executive council to meet on the 25th for the purpose of deliberating upon the expediency of acceding to the Treaty. While this body was in session, a gentleman having charge to some degree of the public finances, waited upon me to state and explain by facts and figures, that it was wholly impossible at present for the government to reduce the transit duty on the line of rail-road, in the territory of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, between Hamburg and Berlin, on the articles of cotton, tobacco, rice, and whale oil, below three cents on the 100 lbs.; but that if I would designate what would be required as "similar favors". (the expression in the 12th Art. of the Treaty) for the three cents reserved to be collected, instead of two, as in Hanover and Oldenburg, the government would determine whether it could be granted.

When it is considered that the transit duties in the Kingdom of Hanover, prior to the Treaty, were twelve cents per 100 lbs, and that on one, and the most important, route in the Zollverein they are at present thirty-six cents per

100 lbs; and on another less travelled twenty-four, it would seem that the trifling difference between the amount levied in Hanover and that levied in Mecklenburg, upon a solitary route, ought to create no difficulties to accession, even if Mecklenburg was unable to give a sufficient consideration for its retention: — I am the more inclined to this belief, on account of the rivel which has been created to the line mentioned, by the rail-road from Brunen to the city of Hanover, o= pening a communication with Berlin. The Mecklenburg duties, if they are found to be burdensome will in self-defence, have to be abolished or modified, tri= fling in reality as they are. Indeed, it is be= ginning to be generally acknowledged that the Treaty stipulations of Hanover with the United States must hasten the abrogation of the transit duty sys= tem throughout Germany.

Viewing the question in this light, and having an eye to ulterior objects calculated to benefit the leading interests of our country, I should have but bad= ly discharged my duties if I had rejected an applic= ation from Mecklenburg to become a party to the Treaty, because of the trifling obstacle which apparently interposed. But the Minister of Foreign Affairs was not in a con= dition to make a definitive proposition for accession. I submitted to him the terms which I should require on

equivalent for the difference in transit duties, or as "simi-
lar favors" to those we had secured from Hanover and
Oldenburg. Last evening he sent me a Note, in
which he stated. "I have no hesitation in saying that
"the following duties have been proposed by government
"to the States, viz:

"1. Raw Cotton to enter duty free.

"2. Tobacco in leaves and stems 1* Thaler 2 shil-
lings per 100 lbs. — (The same duty as is
levied in Hanover & Oldenburg.)

"3. Train Oil 12½ shillings per 100 lbs — (one
fourth less than the Hanover duty, and one
half less than the Zollverein duty.)

"4. Rice 25 shillings per 100 lbs. — (one fourth
less than the Hanover duty, and one half
less than the Zollverein duty.)

"It is the intention of the government
"of Mecklenburg to grant an entire free transit to the
"above mentioned four articles, in so far as they pass
"through the Mecklenburg sea-port towns, Rostock
"and Wismar."

"I further beg to mention that the Mecklen-
"burg government would be well inclined to propose
"to the States a mere nominal duty on Paddy — no
"more than to cover the expense of control."

* A Thaler is about 68 cents. — and 60 shillings equal to 100 cents.

This proposition contains precisely the terms that I proposed, and I need not enlarge on the benefits that will be secured to the New-England fishermen, and to the rice and tobacco growers, if the "States" will give their assent to the measure. It may not be amiss for me to remark, however, that the population of 650,000 inhabitants of the two Mecklenburgs, consume a large quantity of these three articles, as is consumed by double the number in other German sovereignties.

The representatives, or "States," are to assemble on the 16th of November, but I can give you no assurance that they will decide favorably upon the measure to be proposed by the government. Their number amounts to about 600, but more than one half of them are seldom present. They have as a body great independence of character, and entertain an exceeding aversion to encroach upon old established customs. Their system of raising revenue, the most imperfect one assuredly that ever existed in a civilized country, has not been changed since 1738; and if we succeed in making an innovation upon it, I shall regard the occurrence as one of the great civic achievements of the age. I should despair in the outset if it were not for the universal desire manifested by the Mecklenburgers to foster their shipping. —

The session is usually of about one months duration, and I design attending it, or until the questions is disposed of finally.

If you intend that the Hanseatic Republics may become parties to the Hanover Treaty, it would be well for me to be furnished with full powers, by the first steamer. Neither of them has expressed a wish, or the slightest intimation, that they were disposed to avail of the 12th article, yet in view of the union of Germany, for purposes connected with navigation and commerce, — upon a basis to which each state can subscribe — in a treaty with such a nation as the United States, they could, doubtless, be prevailed upon to do so. If we could secure all the coast states, in this manner, the pretensions of the Zollverein would necessarily be lowered, and she would at once grant us "similar favors" to those granted by themselves.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
With Faithful Esteem,
Your Ob't. S'v't.

A. Dudley Mann.

No. 6. A. D. Mann. Schwerin. 20 Oct. 1847

Rec'd 22 Nov. 47.

Private.

Schwerin, October 28, 1847.

My Dear Sir; —

Prussia has left no efforts untried to defeat our purposes with the government of this Grand Duchy, and she will probably now endeavor to operate upon the States. Baron von Rouse, late Minister at Washington, has represented that the United States took from Hanover "a Lions part"; and that they gave nothing in return that they were not obligated to do by Act of Congress, or rather, as it was designated by our Navigation system. I could make no impression upon the first Minister here, until I anticipated him to a demonstration that Congress could, at any hour, when it was in session, deprive his government not only of the indirect carrying, but impose such restrictions upon the direct carrying, as to prohibit it entirely. Thus I succeeded in doing by a rough sketch of a Bill, which would accomplish the object — hastily prepared — hereunto transmitted. — It is important that a measure containing similar provisions should be enacted forthwith. It would

have the tendency to bring the Lollbrecht and Bau-
mark to their senses, and to coerce the Hanse-towns,
if they should be disposed to resist, into the fulfil-
ment of the Hanover treaty. The act would
be one of purely retributive justice upon Brazil.
— In the face of the Belgian treaty with the United States
and the treaties of Brazil and the other states of the
League, Hanover and Oldenburg have had enough to
dissatisfy them with the obligations imposed upon them
by the treaty; but in my interviews with their prime
ministers, I told them to be of good cheer for their hour
of triumph would assuredly come.

2 Does the stipulation, contained in the 5th
Article of the Hanover treaty, admit of the construc-
tion, that vessels built in the territories of either of
the contracting parties may trade with the United States,
though they sail under the flag of another German state
than that in which it was built? The Hanse-towns
are now entitled to purchase ships in any part of the
world, so they are sailed by subjects of the Germanic Con-
federation, under their treaty with us. The Belgian
treaty goes still further on the score of liberality.

All vessels sailing under the Belgian flag which are provided by the competent authority with a passport, sea letter or any other sufficient document" are to be deemed as belonging to Belgium, and privileged to trade with the United States, according to the terms of the Treaty.

I fancy I was quite correct in the view I took of the Belgian Treaty, in a conversation I had with you last summer, relative to the discrimination of 10 per cent in favor of the Belgian flag, in indirect importations, as stipulated in Art. 9. It is so asserted and believed here; but I will procure positive information on the subject in a short time, and forward it to you. In the mean time believe me,

Most Faithfully your Friend:

A. Dudley Mann.

Hon. James Buchanan.
Secretary of State.
Washington.

Private - A. D. Mann. Schwerin, 28 Oct. 1867 -

Received 22 Nov. with Mr. Mann's private letter 28 Oct. 18

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That the President be, and he is hereby, authorized to cause the requisite notice to be given, to the government of any power or state, having a Treaty of Navigation and Commerce with the United States - which has expired by limitation - for terminating the operations of the stipulations contained therein; where such power or state collects land, sound, or river duties, exceeding four cents per hundred pounds upon raw cotton, tobacco, rice and whale oil the growth or product of the United States, or of their fisheries; or upon the tonnage of vessels sailing under their flag, for the privilege of transit through its territory, or upon water over which it claims ~~and~~ exercises jurisdiction, to a third country, or countries back of

them: And that the President shall in like manner cause notice to be given to the government of any State - or ✕ League of States - having a Treaty of Navigation and Commerce, with the United States, - the term of which has expired - wherein it is stipulated, that such State, - or League of States - may purchase and sail, in its intercourse, either direct or indirect with the ports of the United States, vessels the build of other countries than those of the States which are parties to and obligated by such ✕ Treaty.

Sec. 2nd. And be it further enacted, That from and after the 30th of June next, vessels of any Foreign country visiting the ports of the United States, - wherein transit duties or sound or river tolls are levied, on the four aforementioned articles, shall pay a tonnage duty precisely equal to the highest amount of transit, sound, or river tolls, if they shall exceed four cents per 100 lbs. collected upon the cargoes which such vessels shall have the capacity to carry, any thing in

any Act of Congress to the contrary notwithstanding: provided, however, that such procedure shall not come in conflict with any existing treaty stipulation between the United States and such Foreign country.

Sec. 3d. And be it further enacted, That any Foreign State or Union of Foreign states, (for commercial purposes,) which shall have no flag on the high seas, and consequently no intercourse in navigation with the United States, - wherein transit duties or river tolls shall be collected, upon the aforementioned articles the growth or product, of the United States or of their fisheries, to an amount exceeding four cents per 100 lbs., the products of such State, or League of states shall, - whether they be from the soil, mines, forests, or manufactories - pay an import duty to the United States of ten per cent ad valorem, over and above that exacted upon like articles produced in other countries.

Sec. 4th. And be it further enacted, - That the Act of Congress, approved May 24, 1828, be, and the same is here-

by, repealed; and that the President of the United States shall cause a notice thereof to be transmitted to such Foreign countries, as by his own, or the Proclamation of any of his predecessors, are in the enjoyment of the indirect or triangular carrying, under its provisions.

Rec'd 28 Dec. 47.

Private.

Schweven, Germany, Nov. 18, 1847.

Dear Sir; —

In a memoir which I had the honor to address to you on May last — marked "private" — I not only urged to your consideration the importance of the mission with which I was entrusted on the 26th of June, but I also took occasion to show that a favorable period would soon arrive for concluding a Treaty with the Roman and Tuscan states, under the provisions of which the commerce and navigation of the United States could be advantageously extended in the Italian peninsula.

The Union of Italy for commercial and political purposes has been in contemplation for a twelve-month, and so far as respects Rome, Tuscany, and Lucca a "Customs Union" has recently been definitively decided upon. The sovereigns of these states in a declaration dated Nov. 3, officially promulgated, state that they have arranged the preliminaries for an Union, and that they have appointed Commissioners for the purpose of preparing — in conformity with a principle which they are instructed to observe — a tariff of duties on foreign imports. — "This principle", they proclaim, "shall be as favorable to Free Trade as their respective interests will allow"

The King of the two Sicilies, and the Duke of Modena, have been invited to become parties to the Union, and when their intentions are ascertained the Commissioners will meet. Parma has

has not been invited to join, on account of her relation to the Empire of Austria.

In the commercial movement the Grand Duke of Tuscany is at the head, but he is cordially supported by the Pope, who is, perhaps, actuated more by political than commercial influences. — His Holiness, in the plenitude of his patriotism, desires a revival of the ancient locality of Italy, and with it dignity of character and progressive freedom. It is said that his sentiments have been of the most generous order since he returned from Peru in 1824, where he served several years as Secretary of Legation, during which the struggles of the patriots for independence, then triumphant, deeply imbued his youthful mind. He could not fail to appreciate the policy adopted by the United States on that memorable occasion, and it is confidently believed, that he has retained an agreeable recollection of their friendly and disinterested magnanimity towards their southern brethren, ever since.

It is, under all the circumstances, of paramount importance that we should have a Special Agent accredited to the Pope of Rome, to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and to the Duke of Lucca, invested with full powers to conclude a Treaty with these states severally, or as a League. We should doubtlessly succeed in securing concessions in favor of our staple products, which we might negotiate for in vain hereafter. Our government could then determine upon the propriety of sending a resident representative to Rome. The Treaty would not be a commitment to do so.

We have already a Consul in Rome, and the Pope would possibly under Treaty stipulations send Consuls to our more important ports. If he were to choose to do so at present there is nothing to prevent him.

I shall be successful here, if the assurances of the Minister of Foreign Affairs are of any value, nalgre the implacable opposition of Prussian functionaries. Declarations, if I am not much mistaken, will be exchanged between this and the 1st proximo, and on the conditions mentioned in my last despatch — after which I shall hasten to Mecklenburg-Strelitz, and endeavor to prevail upon that Grand Duchy to become a party to the Treaty. I shall then proceed to make the circuit of the Zollverein states, to which I have letters — beginning with Saxony.

The accession of Mecklenburg-Schwerin to the Hanover Treaty will produce much sensation in Germany, and if the Hanse-Towns are permitted to join, and will consent to do so, no alternative is left the Zollverein but to avail itself sooner or later, of the 12th Art. of that Treaty. I am not invested, as you know with full powers to other states than the Mecklenburgs, nor do I desire to be, except to the Hanse-Towns. The negotiations with Prussia and the Zollverein, with such assistance as our Minister at Berlin, and I can contribute, can be more advantageously conducted by yourself with the Prussian Minister at Washington. A most important step to be taken, is the giving of the notice to Prussia, for terminating

the existing Convention. Such a procedure would alarm still more the bureaucracy of Berlin, and the King who cherishes his mercantile marine but little less than his army, would be awakened to the necessity of making concessions to us similar to those made by Hanover &c. His representative, the Baron von Gevolt, cannot be otherwise than convinced that stipulations less favorable to the interests of the United States than those contained in the Hanover Treaty, would not likely receive the sanction of the co-ordinate branch of the Treaty making power of our government; and he has certainly witnessed abortions enough, as relates to the Zollverein, to deter him from treating upon terms that would not be ratified.

The system of transit duties is becoming daily more and more unpopular. The zeven which we coexisted in Hanover deranged the whole machinery in Germany. The abrogation of it, except to such an extent as may be required for control merely, is generally believed to be certain at an early period. It therefore seems to me that the reduction of the Tobacco duty to the Hanoverian standard, as it is made in my instructions, should be adhered to and regarded as the sine qua non in our negotiations with the Zollverein. If the South Sea interest should require, why not make an effort to obtain a modification of duty on whale

oil in the Zollverein, it may in reply be stated that the duty does not amount to more than twenty-five per cent while on some descriptions of tobacco and on stems, it is not unfrequently as high as one hundred per cent.

I scarcely need observe, after having expressed to you orally and in the memoir to which I have alluded, my opinions as to the importance of extending my mission to the Italian states with which we have no Treaty, that I would be willing to proceed to Florence and Rome and enter into negotiations with the new commercial Union, for establishing reciprocal connexions with it upon the basis of our Convention with Hanover. It would not likely employ me more than 90 days to conclude a Treaty, and if the terms should be favorable to us, we might calculate with certainty that we had left nothing undone, productive of good, in Germany or Italy, for our country. Comparatively the additional cost would be nothing. I am persuaded that there are numerous applicants for a position, however temporary, of this kind whose claims are infinitely stronger than mine upon you; but I implore you to believe that I desire the extension of my present agency, less for fame and pleasure than to be really serviceable, to as great a degree as possible, to the administration.

You will have been informed of the success of

the matchless match-maker — Count Bresson. This cele-
brated diplomat, if I mistake not, commenced his career at Wash-
ington about the time of your entering Congress. The first
match he ever made was with the daughter of the late Judge
Thompson of the Supreme Court, since which his career in
forming matrimonial alliances, has been the most extra-
ordinary one ever run by an individual. He was
the successful negotiator at this Court, for the hand of the beau-
tiful Helene, surviving consort of the Duke of Orleans; and
the minister has related to me many amusing anecdotes
of his fidelity to his master. As soon as Louis Phil-
ippe, through his instrumentality, had secured the last of his
sons eligibly, he had no further use for the services of the
Count, and he transferred him to Naples. This in-
gratitude was insupportable, and he resolved, it appears, to re-
ceive himself of it by his own hand.

An impression is rife in intelligent European
circles, that Mexico has been obliterated from the family of na-
tions on account of the loss of its capital, and its utter inabil-
ity to recover, forcibly, the possession of it. You asked
me jocularly, at your table, what portion of the Mexican ter-
ritory I desired to see in our possession. I answered
that my opinion would be formed by the length of the war
and the character of the battles which might be fought. —

Enough, however, has now transpired to enable me to decide definitively. I will not say that I am for "the whole of Mexico or none," because I go unconditionally for "the whole of Mexico." The question of incorporation may be considered a grave one, but I conceive it not to be even slightly more so than was that of the acquisition of Louisiana by purchase. — But I dare not trespass further on your patience by a detail of my views.

I thank you for the enlightened and patriotic sentiments contained in your "Harvest Home" letter: As an American I can never cease to appreciate them, as kindred in their character to the admirable spirit displayed in the adoption of the constitution.

With grateful regard, I remain.
My dear Sir,
Yours most faithfully.
A. Dudley Mann.

Hon. James Buchanan,
Secretary of State.
Washington.

(Private). A. D. Mann. Schwerin. 18 Nov. 1847—

Rec'd 18 Jan: 48.

N. Series.

No. 7.

Schwerin, December 7, 1847.

Sir; —

I have the honor to transmit herewith the Declaration of Accession of the Grand-Duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin to the existing Treaty between the United States and Hanover. The form as you will perceive, adopted for this purpose is entirely different from that employed in the case of Oldenburg; yet as no feature has been introduced at variance with the original Treaty, it seems to me that no objections can be urged against it. However determining never to even slightly disobey my instructions, I agreed it under a protocol, that it was ad referendum with the President to ratify or not. Thus I should have done with a similar declaration of the Government of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, inasmuch as it is a delicate point to decide what are "similar favors." I am clearly of opinion that Mecklenburg-Schwerin has given more than an equivalent for the concessions granted by Hanover, all things taken into consideration, and I quite confidently believe that in this I shall have the full concurrence of the President and yourself. Should my expectations be realized, as you will

Hon. James Buchanan.

Secretary of State.

—. observe in the protocol — which accompanies this — the accession may be at once proclaimed. — The "similar favors" are expressed in article 8: the restrictions respecting them in article 11. Not a word is changed elsewhere.

I may mention with respect to the transit duty of one cent on the 100lbs. weight of our staples exacted in Mecklenburg-Schwerin, on the Hamburg and Berlin rail-road, more than is exacted in Hanover; that a Convention exists between the states through which the line passes upon the subject of transit charges upon it, and that it is in contemplation as I have been informed, to reduce the duties at an early day to a matter of interest. This measure is indispensable, because, without its adoption, the carrying will be done almost exclusively from Bremen through Hanover, to Saxony, Prussia, Bavaria &c. upon the rail-road which has just been opened. The same influences will operate to occasion a reduction of the upper Elbe tolls, — on heavy articles lower, on light ones higher, — than the transit duties on the route mentioned. In fact I regard it as certain from numerous indications, that the land transit and river toll systems of Germany under the wound which they received through the Hanover treaty, and the fresh stab inflicted by Mecklenburg-Schwerin, will speedily cease to exist.

That part of the Hamburgh and Berlin rail-

way line which is in the territory of Mecklenburg Schwerin, runs parallel with and is adjacent to the Elbe, near the Hanover border. The proceeds upon it accruing from transit — as well as the tolls from the river — ascertain to the crown, and on this account there was an endeavour on the part of the cabinet to intermeddle upon the subject. Viewing the transit and toll charges as of but little importance, and having ascertained myself that it was impossible to obtain the striking reduction by which they would conform to the Hanover scale, I availed myself of the circumstance to obtain upon concessions on Customs and you have before you the result of my success. Although the rail-road and the river referred to are the great thoroughfares from Hamburg to the interior of Germany, I nevertheless consider that the abolition of the transit duty upon our staples in their movement through Mecklenburg ports, is a good pro quo for the duty retained thereon above the uniform one in Hanover, even if it were to be continued.

It is scarcely necessary for me to detail the nature of the obstacles which I had to combat with during the pendency of the negotiations. It may be proper however for me to observe that we had nothing whatever to give to Mecklenburg-Schwerin. In the accession we have imposed restrictions upon the

privileges which she has enjoyed for the last twelve yeas. In her intercourse with us hereafter she will be confined to the vessels of her build and to those of the build of the United States. At present she may purchase where she pleases, if I am not mistaken in the provisions of the law upon which the Proclamation was issued. — In my opinion it is imperative upon Congress to repeal the Act of 1828 if not that also, of 1824. By such a procedure Hanover, Oldenburg, and Mecklenburg would be furnished with an ample justification for the spirit of liberality which they have displayed, to the other German states.

But then there is the Treaty with Belgium that the Hollanders can point to, and exultingly upbraid the coast states for a want of tact in diplomacy, or a want of knowledge of their interests. By article XII of that treaty. "The high contracting parties agree to consider and treat as Belgian vessels and as vessels of the United States all those which, being provided by the competent authority with a passport, sea letter, or any other sufficient document shall be recognized, conformably with existing laws, as national vessels in the country to which they respectively belong." The stipulation in the Hanover treaty upon the same subject, as contained in article V, provides that,

"The privileges secured by the present Treaty to the re-
"spective vessels of the high contracting parties shall
"only extend to such as are built within their re-
"spective territories, or lawfully condemned as prizes
"of war, or adjudged to be forfeited for a breach
"of the municipal laws of either of the high con-
"tracting parties, and belonging wholly to their cit-
"izens or subjects."

It is unnecessary, by way of explanation, to offer a single remark relative to the advantages enjoyed by Belgium over Hanover, under the articles above quoted. In their navigation relations with us. But Belgium has another and a still more important advantage over Hanover in the terms of her Treaty. Article VIII stipulates that "Articles of every description imported into "the United States from other countries than Belgium, "under the Belgian flag, shall pay no other or higher "duties whatever, than if they had been imported under "the flag of the most favored foreign nation, other than "the flag of the country from which the importation is "made. And, reciprocally, articles of every descrip-"tion imported under the flag of the United States into "Belgium from other countries than the United States, "shall pay no other or higher duties whatsoever, than "if they had been imported under the flag of the for-"eign nation most favored, other than that of the

"country from which the importation is made." —
"The stipulation in the Hanover Treaty, relating to in-
direct importations, is contained in the first article
and expressed in the following words: — "The high
"contracting parties agree that whatever kind of pro-
"duce, manufacture, or merchandize of any foreign
"country can be, from time to time, lawfully import-
"ed into the United States in their own vessels may
"also be imported in vessels of the kingdom of Han-
"over; and no higher or other duties upon the tonnage
"or cargo of the vessel shall be levied or collected,
"whether the importation be made in a vessel of the
"United States or in a Hanoverick vessel. And
"in like manner, whatever kind of produce, manu-
"facture, or merchandize of any foreign country can
"be, from time to time, lawfully imported into the
"kingdom of Hanover in its own vessels, may also be
"imported in vessels of the United States; and no high-
"er or other duties upon the tonnage or cargo of the
"vessel shall be levied or collected, whether the im-
"portation be made in the vessels of the one party or the
"other." — — — —

At first sight I was struck with the strange-
ness phraseology of the 8th article of the Belgian Treaty.
It seemed to me to mean more than it expressed or rather
to express more than it meant. I now learn, from

an authentic source, that Belgium favors the cargoes which arrive under her flag, in conformity with an old law, by a discrimination of ten per cent against those which arrive under the flag of any foreign country except that from which the importation is made; and consequently the "reciprocity" in the indirect carrying between that kingdom and the United States is "exclusively on one side." She may carry from all the world to us, because we permit by treaty stipulations, most other foreign nations to do so — and her flag is placed upon the most favorable footing — while we cannot carry from any part of the world to her, except from our ports, without paying ten per cent. more than if the cargoes were conveyed in her bottoms. — Hanover, Oldenburg, and Mecklenburg possess no such advantages, for they are obligated to lay no higher duties, "whether the (indirect) importation be made in the vessels of the one party or the other."

In conceding to us so much as she has done, it was very natural that Mecklenburg-Schwerin should strenuously insist upon all the privileges in navigation obtained by Belgium; and you may readily conjecture the magnitude of the difficulties to be overcome, before I could succeed in bringing her to terms, without granting them. But there were other countervailing influences, to contend with, of a formidable character, result-

ing from the near relationship of the Grand Duke to the King of Prussia. When Europe was parcelled out at Vienna by Metternich and Castlereagh it was agreed that this Grand Duchy, in the event of the male line becoming extinct of the reigning sovereign, should be incorporated with Prussia; and although it is not likely that this will occur, yet the possibility of it makes the "Government" cautious not to give any cause of offence to their neighbor. The "states" however are more independent and were willing to be committed to low duties. Thus the voice of the people in this Chief of Germany, as it is sometimes reproachingly termed by the inhabitants of Berlin, is seen in the accession."

That the Prussian cabinet will raise a terrific out-cry against Mecklenburg-Schwerin cannot be doubted; but despite its machinations the deed is done, and its clamor and wailings will be of no avail.

As soon as the declaration is proclaimed, it is desirable that I should be made acquainted with the fact, in order that I may make an "official" communication of it to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, as agreed upon.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
With faithful esteem,
Your ob't. s'v't.
A. Dudley Mann.

Rec'd 18 Jan.y 48.

Mr Packe

Private.

Hanover, December 14 1846.

Dear Sir; —

I had the honor to receive at Schwerin, just as I was about to proceed to Dresden, your despatch dated Nov. 13 with the correspondence by which it was accompanied. I determined at once to change my destination and hasten to this place.

Yesterday I had an interview with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who was unable to give me any information of a positive kind, at the moment relative to the course pursued by the Hanoverian custom-house officers in the collection of transit charges on tobacco and vice otherwise conveyed thro' in hogsheads or tierces, but assured me that the letter and spirit of the Treaty should be faithfully observed by his government. At ten this morning I am to meet the Ministers of Finance.

Since I returned to Germany I have repeatedly stated to you that in consequence of the concessions made to us in the Treaty of June 10, 1846, the transit duty system would necessarily have to be abandoned. I have now to inform you that Hanover has reduced the duty on all articles from 13 cents per 100 lbs to the mere nominal one of 3 cents per 100 lbs.

Bremen is very kind indeed in proposing to mediate between the U. S. and Hanover. Very disinterested! — Hanover desires perhaps, the liberty of purchasing ships elsewhere than in the U. S., then Bremen desires that she should have the right to do so; because it would be very convenient for Bremen to sell worn out ships to her.

Upon my arrival here I met with Maj. Donelson on his way to a great dinner at Bremen. He promised to return to-day —

with I shall converse fully with him concerning our interests, in this part of the world.

I will write you an official despatch in a day or two, but you will perceive that the complaints of Mr. Gerchard are obviated by the recent act of Hanover.

This is the last moment for the post that will reach the steamer before her departure and I have written in a hurried manner

Most Faithfully Your Friend.

A. Dudley Mann.

Hon. James Buchanan.

Secretary of State.

Washington.

Private. A. D. Mears, Hanover 14 Sept. 1846.

No. 8.

Hanover, December 20, 1847.

Sir; —

Just as I was leaving Schwerin I had the honor to receive — with its accompaniments — your despatch dated November 13. In obedience to your instructions I hastened to this place, and communicated to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the nature of the complaint made to you, by Bremen, relative to the exaction of more transit duty on our staples, than was authorized by the Treaty of June 10, 1846. — His Excellency assured me that the officers superintending merchandize in transit had been ordered at the time the Treaty was proclaimed, to regully observe the provisions contained in the 8th Art., in order that the United States might derive all the benefits which they were calculated and intended to confer. — It is alleged, that in the enforcement of this order, a disposition was manifested at Bremen, to take advantage of the diminution of transit duty, to the cents per 100 lbs; —

Hon. James Buchanan,
Secretary of State.
Washington.

applicable only to our tobacco and rice — to forward in <u>tow linen</u> <u>covers</u> and <u>bags</u>, the tobacco and rice imported from all other countries. The government therefore, found it necessary before a discrimination could be properly made against the 4.000.000 lbs or 5.000.000 lbs of tobacco grown in Cuba, Porto-Rico, South-America and Hungary, (and the rice grown in Java) which annually is conveyed through the kingdom, to require that the articles should transit in the manner agreed upon. In coming to this determination, the Minister disclaimed all intention of placing an illiberal construction on the stipulations referred to; but on the contrary, whenever was willing that every pound of tobacco and rice, produced in, and arriving from, the United States, where the fact was satisfactorily established, should pass at the rate of two cents per 100 lbs; irrespective of the manner in which it was put up for transportation.

In negotiating the treaty, I endeavored to secure transit privileges for our staples which would be withheld from similar products of other countries, and therefore I cautiously specified "<u>hogsheads</u> or <u>casks</u>" &c. in preference to "<u>the growth or produce of the United States</u>." In the despatch which I had the honor to transmit to you, under date of June 17, 1846,

I remarked, "instead of stipulating that the present duty
should be abolished on the four articles, designated "the
growth and produce of the United States and their fish-
eries" I preferred saying "in hogsheads or casks" &c.:
By adopting this phraseology, no certificates of origin
have ever been demanded on either of the four articles;
and in my last interview with the Minister, he promis-
ed that even under low finch covers tobacco should tran-
sit on the same terms as though it were in hogs-
heads, where the evidence was sufficient that the
article grew upon the soil of the United States.
This, in my opinion, is all that we can fairly insist
upon or desire.

In relation to the change in the 5th Art.
of the Treaty, suggested by Mr. Geockoht, it has not
been asked for by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, or
an intimation expressed by him, that it should be
made. — The advantages enjoyed by Belgium under
the 12th Art. of her Treaty, were carefully insisted
upon by Hanover; but I was instructed by you to
confine "the high contracting parties to the rights
of their build;" and I succeeded in so concluding the Treaty.

I have the honor to be, Sir;
With Faithful Esteem
Your obt. servt.
A. Dudley Mann.

No. 8.

No. 8.

Dresden, January 8, 1848.

Sir; —

I have the honor to inform you that, since the date of my last despatch, Hanover has reduced the transit duty on all merchandize, conveyed on her rail-roads, to three cents per 100 lbs.: This measure, I understand, was carried into effect on the 1st of the present month. The government found the adoption of such a policy indispensable, after yielding, in the first instance, to the four states of the United States.

As I have all along assured you — since our negotiations terminated so successfully with Hanover — the transit duty system, through our instrumentality, has become exceedingly odious to the people throughout Germany: It is now quite manifest that it cannot be sustained by Sovereigns for a longer period than until the close of the present year. The sense of common interest imperatively demands its early abolition.

Saxony and Brunswick — the only states which I have yet visited in the Zollverein — seem duly sen-

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Secretary of State.
Washington.

sible, in whatever light the subject may be viewed by political economists at Berlin, that we rendered them a most important service in removing the transit duties in Hanover. They clearly perceive that cotton costs them less by forty-four cents per bale (no trifling consideration with extensive consumers) than would have been charged if those duties were exacted as heretofore. Moreover, they distinctly foresee that, by permitting our staples to transit free from the North Sea to the Austrian frontier, they will afford profitable employment to their rail-roads in transporting them to Bohemia.

Seeing then that the transit duty system existing in Germany, will be speedily abrogated I shall not deem it necessary in the interviews which I may have with the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, to whom I have letters, to call their attention to the subject further than to show that the states composing the Zollverein will be vastly more benefitted by the free movement of our products through them, than the United States. I shall in this manner forestall them from making a "virtue" of that which, from unmistakeable indications, is a palpable "necessity."

I alluded in the out-set to Saxony and Brunswick, that we had but a solitary concession to solicit from the states embraced in the German Commercial League, for the liberal demonstrations which we had made in our late revenue law, and otherwise, to extend their

commerce and the consumption of their manufactures, viz:- The diminution of the import duty on Tobacco arriving in "hogsheads or casks" from $3.33 cts. to the coast states duty of 70 cts. per 100 lbs. I succeeded, unless I am much mistaken, in making a favorable impression upon the Ministers of the Kingdome and Duchy mentioned, and I confidently believe that the assent of their governments will be obtained for the reduction specified. The period is peculiarly auspicious for bringing the question fully to the consideration of the respective states. The Congress of the Zollverein is to convene at Berlin on the 1st of June, and as the subject of the Tariff of import duties is the principal one to engage its deliberations, the members can receive instructions from the governments which they represent.

Prussia would doubtless gladly divert the attention of our Minister near her court from the Tobacco duty, by promised advantages to our cotton manufactures under a visionary and utterly impracticable differential system of import duties, which she has long contemplated with a view to the securing of the coast states. To give force to this wild scheme it is essential that she should procure our co-operation.

It is admitted in well informed German commercial circles that the Zollverein is enjoying as

extended and lucrative a trade with our country, under the provisions of the Tariff of 1846, as she would have realized from the Treaty concluded by Mr. Wheaton. As an equivalent for that which was voluntarily enacted, occasioning so much life and activity in business operations, we may with the utmost propriety take high ground in behalf of our flag. — Prussia should be made to understand, through every proper channel of communicating with her, that all we desire or expect from the Zollverein is a modification of the impost to the Hanoverian, Oldenburg, and Mecklenburg, standard — and that we cannot be satisfied with any thing less.

I received the Message two days since, through the "Times," which circulates every where. It will be re-published in all the leading journals on the Continent.

To-morrow I shall start to Munich. I am buoyed up with the hope that my mission will result with entire success.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
With faithful esteem
Your Ob't. S'v't.
A. Dudley Mann.

Recd. Mar. 6. 1848.

No. 10.

Munich, February 5. 1848.

Sir, —

Upon my arrival at this place I found the Bavarian authorities apparently resolutely opposed to a diminution of the Zollverein tobacco duty to the Hanoverian standard: This I was prepared, to some extent, to expect. — Bavaria manufactures, comparatively, but few articles adapted to the markets of the United States. Her exports consist almost exclusively of looking-glass plates and various kind of toys. Her subjects are extensively engaged in brewing beer; — a pursuit which they find more profitable than any other. Their product is so famous that they have succeeded in monopolizing the trade in the article throughout Germany. The culture is the favorite one with the government, with the people, and indeed with the crown.

Although tobacco is grown to a considerable extent in the region of Nuremberg; there is nevertheless not the slightest disposition to afford its cult[illegible]

Hon. James Buchanan.

Secretary of State

Washington.

vators any protection. The government would be perfectly willing to consent to a reduction of the tobacco duty to 70^{cts} per 100^{lbs}. if it were certain that by so doing the receipts at the custom-house would equal those at present realized. The avowed object of submitting our staple to such an enormous tax, as that which exists, is for the purpose of raising revenue. This admission will be serviceable to me, as I shall avail of it to combat with more force the defence which may be made for the retention of the impost.

I have not yet made application for an audience of the King, but I design to bring the whole subject to his consideration before my departure. Here is one chord upon which I can touch that may reach his ear. Bavaria, by becoming a party to a Treaty with us, in common with the other Zollverein states, will be at liberty to engage in navigation with us; a privilege which she has never enjoyed, and which will continue to be withheld from her in the absence of a convention. — As this Kingdom contains as large a population as that contained in Wurtemburg, Baden, Darmstadt, Nassau, Hesse-Cassel, and Frankfort — the states which I have yet To visit — I consider it of paramount importance that I should make my greatest effort here in behalf of our interests. This is the more necessary on account of the opposition arrayed against them.

In Bavaria, as in Saxony and Brunswick, I find the authorities quite favorably disposed for an immediate abolition of the existing transit duties on our four staples. Without expressing the least solicitude upon the subject, I have incidentally, in my various interviews with public functionaries, spoken freely of the injurious effects of such unnatural and unnecessary burdens upon commerce, and I am pleased to find that my opinions are uniformly coincided with.

I shall probably complete the discharge of the duties confided to my trust in the states of the Zollverein, at Cassel about the 1st of April, when I shall have the honor of making a full report to you of that part of my mission in which I am at present employed. In the mean time if you should have a conference with the Prussian Minister you may with entire safety manifest the utmost unconcern with respect to the transit duties of the Zollverein. You may now take as high ground as you choose with Prussia, for she alone is standing out for the continuance of the system, with the expectation that the United States will make concessions for its abrogation.

The inequality in the <u>indirect</u> carrying between the ports of the United States and the ports of Prussia, in the bottoms of the respective countries, is in the ratio – if I mistake not – of something like twenty to

one. in favor of the latter. This is assuredly odds e-
nough against us without augmenting it by suffering 12,
000,000 or 13,000,000 of people in interior states to unite
in the treaty with Prussia, unless a sufficient consideration
is given to us for the privilege.

From Berrel I shall proceed with as lit-
tle delay as possible to Strelitz, and endeavor to in-
fluence that Grand Duchy to accede to the Hanover-Treaty.
I shall then re-visit, in a flying trip, Hamburg, Bremen,
Oldenburg, and Hanover for the purpose of terminating
my duties at each, when I shall consider my mission
as ended. This cannot occur, however expeditious
my movements may be, before the 1st of May.

I would be gratified if you would permit
me to remain on this side of the Atlantic, and to stop my
pay and expenses on the 1st of May. The sum ne-
cessary to take me to Washington, and my per diem allow-
ance on my route there, would amount to $500 or $600.
This would be saved by the government. I would
make up my account at the period designated, or at
an earlier period if my duties are concluded earlier.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
With Faithful Esteem,
Your Ob't. S'v't.
A Loudley Mann.

No. 11.

Munich, February 12, 1848.

Sir; —

Since the date of my last despatch I have been prevented, on account of the Lola Montez revolution in this metropolis, from making any considerable progress, formally, in the object of my mission. — I have not yet sought an audience of the King, inasmuch as if he had been disposed to favor me with one, it is not likely that I should have found him in a condition to converse cheerfully upon commercial matters, after the recent severe shock which his "pride of place" has experienced: I design, however, as soon as he has a little more time to recover, to make an application, in the proper manner, to see him. — The students and the burghers have enjoyed an extraordinary triumph, in effecting a separation between majesty and vice clothed in titular dignity. The Countess of Landsfeld, under their noble resolution and unimpassioned bearing, has been publicly driven out of the kingdom. I was a silent though a delighted spec-

Hon. James Buchanan.
Secretary of State.
Washington. — D. C.

tator of the entire scene — the spirit of which was caught from America.

I have not yet had the honor to receive any tidings from you, relative to the declaration of accession of Mecklenburg-Schwerin to the Hanover treaty, — the original of which was transmitted by the British steamer from Liverpool on the 19th December, and a duplicate by the "Washington" a day or two afterwards. If this declaration has been accepted by the President, it is important that the fact should be immediately communicated to the government of Mecklenburg. I imagine that, if not both, one or the other of the copies, which I forwarded, reached its intended destination. — I am very anxious that the accession of Mecklenburg should be proclaimed at Schwerin at the earliest moment. (In order that I may prepare some articles, explanatory of the future policy of the United States respecting commercial and navigation treaties — for the "Allgemeine Zeitung," the most influential journal in Germany,) I would entrust the superintendence of their publication to a prudent friend, so as not to be known myself in the matter. It is important that the public mind should be prepared for the measures which we desire to accomplish so that its powerful influence may operate upon the Zollverein Congress. With the practical

well informed functionaries of Bavaria, as also with several of the noblemen of influence, I have interchanged opinions freely and frequently upon the subject, and find them quite favorably disposed. I wish that I could have remained longer at each of the capitals, but still I anticipate excellent results to the country from my, comparatively, flying visit to each.

The German Post-congress of Dresden, after a session of four months has just adjourned and the result of its deliberations is contained in the semi-official statement herewith transmitted. This information may be valuable to the Post Master General, who has, I believe, a translator of German in his department.

The cheap postage system, it will be perceived, has been adopted — a measure eminently calculated to promote the cause of political freedom in the numerous states of Germany, and to confer national and individual benefits upon the United States. I rejoice at every demonstration which I behold in Europe for the advancement of the public good, because I observe therein an additional recognition of the salutary workings of our own beautiful vox populi doctrines.

This mail will convey across the waters

the gratifying intelligence, to true Americans, that the Kings of Naples and Sardinia have both consented to give Constitutions to their people. By these acts the commotion in Italian Austria will be frightfully increased. Ferdinand may behold "the hand-writing on the wall."

I have the honor to be Sir,
With Faithful Esteem,
Your Obt. S'v't.
A. Dudley Mann.

Bavaria despatch. 12.
from Buchanan

No. 12.

Munich, March 12, 1848.

Sir; —

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch, dated January 22, with the accompanying letter of credit on Messrs. Baring Brothers & Co.

The Senate, I feel persuaded, has ratified the Mecklenburg declaration, and I expect to be advised of the fact as soon as I get my letters by the steamer, now nearly due at Liverpool.

It is important that the accession of Mecklenburg to the Hanover treaty should be published in Europe, for the measure will not only exercise much influence upon the Zollverein, but also contribute in some degree to effect such a change in the Navigation laws of Great-Britain, at a time when they are under the consideration of Parliament, as will enable us to conclude an advantageous Convention with the British government.

The British Parliament will pass an Emigrant law during its present session. On our own account I am desirous that it should be furnished with a copy of my Report to you upon the subject of Emigration, if that document

Hon. James Buchanan.
Secretary of State.
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has been published. A bill has been referred to a Se-
lect Committee on the "Emigrants," and as the object is a hu-
mane one, apart from the benefits which it will necessari-
ly bestow on our country, I am anxious that Parliament,
before it acts, should be in possession of all valuable in-
formation relating to the subject. If, therefore, the
Report has been, or should be, printed I should be pleased
to receive a dozen copies, through the Legation at London.
I observe that Mr. Grinnell of Massachusetts proposes to amend
the "passenger act" of last session; and, consequently, I con-
sider it certain that a call has been made upon the De-
partment for information.

The number of Emigrants who embarked in
1847 directly for the United States, and via Quebec, does
not very materially from 265,000. The Secretary
of the "British Colonial [illegible] and Emigration Commis-
sioners" in a note which I had the honor to receive from
him under date of February 11, politely informs me that
"The annual statement of the number of Emigrants who
"embarked in 1847 from the United Kingdom is not yet
"quite ready for publication, but on looking through
"the official returns, I find that the total number of
"persons who proceeded to the United States from Great
"Britain and Ireland was 142,154." The number via
Canada, cannot be correctly ascertained, but it may be safe-
ly set down as not below 17,846.— Total from the ports of

Great-Britain and Ireland 150,000, including 10,000 Germans. — The Emigration was chiefly Irish and German; — about 110,000 of the former and 105,000 of the latter.

Accounts were received from Paris yesterday, confirmatory of the abdication of the King of the French and of the formation of a provisional government. These events as momentous as they were unexpected, will carry terror to every Throne in Germany. The sympathies of the people, I feel quite confident are with the republicans of France, and I shall be much disappointed if they do not, with the example before them, arise in their might and demand such reformation as if granted will render nominally a mere skeleton.

The policy of France will assuredly now, more than ever, be pacific; but she may be provoked to hostilities by the stupidity of one, or more of the Continental Cabinets. Her recognition as a Republic, I fear, will be declined by Prussia and Austria, and indeed other states belonging to the Germanic Confederation, while active warlike preparations will be commenced by them. If France has sufficient self-control to exercise for a time a spirit of forbearance, in despite of the hostile array which she may witness on the banks of the Rhine, the peace of Europe will doubtlessly be preserved. The German troops will not fight, in opposition to public sentiment.

unless satisfied that the cause of their rulers is just.—

Just now nothing can be done to advance the object of my mission, either here or elsewhere. It would be indelicate to press commercial questions to the attention of those functionaries having charge of them at such a time, but quiet I trust will be restored in a few days. The late Louis Philippe revolution retarded my progress by the confusion which it created, but the occurrences in Paris have submitted me to more serious obstacles. It is asserted that the Congress of the Zollverein will assemble at an earlier period than was agreed upon, and with a view to the enaction of a new Tariff.— Should this occur would it not be well for me to attend at the seat of its deliberations to guard as far as possible our interests?

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
With Faithful Esteem,
Your Obt. Svt.

A. Dudley Mann.

Recd Apr. 11.

No. 13.

Munich, March 13, 1848.

Sir; —

I had but barely started my despatch No. 12, (which should have been dated March 2 instead of March 12) before a political revolutionary movement manifested itself at this capital. On the night of the 3rd instant the residence of the minister of the Interior was surrounded by a large body of Students and the doors and windows demolished. This officer was created by Lola Montes and therefore was so odious to the public that order could not be restored until he resigned his post and left the city.

On the 4th tidings of a favorable character were received from France. This cheered the friends of reform, and during the afternoon of that day a mass meeting, composed of all classes, was held at the town hall. An address to the King was prepared, stating in forcible but respectful terms the grievances which the people desired to have remedied, and requesting the early convocation of the Chambers. The King sent for answer to the address that he would assemble the Chambers on the 31st of May.

Hon. James Buchanan.

Secretary of State.

Washington.

This answer was not satisfactory, but without further proceedings the meeting adjourned. Hostile demonstrations to the King now commenced in the streets. Cries of "down with the Throne" and "up with a Republic" accompanied with groans and hisses commenced around the royal palace and were continued until a late hour. On the morning of the 5th an immense multitude assembled. Every public place and street was completely blockaded with people, men, women, and boys — armed with some description of weapon or another. The agriculturalists and laborers for miles around came in with their implements of industry, such as scythes, axes, and hoes, to engage in the conflict. All along the division of cavalry and infantry had been properly accoutred for action. An order was issued for ten pieces of heavy artillery to be placed in the square fronting the rooms occupied by the King. Nothing daunted, but on the contrary more resolute than ever, the people transmitted a second address to the King in which they demanded categorically, an almost entire change in the system of government and the immediate meeting of the Chambers, and to which an instantaneous reply was required. In the mean time the King had been informed by his principal officers that the soldiers would not engage in mortal combat with their fellow-men, and that the palace would certainly be levelled to the earth and himself destroyed. Thus being made aware of the perilous condition in which he was

placed he caused it to be forthwith proclaimed that the pray-
ers of his people had reached his heart, and that all they
desired he had determined to accord to them. This
however would not satisfy the populace until a document
to that end was duly signed by himself and endorsed
by his brother, Prince Charles, in whom much confidence
is reposed by the Bavarians.

On the morning of the 6th the King issued
a proclamation, a copy of which I herewith transmit.
Similar concessions to those made by Lewis have since
been made to the people by the King of Wurtemberg; by
the Grand Dukes of Baden and Darmstadt; by the Duke
of Nassau; by the Senate of the Free City of Frankfort;
and similar ones are not only demanded in nearly all the
other states of Germany but they will also be speedily sub-
mitted to. — After the lapse of a period of precisely two
hundred years, since the peace of Westphalia, during which
the Germans seem to have been dreaming, the banner of right
is unfurled fairly to the breeze in southern Germany. The
reigning Princes have little else left them than their crowns.
They have divested themselves of all of their power for evil,
and henceforth they will be controlled by the public exigen-
cies.

The King of Bavaria although driven, as you
perceive, to the measure, and yielding with the utmost re-
luctance, enjoys the credit of having led off in the great

work of reformation. I cannot but applaud him, however for his good faith in the prompt redemption of his promises. The same day that his Proclamation was published he assembled his army and had the oath administered to it to support the Constitution. Censorship is abolished and the Press — the palladium of American liberty — will hereafter be free. Our own newspapers, in their circulation, are placed upon an equality with Bavarian newspapers: — They may be subscribed for and read by all who desire them.

+ During the exciting occurrences which eventuated so favorably to popular liberty I was an admiring witness of the resolute but noble, unimpassioned, bearing of the Bavarians. I shall never cease to rejoice that I was a calm but not unconcerned looker-on. In consulting about what they had a right to exact one would observe to another die demokraten von Nord Amerika (the democrats of North-America) haben Mittag Brod und so. und wir wollen sie auch haben (and we will have them also) soll. It seemed that the beauties of our political institutions were constantly shining, in vivid brightness, before the eyes of these honest-hearted folk, and here, I hazard nothing in saying, — the doctrines of Jefferson will be so steadfastly supported, that eve-long they must be extended all over Germany, as the blessed Charity of Heaven is extended over the universe.

The King of Prussia, it is believed, inclines to his old partitioning allies, but he has the sagacity

to foresee that if he were to identify the fortunes of his realm with theirs, the dismemberment of it would inevitably follow. The faithful allegiance of the Rhenish Provinces at best is somewhat dubious, and Frederick William must be convinced, from the occurrences in his metropolis, and in Paris, that it would be unsafe to rely upon his army — magnificent as it is — to coerce them into obedience. I regard, therefore — with other evidences that I behold in the northern states — the re-establishment of the nationality of Germany (the Austrian portion excepted) as an event that cannot fail to be realized. A Constitution modelled after ours in many respects will be adopted; and the reigning Princes of the blood placed upon a level, as relates to supremacy, with the Governors of our States. Such a procedure would hasten German Royalty to the termination of its existence — a hapless reflection, one would think, from the sorrows and cares with which it is inflicted.

Austria is in the most deplorable condition of any European State. Miracles can save her from dismemberment, and miracles only. The old kingdoms of Venice and Lombardy — containing nearly 5,000,000 of inhabitants — fraternize with the other Italian states in their struggles for freedom. — This sentiment could not be repressed, even when Ferdinand had assurances from the French Cabinet that

Louis Philippe would tacitly submit to his encroach-
ments on the sovereignties embraced in the Italian
peninsula. It will now be more determined in
its purpose than ever and persevere, under the cheer-
ings of the republicans of western and central Conti-
nental Europe, until its allegiance to the Austrian crown
is absolved. — Tyrol, with a population of about
1,000,000, has, since the Proclamation of Lewis was pub-
lished, expressed a desire to be re-united to Bavaria.
Enthusiastic meetings have just been held at Salz-
burg, and elsewhere upon the subject. — Hungary
is dissatisfied and demands a Constitution for
herself. — Galicia is always discontented. — In
short there is no part of Austria in which there is en-
tire political harmony. Bohemia will almost
certainly strike for independence, if the German
cause should be prosperous, and become a member
of the great republican Union.

Now under such circumstances what could
Russia do, if she were disposed to fight the battles of
Austria? She cannot rely upon the King of Prus-
sia for aid, and if she could he cannot rely upon
his subjects. France, Germany, and Italy, would
unite to repel any army which she might march in-
to Lombardy or Tyrol. Now that they are com-
paratively free they view her as their common enemy.

Nicholas has lost much of that energy of character for which he was so distinguished a year or two ago, and laboring under a severe affection of the liver it is scarcely probable that he contemplates aggressions upon other states. If the last letter below, I am correct, there is no danger whatever that the peace of Europe will be disturbed. Austria in her desperation may commence hostilities, but they will be of but temporary duration: She will be crushed at a single blow, if she unsheaths the sword, if France remains a Republic.

The Schleswig-Holstein question after having slumbered for some time is again agitated and with increased enthusiasm. The new King of Denmark more unpopular even than his father, in the face of the new spirit which has been awakened in the Deutsches Vaterland cannot possibly retain the two German Duchies long. Schleswig and Holstein, with singular unanimity, wish for a separation — a measure loudly called for by every German state. — European law has existed only in name since the partition of Poland in 1772: It, therefore, when the people are willing, will create no barrier to the parcelling out of the Continent anew.

Of all the surprising intelligence which this mail will convey to you, none is of a character more extraordinary than that which you will receive from the Levant. About a year ago Shekib Effendi, Turkish

Ambassador to Rome, obtained an audience of the Pope, from which he retired with his breast decorated with the insignes of Christ's representative. Now we are informed of the triumphal entry of the Pope's Ambassador into Constantinople! — and of his reception by the hereditary enemy of Christianity! No foreign functionary was ever received with such manifestations of joy as the accredited nuncio, was received by the Sultan! The enquiring world in amazement asks, what does all this mean? Is the sign of the Cross to be displayed over Stamboul, as it was 1500 years ago, when Constantine established the earliest Throne of Christianity? Is an Oriental Empire in embryo which is to bear upon its banner the initials "I. H. S.V." — in hoc signo vinces — ? It would appear that the light of Heaven is again penetrating the dark region of Turkey, and under its Holy influence a nation of enlightened freemen may ultimately be created. What an age! What a year 1848!

The Chambers meet on the 16th and I shall abide here until then. This government will be the first to recognize France as a Republic. The measure I understand has already been decided upon.

There is a great out-cry throughout Germany for a reduction of the standing armies. The people, pointing to the valor and achievements of our citizen soldiers in Mexico, proudly exclaim "we can do with-

out them in war: In peace we do not need them."
This reform, and the retrenchment in the public expenditures consequent upon it, would contribute vastly to the prosperity of the country.

To-day the people celebrate their victory, in which Kings, Princes and Counts unite, and I regret that I have not the "Star-Spangled Banner" to unfurl to the breeze amid the thousand flags that will be unfurled from the windows and house-tops. It would be hailed with joyous salutations, as the Ensign of freedom's birth-place. xx

I still feel confident that we shall succeed in obtaining a reduction of the Tobacco duty in the Collective, and a period will soon arrive for breaking up the Tobacco regie in France.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
With Faithful Esteem,
Your Obt. S'v't.

A. Dudley Mann.

Königliche Proklamation.

With No 13. Thr Journ.

Ich habe Mich entschlossen die Stände Meines Reiches um Mich zu versammeln; dieselben sind auf den 16. d. Mts. in die Hauptstadt berufen.

Die Wünsche Meines Volkes haben in Meinem Herzen jederzeit vollen Wiederhall gefunden.

An die Stände des Reiches werden ungesäumt Gesetzes-Vorlagen gelangen, unter anderen:

über die verfassungsmässige Verantwortlichkeit der Minister;
über vollständige Preßfreiheit;
über Verbesserung der Stände-Wahl-Ordnung;
über Einführung der Oeffentlichkeit und Mündlichkeit in die Rechtspflege mit Schwur-Gerichten;
über die in der IX. Verfassungs-Beilage angedeutete umfassendere Fürsorge für die Staatsdiener und deren Relikten; dann deren Ausdehnung auf die übrigen Angestellten des Staates;
über Verbesserung der Verhältnisse der Israeliten.

Ferner ordne Ich in diesem Augenblicke die schleunige Abfassung eines Polizei-Gesetz-Buches an; ebenso befehle Ich die unverzügliche Beeidigung Meines Heeres auf die Verfassung, und lasse Ich von heute an die Censur über äussere wie innere Angelegenheiten ausser Anwendung treten.

Bayern erkennt in diesem Entschlusse die angestammte Gesinnung der Wittelsbacher.

Ein großer Augenblick ist in der Entwicklung der Staaten eingetreten. Ernst ist die Lage Teutschlands. Wie Ich für teutsche Sache denke und fühle, davon zeugt Mein ganzes Leben. Teutschlands Einheit durch wirksame Maaßnahmen zu stärken, dem Mittelpunkte des vereinten Vaterlandes neue Kraft und nationale Bedeutsamkeit mit einer Vertretung der teutschen Nation am Bunde zu sichern, und zu dem Ende die schleunige Revision der Bundes-Verfassung in Gemäßheit der gerechten Erwartungen Teutschlands herbeizuführen, wird mir ein theuerer Gedanke, wird Ziel meines Strebens bleiben.

Bayerns König ist stolz darauf, ein teutscher Mann zu seyn.

Bayern! Eurer Vertrauen wird erwiedert, es wird gerechtfertiget werden! Schaaret Euch um den Thron. Mit Euerem Herrscher vereint, vertreten durch Euere verfassungsmässigen Organe, laßt Uns erwägen, was Uns, was dem gemeinsamen Vaterlande Noth thut.

Alles für Mein Volk! Alles für Teutschland!

München, den 6. März 1848.

Ludwig.

Maximilian, Kronprinz.
Luitpold, Prinz von Bayern.
Adalbert, Prinz von Bayern.
Karl, Prinz von Bayern.

Fürst v. Oettingen-Wallerstein. **v. Beisler.** **v. Heres.** **v. der Mark.**

Rec'd 28 April 48.

Mr. Hunter

No. 14.

Frankfort-on-the-Maine; —
April 1, 1848.

Sir; —

Since I had the honor of writing to you, under date of March 13, the revolutionary movement in Europe has received additional impulse, and all the central portion of the Continent is now embraced within the sphere of its operations.

Before I quitted Munich, the King of Bavaria — finding that the concessions which he had granted to his subjects rendered him utterly powerless as a Sovereign — wisely determined to abdicate. He has been succeeded by his son Maximilian, who availed himself of the first suitable occasion, to proclaim his public policy. This policy is, politically, liberal in the extreme, and unless it be faithfully adhered to the abolition of the Throne is certain.

The new King, it is stated, indulges in the more degrading vices of his fallen father, while he emulates none of his virtues. Notwithstanding the heinous imperfections of character of Louis 1st, he was not wholly without redeeming traits: He was the devoted friend of the Arts and

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Secretary of State.
Washington.

Sciences, and accomplished more for their advancement than all the other sovereigns of the age.

I succeeded, I feel confident, in leaving a good impression upon the minds of the men who govern Bavaria, in behalf of the United States. The Minister of Foreign Affairs — Prince Wallerstein — who received me, was compelled to surrender his portefeuille previous to the abdication, and his successor was not appointed at the time of my departure. Indeed the Secretaries of State, in the other States which I had visited, who seemed to be permanent in their places when I presented my credentials, have been swept away, officially, by the resistless tide of indignation, which the mismanagement of their masters provoked.

From Munich I proceeded to Wurtemberg: — This Kingdom, before it became a member of the Zollverein, with Bavaria, constituted a Steuerverein, and the import duty on Tobacco, exacted by the Union, amounted to only five florins per centner — equal to $1.87½ cts. per 100 lbs. The government is kindly disposed towards the United States, and will cheerfully submit to a modification of the Zollverein Tariff upon Tobacco, in order to augment its commercial intercourse with them. — But the prevailing popular commotion in Germany, renders it more than probable, that the Congress of the Zollverein will not assemble as was required by the act of its organization, in June. — I am quite confident that the dissolution of this Union is im-

evitable, and that it will almost immediately occur.

I hastened to this capital of Germany, from Stuttgard, in order to be present at the great Convention, which commenced its session yesterday, to deliberate upon a plan of Constitution for a central government. Nearly all the States are represented, and such is the excitement of the people upon the subject, that ~~hundreds~~ tens of thousands are in attendance, anxiously awaiting the result. This they will perhaps learn to-night. Our Constitution will, generally, be taken as the model of the new system, as far as relates to the legislative department. I am desirous, without having attempted to intrude my opinions on any of the Delegates however, that its provisions should be adopted throughout as far as they can with safety be made applicable to Germany; and when I have been consulted I have urged the importance of definitively disposing, at the out-set, by simple restrictions, of such questions, as might otherwise arise, under construction, to divide and distract the Union: Among others that of raising revenue from imports on foreign products was a power, the exercise of which could not be too strictly guarded; and that it would be judicious to limit it to a twenty-five per centum — prime cost — ad valorem duty. For the well-working of the Constitution, where there are so many conflicting interests, such a stipulation is indispensably necessary. Should it be inserted our planting interests will have more cause to rejoice than they

lead at the repeal of the British Corn Laws; for although no other article would be directly benefitted except Tobacco, the labor which would be drawn from other agricultural pursuits, to the increased production of this staple, would essentially ensure an additional recompense to industry. I may remark that a twenty-five per cent ad val. duty, would favor the consumption of our product, to the injury of that of Cuba, South-America, &c. — which is always high priced — as much as a specific duty, general in its application, of 70 cents per 100 lbs. The Austrian Empire, with the exception of the Italian part of it — which has declared its Independence — will, it is confidently believed, unite with the other German States, and consequently submit to the abolition of her existing Tobacco regie and the low import duty ascertained. Thus with Schleswig-Holstein, whose allegiance to the Crown of Denmark has been severed, the nation, containing about 65,000,000 souls, will be the largest one in the civilized world. It is therefore of primary importance, in my opinion, that a vegilant eye should be kept to our interests during the formation of this Union, and in view of all that is transpiring from day to day. I conceive it to be imperative upon me to remain here, and devote myself exclusively to the subject, until I receive new instructions from you. If you should disapprove of this determination, I will make no charge for

my services. As soon as the Constitution is adopted, the government of course will discontinue the Legations at Berlin and Vienna, and establish one here, as it has been decided to-day that this shall be the permanent capital of the nation. xx

I exceedingly regret that I have not yet received the President's Proclamation of the accession of Mecklenburg-Schwerin to the Hanover Treaty. Its publication at this moment would be of singular value to me, in aiding in the accomplishment of our purposes. The abrogation of the Hanover Treaty will be desired by the Union, before the expiration of the 12 months notice, required to be given. It is essentiary with our government to terminate the Treaty or not, should Hanover or any one of the parties to it, increase the Tobacco duty. Unless therefore, our staples are permitted to enter the ports of the Union under a liberal impost we can throw very serious obstacles in the way of the new government. What considerations can have influenced the Senate to precipitate the ratification of the declaration of accession? I supposed that it would encounter no opposition in a body so patriotic and enlightened. If it should have been rejected, I implore the President as he values the pecuniary prosperity of his constituents, to urge a re-consideration of it.

The period it seems to me is peculiarly auspicious for forcing the abrogation of the Danish Sound Tolls. A fleet of our men of war could not be better employed, until autumn, than in the North and East Seas. No one understands more clearly the nature of the unjustifiable exactions upon our commerce and navigation, at Elsineur, than yourself. Denmark has formally granted to Holstein her Independence, and although she is endeavoring to coerce Schleswig into obedience the effort cannot fail to be equally unsuccessful, for all Germany is arrayed against her encroachment, and numerous armies will meet her if necessary on deadly combat. Troops are already congregating from the different states for this purpose; and the conflict, should a state of belligerence ensue, can neither be a long nor a sanguinary one. Schleswig is already as good as re-united to Germany. Thus the King of Denmark loses about one half, and decidedly the most valuable part, of his realm. With a population of only about 1.000.000 inhabitants left, it is not possible for him, for a lengthened period to preserve his Independence, even were he desirous of doing so. I think it not unlikely, that all that is left of his Kingdom will be annexed to Sweden and Norway. Russia may make some war-like demonstrations to obtain the key to the entrance of

the Baltic, but with unmistakeable evidences before her of the revolution of western and central Europe to confine her to her present limits, she will not engage in hostilities against unequal odds, for such a purpose. Out of tenderness to Denmark, we have indulged her from time to time, contrary to every principle of natural or national right, in the collection of large annual sums from our people, but this tenderness is oppressive and humiliating to our national energy, at a period like the present. We inherited from the Giver of all good the freedom of the seas. If we consent to an obstruction of our transit upon them, of perpetual duration, we are totally unworthy of such a boon. xx

The chances for a general European war have, I am disposed to believe, diminished considerably since the date of my last despatch. The flight to England of the heir presumptive to the Crown of Brazil, and Prince Metternich; together with the concessions of Frederic William and Ferdinand; and the mighty movement for the restoration of the nationality of Germany, at this place, have tended to establish for the future, the security of Europe upon a durable basis.— France perceives that the policy of Germany is pacific in the extreme, and that check-mated is Russia is by the severance of the cement which bound Austria

and Prussia to her, she has nothing whatever to apprehend from an external enemy. Great-Britain, if she were not actuated by principle, is from necessity the advocate of peace. In short the notion of an offensive war by any power or state of Europe, is an absurdity. — Italy cannot fail to establish her nationality, and at a later period her political freedom. No other form of government but that of a Republic will satisfy her people, who number, excluding Venice and Lombardy, about 22,500,000. So that taking France, Germany, and Italy, no less than 125,000,000 of the inhabitants of Continental Europe have removed the yoke of conservative slavery, which bowed them down on the 20th of February 1848!

When I look around me and behold the millions of faces beaming with joy for their deliverance from oppression; when I hear every tongue chanting praises to the beautiful institutions of my country, my heart almost bursts with gratitude to Him, who in the plenitude of His wisdom assigned us so high and glorious a destiny. — Here, in the Convention, are the learned Professors of the celebrated Universities of Germany. At the first meeting, which was of solemn grandeur, after the President had been conducted to the Chair ~~the~~ of them arose and remarked, that as the great Franklin had said every good

Rec'd 25 April 48.

"Britannia" 6. P. M. – April 1.

News just received of the ratification of the Treaty with Mexico: — General joy at the annexation, and huzzas for America.

Large British fleet reported to be near the Danish Sound.

Nicholas has proclaimed his intention not to cross his southern frontier, but to quell the first insurrection that may exhibit itself in Austrian or Prussian Poland: He has collected, near the line, an army of 350,000 troops.

Securities are slightly recovering from the shock which they received, but many of the first German Banking Houses are forced to stop.

A. D. Mc Neill.

work must begin under the protection of an All wise God' I move, before we proceed to business, that we rise from our seats as a testimony of our acknowledgment of the truth of the sentiment." Of the vast con= course, excluding those in the gallery, every one was instantly on his feet. Here was a practical exemplification of Religious philosophy teaching by example.

Whatever may be said to the contrary at home, or in the London newspapers, there never was a period when the United States of America occu= pied so elevated a position in the estimation of the world, as they do,— on this 1st day of April, 1848. Is there a solitary person throughout their length and their breadth —owing them allegiance— who is base enough to wish it were otherwise? xx

As I occupy the central point of Eu= rope, and as I am fully aware of the importance, at so eventful a time, of your being kept fully advi= sed of all that is transpiring, I shall forward you a despatch weekly by the Cunard steamer.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
With Faithful Esteem,
Your Ob't. Serv't.
A. Dudley Mann.

Rec'd 1 May '48.

Mr. Marsh

No. 15.

Frankfort-on-the-Maine; —
April 11, 1848.

Sir; —

The clouds, in my opinion, continue to multiply for the preservation of the general peace of Europe. There is nothing whatever to excite alarm that hostilities will be commenced, either now or hereafter, on account of the sanguinary conflicts and belligerent demonstrations in Italian Austria and South Germany, by other powers and states. — Europe was partitioned upon false principles for the convenience of Princes, in the settlement at Vienna in 1815, and the good sense of the people is employed in parcelling it out anew so as to unite nations which were severed and to establish an identity of individual interests. It is the true policy of Austria to suffer Venice and Lombardy to depart in peace, or rather without the spilling of more blood; and Ferdinand, although he has made up his mind to let them go, imposes some restrictions upon them which they cannot accede to. He will not, I feel confident, long persist in these exactions in the face of all that is transpiring in Rome, Tuscany, and Sicilies.

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Secretary of State
Washington.

and in opposition to popular sentiment elsewhere. In the flight of Metternich he lost his evil genius, and it is believed that good counsels will prevail hereafter in his Cabinet.—

Denmark, under a mistaken impression that European law still exists, is endeavoring, forcibly to retain Schleswig, after having yielded to the demands of Holstein. It is not possible for her to succeed in this purpose, and the will doubtless, fatal as it must prove to her existence, speedily renounce it. There is an enthusiasm among the Germans, on the subject, that was scarcely known to the Crusaders.— About 40,000 troops have been marched to the aid of Schleswig from adjoining German states, and regiments of students, fitted out in many instances at the expense of Leaders, are concentrating there from this section.

Germany, for the first time during its history, is now united in sentiment for the attainment of great political and commercial ends. It has been partially resolved to give to the nation an entire German character, and consequently not to admit into its bounds any part of Poland belonging to Prussia or Austria, or Hungary. In this event the "United States of Germany" will contain a population of about 45,000,000. — Our national system as it becomes better understood becomes more and more popular, and it will, unless I am much mistaken, be adopted as far as it is applicable. — The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States have been

translated and published for general circulation, since I arrived here. Our government is constantly pointed to as the model par excellence.

The very first use that Germany will make of her nationality, under her new Constitution, will be to enact retaliatory measures against Great-Britain, Holland, Spain &c. unless they abandon their present navigation policy, while be assured, from the unmistakeable evidences which are furnished me from day to day, she will be disposed to act in a spirit of the most extended liberality to ourselves. I am hourly brought in contact with ministers and other influential functionaries from the different states; and I embrace every proper occasion to entertain them with a sense of the importance of a closer commercial union between the two Nations. The representatives from the States of Thuringen — Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, Saxe-Weimar &c. — to which I was not accredited, express a perfect willingness to reduce the tobacco duties notwithstanding the article is grown as a staple in those states, provided the measure will augment commercial intercourse between the two countries. The Zollverein it will be recollected had its origin in the Thuringen League.

In view of all that is transpiring in Germany Great-Britain will not long delay to modify her navigation laws — so far as to enable her to make Treaties of Reciprocity with some of the larger powers — such as Germany

France, Italy, and the United States. This measure would be of incalculable advantage to our country.

It is difficult to predict with any degree of certainty what is to become of Belgium and Holland after the Union of Germany shall have been perfected. Their ports have been chiefly sustained by German commerce, and Antwerp has conceded itself as the principal port of the Zollverein. As national ports will now be specially favored, the ports of the Netherlands will necessarily lose their lucrative German trade. It seems to me that Belgium must ultimately unite with France, and that Holland will desire annexation to Germany, but if the present native spirit of Germany does not abate her application to do so will be rejected.

The finances of the states of Europe present a deplorable aspect. Their aggregate debt amounts to about eighty three hundred million Spanish dollars, the aggregate value of which does not exceed, at this time, fifty hundred million Spanishdollars! In such a depressed condition of the funds, arising from a want of confidence in the respective governments, the negotiation of new loans is an idea that is no where entertained. Rothschild is not the Rothschild of other days. His purse is as empty as state treasuries. He has lost his hundreds of millions within the last few weeks. Although still rich he prefers to hoard coin, in the fortress of Mayence, his fortune, in the precious metals, to investing it for promises to-day by insolvent European governments.

The "Old World" therefore is without the "means of war", and through ne-
cessity must preserve peace.

Trade is in a most languishing condition throughout Europe. This proceeds from a general want of confidence, and I doubt not but that it will be of more temporary duration. Our commerce must suffer however, considerably in the mean time. In commerce as in politics every thing has been false in Europe, but the defects will be fully remedied by the purification which they are so hastily undergoing, and ere long all will be placed on a permanent and reliable basis.

The new Parliament — one branch — will commence its session on the 1st of May. Many foreign powers are, and will be, represented here. This city will be as much the centre of European attraction, until after the national government is fully established, as Vienna was in 1815.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
With Faithful Esteem,
Your Ob't. S'v't.
A. Dudley Mann.

No. 16. 1848.

Missing

Recd 15 May.

Mr. Buchanan

No. 17.

Frankfort-on-the-Maine;
April 17, 1847. 8

Sir; —

From the intelligence just received here it is somewhat probable that Denmark, in her dyeng struggle, will grant letters of marque and reprizal, and proceed to blockade the mouths of the Elbe and Weser. Hanburg, Bremen, Hanover, and Oldenburg are fully committed to the Schleswig cause, which is now emphatically the cause of Germany. Under such circumstances, particularly in the extended condition of our commerce in the North and Baltic Seas, I reiterate the opinion expressed in a former despatch that a fleet of our men of war should be sent to those seas, to protect our interests, at as early a period as is convenient. Whether the intelligence mentioned be true or not, it is rendered quite certain that hostilities will not be suspended until Schleswig is restored to Germany. xx Germany has no armed vessels but the solitary Corvette of Prussia, which visited the United States last autumn. She is now marching troops in large bodies to the disputed territory, and although

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Secretary of State.

Washington.

her commerce may suffer severely in the mean time, the result is not at all questionable.

It is rumored that Great-Britain has offered her mediation. This will be of no avail. *The Germans now that the national patriotism is awakened would undergo the desolating influences of another thirty years war rather than fail in re-uniting their father-land. The question to Denmark is one of life or death and there is, therefore, no ground of compromise for her. She has had the temerity to drench the streets of Kiel with the choicest german blood — that of the Liberty loving Students — and she must abide the consequences. In her obliteration from the family of nations it is believed that all that will remain of her will be attached to Norway and Sweden.**

Czar Nicholas formally announced his determination to observe a rigid neutrality in the questions of Europe, so long as his soil is not invaded, all fears of a general war have been dismissed. The deplorable home condition of England happily forbids her from adopting a different course. So that of the Czar.

The work of uniting Germany, is progressing upon the "slow and sure" principle. When completed it will constitute a tower of strength, — such as no other nation of this monetal presents to the world except honored, happy, America.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

With Faithful Esteem.

Your Obt. S'v't.

A. Dudley Mann.

No. 17 - A. D. Mann. Frankfurt - 17 Aug - 1848

15 May.

Mr Buchanan

No. 18.

Frankfort-on-the-Maine, —
April 24, 1848.

Sir; —

The dynastic question which involves Germany in war with Denmark proper, if not previously understood by you in all its complicated bearings has doubtlessly been elaborately explained by our Minister at Berlin and our Chargé at Copenhagen. Under this supposition I have deemed it unnecessary to furnish you myself, with a narration of the most reliable historical facts relating to the subject. — I am quite persuaded that Schleswig-Holstein is so clearly in the right, as that the sentiment which impels united Germany to make its cause her cause is patriotic. ** But if the King of Denmark had established even a legitimate Conventional claim to Schleswig-Holstein, with the popular demonstrations which he beholds among his German subjects for a separation, and restoration to the father-land, and in view of all that is transpiring to better the political condition of central Europe, he must be considered but little less than fool-hardy to engage in hostilities for its retention: He cannot fail to perceive that there is at present no banner recognized on the Continent that has not inscribed upon it — the supremacy of the people. — The Schleswig-Holstein question is not a new one: It would have been adjusted,

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Secretary of State.
Washington.

upon such terms as it is now certain to be adjusted, some time since but for the alarm which provocation possesses for the Germans when like is not an absolute necessity for action. In a letter which I wrote from this place, as long ago as the 5th November 1846, — published in the "Union" — I remarked:

"The Schleswig-Holstein question, which, apparently, "slumbered a short time, is again the all-absorbing one of Germany "— exciting a lively and an increasing interest from the North "Sea to the Adriatic, and from the Baltic to the Lake of Constance. "For the first time within their history the German people are u: "nited for the preservation of their territory. A sentiment of "national pride prevails, that in future not an inch of it shall be "parcelled out for the convenience of foreign sovereigns, or even as "a mean of maintaining the equilibrium of the Continent. Sev: "eral of the more powerful governments would willingly extinguish "the flame, which they behold burning so brightly around them by a "sacrifice of the North-western German neck; but they have sufficient "foreknowledge to perceive that any exertion to arrest its progress "would involve them in perilous consequences, if not in positive and "immediate destruction. The public voice must be heard or "it will make itself felt. The more unimpassioned the general "character of a people, the more determined are they for the accom: "plishment of their purpose when once aroused. The Germans, "orderly and peaceably disposed as they are by habit, have here: "tofore not cared to bother their brains about political affairs, much "as they usually enjoy religious controversies; but they conceive that "they would be destitute of that patriotism which predominates in all "well-born hearts, if they were tacitly to consent to the encroach:

"ments and collateral designs of the King of Denmark, or disprove of the "apathy and indifference of certain of their rulers on the subject. — "The signs of the times are not to be mistaken by the thickest-headed "sovereign. The fiat has gone forth from the house-tops, that Schles- "wig-Holstein shall not be separated from the father-land, and that Lu- "bec shall be permitted to make a railroad through territory exclusive- "ly German (the Duchy of Holstein) to Hamburg! And you may mark "the prediction, that its execution is certain and to all intents and "purposes. This, however, will be merely the beginning of the end — "the dawning of the morn which is to be succeeded by the noon-day sun "— of that which will treasure for bettering the condition of Germany."

× In this German annexation question, which I frankly admit enlisted from the first all my sympathies, the leading London Newspapers array themselves against Germany precisely as they arrayed themselves against the United States with respect to the annexation of Texas. They denounce the procedure as the most unprincipled instance of national aggression and national re- prise, for purposes of national aggrandizement, of which the world has been furnished with an account! The preservation of the Metternichian equilibrium of Europe is certainly, however, a measure which the British journals can with more propriety advocate than they could advocate the application of the "balance of power" doctrine on the North-American Continent: But, nevertheless, their ferocious rantings are likely to be as little heeded in the one case as they were in the other. As evidence of this, in addition to that which has been stated, Schleswig has just cho- sen representatives to the National-Convention of the 3rd May.

Germany acting not more in a spirit of jus-

victoria then in a spirit of common sense is no longer a nation in name merely but a nation of substantial strength, and although it is her settled determination never to invade the just domain of other powers she is amply prepared to repel any aggressor upon her soil. ++ The Italian troops, who unconsiderately entered Tyrol, have been met by the natives and with the co-operation of the Bavarians, forced to withdraw. In this movement I see no danger of a serious rupture between the two countries. At a time of so much excitement, when flushed with victory, the excesses of the Lombardians are, perhaps, pardonable, and will I am sure be forgotten by the Tyrolese in the general calm soon to be experienced.

At comparatively short intervals, during the last fortnight, painful intelligence — calculated to create gloomy forebodings — arrived here from Paris; but happily it occasioned no despondent reflections, in the stout German hearts and patient heads, entrusted with perfecting the work of reform. Whether France shall fall from, or maintain her high estate, is a question of no moment as relates to the future career of Germany; because a coalition of all the nations of the earth, adverse to her principles, would be incompetent to drive her from her exalted purpose. The committee of fifty, acting in behalf of the Convention of the 30th March, issued a few days since an invitation, to exiled political offenders, to return to "regenerated Germany — the new land of freedom — and enter with their brethren upon a common destiny." — King Ernest of Hanover, moved to compassion and forgiveness, in this era of universal good feeling, has restored the seven long banished professors of Gottingen

to their respective Chairs, in the University of that place.

Last week a severe battle was fought in the neighboring Grand Duchy of Baden. Mr. Hecker, a highly talented member of the Chamber of Deputies of that State, with more courage than discretion, proclaimed a Republic, and in his march at the head of 1500 or 2000 men, from Constance to Carlsruhe, to establish a provisional government, was met by a large army and defeated with considerable loss. During the engagement the commanding General of the Baden troops, von Gagern, was killed: Hecker effected his escape to France.

It is of paramount importance that you should be kept properly advised, as far as an opinion can be correctly formed, whether the general peace of Europe will be preserved or not? — I have access to the best informed persons on the Continent as to all that is transpiring, and I take pleasure in reiterating the opinion expressed upon the subject in all my recent Despatches.

A word — and it shall be the last — relative to the Mecklenburg "Declaration." There is not, I feel confident, a solitary Senator who would record his vote against the terms of the Accession, if he could only see as distinctly as I do, the advantages that would inevitably result from them, to the interests of our beloved country, in the new condition of affairs in Germany. These advantages I have endeavored to explain, from time to time, but perhaps not so explicitly as to be fully understood. I have not the ability, however, to make them more clear, and consequently I have conscientiously discharged my duty. — Under

the Proclamation shall be sent by the return steamer, under instructions to the Minister at London to forward it to me by express, all that was received from Mecklenburg will be lost.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
With Faithful Esteem,
Your Ob't. S.v't.
A. Dudley Mann.

No. 18. A. D. Main. Frankfort. 24 Abl.

Recd 24 May 48.

Private.

Frankfort-on-the-Maine; —
April 25, 1848.

Dear Sir; —

Since I closed my despatch, no. 18, the mails have arrived with additional intereating accounts from all parts of Germany. The public mind, in every direction, is in the highest degree inflamed by the proceedings of the House of Commons, and the rumor of an intended intervention of Great-Britain with reference to Schleswig.

Long as I have known and sincerely as I have esteemed the Germans, I never until now properly appreciated them. They are unquestionably the most patriotic people, as a whole, in the universe. In the question of the re-annexation of the Duchy of Schleswig, their noble impulses contrast most favorably with the narrow, selfish, policy manifested by a considerable portion of the people of the United States, in the re-annexation of Texas. — They are entirely united for the accomplishment of a national object, while we, with equally weighty reasons for union, suffered ourselves to be divided by unworthy considerations. The Texans, with few exceptions, were what the Schleswegers now are — true to themselves and to their mother country: but the leaders of the opposition to the measure in the United States, showed themselves to be incapable of making the generous sacrifices for the attainment of a

general good that has been displayed by every German. The Texas question, as I stated on a former occasion, was identical in its object and tendencies to the United States, what the Schleswig question is to Germany. The opponents to the admission of Texas are therefore, doubly convicted of a great political wrong: First by the decision of a majority of their countrymen, and now by the unanimous voice of the orderly, peace-loving, German people.

The official, and I may add officious, interference of Great-Britain in this national question, has had no other effect than to engender feelings of enmity in every German bosom against the obtruding power. The threat of intervention is not even a scare-crow. It is regarded as emanating from a government, prolific in mischief but puny in strength, which stands reproached by the world for its desire to control the destinies of America, and humbled in its own esteem by its signal discomfiture in negotiation, in the Oregon controversy; its disgraceful failure in Texas, and its utter incapacity to render a service to Mexico, other than the ignoble aid and comfort bestowed by the Press which it patronizes. These are the opinions expressed, unreservedly, of Great-Britain, and no apprehension whatever is entertained that she will espouse the cause of Denmark or take up arms against Germany. She cannot do otherwise, than observe a regard neutrality, as respects any thing more than a war of words. The notion of any thing else is an absurdity.

Much of the apparent sympathy of England for Denmark is, in my opinion, attributable to the advantages enjoyed by her products over those of the United States in their transit through the Sound. Cotton Twist for instance, whether the ships in commerce quantities to the Baltic, is charged, as well as I recollect, only about one cent per 100 lbs, while raw cotton is charged seventeen cents per 100 lbs. She would, therefore, rather that the duties should be retained than taken off. Moreover, she distinctly perceives that if the Union of Germany should be perfected, she would lose her lucrative trade, extending to 75,000,000 lbs per annum, of Cotton Twist in that country. It is quite certain that one of the first acts of the national Congress will be to levy a duty, almost prohibitory, on the article, or as to favor the direct importation of raw cotton and to encourage the manufacture of it in the first stage. For this purpose a duty of 25 per cent. ad val. will be ample.

The name of Russia, like that of Britannia, has lost much of its terror to European states. The line of policy, though judicious, marked out by Nicholas for himself, indicates a want of his own confidence in his strength. — In two years and a half the legitimate term of his reign will have expired. Whether he will be sufficiently powerful to extend the period or not, without endangering his personal safety, is a question which it is believed occasions him much anx-

ety. Poland perceives this and only awaits a suitable hour to strike for independence. That hour will arrive as soon as Germany defines her northern boundary, which is sure to be favorable to the cause of the Poles. It continues to be believed here, that the Emperor will anticipate the purpose resolved upon by his Polish subjects, and restore them to their nationality, upon conditions that will be acceptable.

I have no higher ambition than to perfect the important work for our country which was entrusted by yourself with so much confidence to my management, and I can assure you that it never was in so advanced a condition as at present. — If that "declaration" has been ratified (which alas! I almost despair of) by the first of next March, unless I am much deceived, our Tobacco will enter a nation of from 40,000,000 to 45,000,000 inhabitants at a duty of 20 or 25 per cent. ad val.; our Whale oil at a duty not exceeding ten per cent. ad val.; and our Paddy and Raw Cotton free.

We are in hourly expectation of intelligence, that the ports of the Elbe and the Weser are in a state of blockade. If the navigation of Great-Britain is in any manner favored, in the event of war, as occurred, I suppose that we shall be prepared to assert our neutral privileges. I should like for the glory of our country, and for the protection of its rights and interests, to see some of our best

ween-of-war in the North-Sea under the command of Commodore Stuart. —

Mr. Morton, I am delighted to find, goes to Rome. — I am disposed to believe that a mistake was committed, in not according to the Pope a Minister Plenipotentiary, inasmuch as a resident Diplomatic Agent was determined upon. Her Holiness will not likely consider a mission of the fourth grade, near his Court, from such a power as the United States, in the light of a compliment. **

The Berlin papers announce that Mr. von Rönne is to return to Washington as the successor of Baron Gerolt. The post will soon be abolished, but I imagine that he expects to be continued as the representative of the Union. — I know not what provision has been made for Baron Gerolt.

In conclusion, I am proud to assure you, from the evidences every day furnished me, that our country could not occupy a higher position in the esteem of Germany, than it does at this moment. It is to this mighty nation that we must look in coming time, — without any other alliance however than that which proceeds from generous measures and liberal opinions — as a durable and valuable friend. **

Yours most Faithfully,

A. Dudley Mann.

Private. A. D. Mann. Frankfort a M. 25 Apl. 1848.

Recd 24 May, 48.

M. Bancroft.

No. 19.

Frankfort-on-the-Maine; —
May 1, 1848.

Sir; —

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch dated April 4. — When my No. 10 was written — Feb. 5 — I entertained no apprehensions that there would be any delay in the ratification of the Declaration of accession of Mecklenburg-Schwerin to the Hanover Treaty. Indeed, I was not at that time informed that the President had submitted this Declaration to the consideration of the Senate. As definitive action has not yet been had, so far as I am advised, upon the question of ratification, I should, if I were not even influenced by the reasons stated in one or more of my recent Nos., conclude that the duties of my mission were incomplete, and that it was imperative upon me to continue in the public service, until the expiration of the period, agreed upon in the Protocol, for a notification to be given to the Secretary of State of Mecklenburg.

The time of meeting of the Convention at this place, which is to give to Germany a Constitution, has been postponed until the 18th inst. In the mean time the Com-

Hon. James Buchanan.
Secretary of State.
Washington

mittee of fifty, of the Convention of the 30th ult. will continue to employ itself with a plan of government, to be submitted to the new Convention, as soon as it is organized, in order to expedite the deliberations of that body. The Convention of the 18th will be clothed with legislative and executive powers, and will proceed to establish a system of imposts on foreign importations, to be observed throughout the Union.

† Baron von Rönne returns to the United States, as Minister of Prussia. Two or three days before his appointment was gazetted, the Bundesversammlung (German Diet) resolved, "That the Prussian government be requested in all future negotiations with the government of Denmark to have a particular regard to the security of German commerce and navigation in the North and Baltic seas; and, if possible, to endeavor to enter into an arrangement with some naval powers to protect them on the coasts." Absurd, as is such a notion as that expressed in the latter part of this proceeding, it seems to be understood here, that in conformity with it, the Diplomat mentioned has been despatched to Washington. With a knowledge of our policy with respect to Foreign states, recently forcibly re-expressed by the Executive, — that of "peace with all nations, entangling alliances with none", — by the Cabinet at Berlin, I am somewhat disinclined to give credit to the statement, as current as it is among well informed persons. ††

The result of the Schleswig war I have never for a moment considered doubtful; but still during its pen-

dency, it is probable that German commerce and navigation will suffer severely. Should the German army be enabled to effect an early landing on the Island of Zealand, after its victorious march through Schleswig — attended by awfully fatal consequences to the Danes — Copenhagen cannot fail to capitulate. Before this struggle was fairly commenced I foresaw, as I had occasion to state to you, that the national obliteration of Denmark was inevitable. At first there was no disposition to incorporate the Islands of Zealand and Jutland with the States of Germany, but in the prosecution of hostilities, I am not sure that a contrary sentiment does not now prevail. Be this as it may, Denmark proper will be too feeble to resist a force, when the war is terminated; and, apart from other considerations, Germany may conceive it to be her duty to place it forever beyond the reach of the colossal power of the north.

The armed intervention of Great-Britain is as little dreaded by this nation, as the motives which influence her to desire to act as mediator are appreciated. England has been committed to Denmark for more than a century and a quarter on the subject, and yet this obligation, as explicit as are its terms, is not worth the parchment upon which it is written. It is rendered obsolete, by the inability of the covenantor, to comply with the conditions imposed by it, without a total disregard for self-preservation. The obligation, or perhaps more properly speaking "guarantee," dated July 16, 1720, runs thus: — "The King of England, for his heirs and successors, as

mittee of fifty, of the Convention of the 30th ult., will continue to employ itself with a plan of government, to be submitted to the new Convention, as soon as it is organized, in order to expedite the deliberations of that body. The Convention of the 18th will be clothed with legislative and executive powers, and will proceed to establish a system of imposts on foreign importations, to be observed throughout the Union.

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The armed intervention of Great-Britain is as little dreaded by this nation, as the motives which influence her to desire to act as mediator; are appreciated. England has been committed to Denmark for more than a century and a quarter on the subject, and yet this obligation, as explicit as are its terms, is not worth the parchment upon which it is written. It is rendered obsolete, by the inability of the covenanter, to comply with the condition imposed by it, without a total disregard for self-preservation. The obligation, or perhaps more properly speaking "guarantee" dated July 16, 1720, reads thus: — "The King of England, for his heirs and successors, as

"grees to maintain in a continued and peaceable possession that
"part of the Duchy of Schleswig, which his Danish Majesty has
"in his hands, and to defend it in the best manner possi-
"ble, against all and every power, which may endeavor to
"disturb the Throne, either directly or indirectly."

If Great-Britain were certain, that by co-ope-
rating with Denmark she could succeed against united Germa-
ny, she could not afford to take up arms. The state
of her public finances would forbid such a procedure, hav-
ing notices of the various consequences that would be attendant
upon it to her navigation, commerce and manufactures.—
She has more to lose from an interruption of the peace of
Europe than any other power, and clamorous as she has been,
and in fact continues to be, for a faithful observance of
treaty stipulations, in choosing between the two evils she
cannot hesitate. Here history teaches by example;
and may our government profit so much by the lesson, as never
to give, nor exact, national guarantees.

I think it not unlikely that accounts may
reach you, and perhaps from individuals whose opinions are
worth really more than mine, that a general European war
is unavoidable; but if I view the positions of the various gov-
ernments in their proper aspect, as I endeavor to do most
dispassionately, all the momentous events, that are hourly
transpiring, are only so many harbingers to the establish-
ment of a glorious, durable, and general state of tranquility.

In the reformation, political and commercial, which will soon be perfected, the people will become like those of the United States — free, happy, and peaceful. **

In my No. 14, I took the liberty of adverting to the injustice of the Danish Sound Tolls, so far as they are applied to our country. It is unfortunate that they were recognized, by the provisions of the Treaty, which we concluded with Denmark, in 1826. Our negotiator committed a blunder, undoubtedly, in this respect. He should have studiously avoided the insertion of any stipulation relating to their existence; and they would then not have become so much dignified, as to assume a sort of legalized importance. Should Denmark fall — and whether or no, after the termination of our Convention with her — we should, in the spirit of justice to "free trade and sailor's rights." resist the open day piracy, indulged in at Cronborg Castle, whatever the peril.

Should the Declaration be ratified I suppose you will transmit it, after having it proclaimed, forthwith. I will endeavor in such case, if the time shall have elapsed as agreed upon, to get it extended for a few days.

The wild spirit of democracy in Germany headed by Hecker — similar to that propagated by Blanqui in France — has been productive of much mischief. It has served to strengthen, to an alarming degree, the recent apparently hopeless cause of Constitutional Monarchy.

The blockade of the North Sea ports of Germany,

had not been commenced, at the period of the latest dates from Bremen and Hamburg. Much uneasiness however is still felt upon the subject.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
With faithful Esteem,
Your Ob't. S'v't.
A. Dudley Mann.

Nº. 19. A. D. Mann. Frankfort. a. M. 1 May – 18

No. 20.

Frankfort-on-the-Maine; —
May 8. 1848.

Sir; —

The ladies received yesterday, that the "National Assembly" had placed at the disposal of the Minister of War, the sum of eighty millions of francs, occasioned an extraordinary degree of excitement in this renowned city of bankers, brokers, diplomatists, and distinguished strangers. This procedure is regarded in well informed circles, as a Declaration of War by France against Austria; a war which, when once commenced, it is feared will necessarily involve all Continental Europe. The funds market is consequently, in a depressed & confused to-day as it has been at any time since the events of the three days of February.

While it is undeniable that the demonstrations of the Republic, indicate arrangements preparatory for a state of belligerence with a foreign power, I, nevertheless, cannot perceive in them any manifestation of a desire to commence hostilities without a sufficient justification. Such justification does not at present exist, as far as the public mind is informed. There is scarcely a reasonable doubt but

Hon. James Buchanan.
Secretary of State.
Washington.

that Metternich, in his exile, is just as ambitious as he was in the zenith of his power to crush every liberal sentiment which is entertained in Austria, and just as unscrupulous as to the means to be employed, for the prostration of the republicans of the Italian peninsula. It is believed that his counsels have had a baneful influence upon the British Ministry, and that, therefore, in conformity with instructions from the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, the Earl of Minto has succeeded in widening the breach between Austria and Italy, - throwing obstacles in the way of the latter - in order to preserve, as a whole, that stupendous piece of patch-work, Ferdinand's Empire. This diplomatic intervention, or rather the purposes which it wishes to accomplish, it is quite natural that France, in her new position, should endeavor to thwart; and to secure proper respect for her opinions, when expressed upon the subject, particularly when Great-Britain is armed cap-a-pie it cannot be considered any thing more than a prudential measure, to place at the disposal of the Minister of War ample sums to impart additional strength to the army and navy. To Mr. Lamartine's foreign policy, I still think that the Republic will faithfully adhere.

Denmark has recently captured several German ships, and has resolved - according to accounts just received - upon blockading the German ports on the North Sea, on the 10th instant. No German vessel has been sent to Sea for some time, and directions have been transmitted to those abroad not to return until hostilities cease. - This will benefit the navigation of the United States consider-

bly, even if the blockade should be a close one. It would be wrong however, in my opinion, for our merchants to base ex-pectations upon the probability of a protracted duration of hostilities.

The Delegates to Congress are beginning to arrive but the regular session, although informal ones are now held, will not begin until the 18th inst. The repre-sentation — in the ratio of one member to every 50,000 inhabitants — it is stated will be full; although Aus-tria, influenced by the considerations to which I have adverted, manifests a disposition latterly not to permit any portion of her population to be embraced in the Union. Thus, perhaps, she will not be able to prevent as respects her German subjects. — The ill-advised and ill-intentioned movement of the Baden communists, under the leadership of Hecker, has operated most injuriously to the republican cause in Germany. The assassination of von Gagern, the post-ular General of the Royalists, (while he was in the act of en-deavoring peacefully to restore tranquility) by some of Heck-er's deluded followers, has been turned to a good account, during the pendency of the Elections, by the party which favors a Constitutional Monarchy.** The funeral of this favorite officer, which occurred here last week, was the most mag-nificent and imposing of any ever witnessed in Germany. It seemed to be arranged for the consummation of a pur-pose, and it was evidently conducted in such a manner as to result as adversely to the liberalists in this section, as Gen-eral's dead body did to the cause of freedom in Rome. X J.

now almost despair of seeing a Constitution adopted, by the body delegated for that purpose, similar to ours, and yet I am very certain that no other form of government can last for a Lengthened period, or give contentment to the governed. while it is in force. than this. ✓

With Faithful Esteem,

I have the honor to be,

Your Ob't. S'v't.

A. Dudley Mann.

7 o'Clock, P. M.

Postcript.

An official notification of the Danish blockade of the German ports, from the mouth of the Ems to Memel, will, no doubt, reach the Department by the present steamer. The Proclamation of the King of Denmark has just been received. The mail which brought it brings intelligence that Frederica, the strong Danish Fortress and Key to the Little Belt, has been captured by the German army. — It has been announced in the Report of the victorious General, that no Tolls will be collected from vessels passing from the North to the Baltic Sea, on the Little Belt route. This I regard as significant of the intention of Germany to get rid of the "Sound Tolls", altogether, before a Treaty of peace is concluded. — It is exceedingly questionable whether Denmark will be able to maintain the blockade for many days: —

Day after day reverses are experienced by the Austrians in Lombardy: More of a recent date must prove fatal to the hopes of Ferdinand for the retention of his Italian Provinces.

2

No. 21.

Frankfort-on-the-Maine; —
May 15. 1848.

Sir; —

When it was announced, about two weeks since, that Great-Britain had proposed to mediate between the Germanic Confederation and Denmark, there seemed to be but one sentiment entertained throughout Germany respecting such mediation, and that directly averse to its acceptance. The offer of it was considered, on account of the "guarantee" of England to Denmark, in a light but little less favorable than an intended insult. In all my conversations with intelligent and influential persons upon the subject I do not at present recollect an instance where there was not an unrestrained expression of indignation, against what was pronounced the effrontery of the British Ministry. The Press too gave utterance, in language unusually vehement, of its amazement at this desire of an "interested" power to intermeddle with a foreign question, which admitted of no fair mediation. — About the time, however, when the public mind was thus inflamed, the mediation was accepted by Prussia,

Hon. James Buchanan.
Secretary of State.
Washington.

"as," to use Lord Palmerston's words, "the organ of the German Diet;" and when Schleswig, — with the exception of the diminutive island of Alsen, — and a part of Denmark proper, was in the possession of the army of the Confederation. Under such circumstances, it is confidently believed that the most that can result from the mediation for the benefit of Denmark — and it is this that reconciles the German public to its employment — will be the restoration of Frederica, and other places occupied in Jutland. While there was a possibility that Schleswig might be lost through the agency of foreign manoeuvres, the rulers of Germany did not think of suffering any government to endeavor to effect a compromise, much less one that was directly concerned.

As Germany has not heretofore, coveted any portion of the Danish territory she will consent, in my opinion, to surrender that which is under military occupation, upon the condition that Denmark shall indemnify her, for the spoliations committed on her navigation and commerce. She may insist upon the abolition of the Sound Dues, as far as relates to her own vessels and their cargoes, but she will scarcely let their retention be an obstacle to the re-establishment of peace, after having succeeded in her principal purpose. — British mediation, therefore, has not an enlarged sphere to operate in: In fact, as it appears to me, it cannot settle any thing that could

not have been so readily subjected without its exercise. It may tend to sooth the wounded pride of Denmark, while whatever may be its policy, it will be incapable to withhold from doing an injury to Germany, or refuse to the aid for which she kneel.

The re-action in Prussia, in behalf of the King, continues to augment. Indeed I may say throughout Germany, with the exception perhaps of Silesia, there is a discernible abatement of the deadly hate engendered against this monarch by the bloody scenes at Berlin and Breslau, and his subsequent presumption in proposing himself as Emperor of Germany. His name was a by-word from peasant to prince, until hostilities were commenced in the north. Public bon-fires were made of the pictures and engravings of his image, and even the hotels designated by his name, were compelled, in order to retain their custom, to take down their signs. Many politicians, connected with the liberal movement, who viewed him as the most despicable tyrant, now regard him as a marvellous proper personage to direct the affairs of their native land. What a change! I sometimes fear, that in Germany, the monarchical serpent has been "only scotched – not killed." × The people's cause has suffered from the "communists" – the most dangerous party to the welfare of any country that could exist.

God grant that such a one may never develope its anarchical form in ours; nor can it unless by a system of unequal taxation and privileges one part of our fellow-citizens shall be impoverished to the vast emolument of the other. The supporters of communism are, unfortunately, too closely identified with the republicans of Germany and France for the complete consolidation of liberty; and they would be at once crushed were it not for the abiding remembrancers, visible to generous hearts, that haughty ill-gotten wealth had long trodden down—mercilessly humbled to the dust of the earth,—honest, virtuous, poverty.—As a striking exemplification of this you see the noble high-souled, republican statesman, Lamartine, reaching down from his towering elevation in the world's esteem, to raise and save Ledru-Rollin.

The King of Prussia has ordered home his brother—the heir to the Throne—who was forced, by popular opinion, to seek an asylum of safety in England. The ostensible reason assigned by His Majesty for requiring the Prince to return is that his presence cannot be legally dispensed with at the opening of the Chambers at Berlin, which is soon to occur. But the loyal newspapers state, that the step was superinduced by a desire to withdraw His Royal Highness from the contaminating influences of the cir-

cle, headed by the Count of Neuilly and Prince Met-
ternich, with which he was brought in contact! — In
this manner, a smooth way has been opened for him
from Aix-la-Chapelle to the very <u>very</u> south of Poland.

The Baron von Rome has been chosen,
as one of the representatives for Berlin, to the Nation-
al Convention: His contemplated mission to the
United States, therefore, has either been postponed
or abandoned.

The Earl of Minto proceeded home-
ward last week from his embassy to Italy. His
movement with the fresh demonstrations in Rome — so
terrific as to frighten the usually self-possessed Pon-
tiff — will contribute to diminish the chances of a
general European war. The cessation of hostil-
ities in Lombardy I consider almost as good as effect-
ed: Another mail may convey you tidings to this end.
Austria it seems is to have no respite. The Sclavo-
nian race now threaten to shake her to the centre. —
The spirit of exclusive nationality, so enthusiastically
displayed in Germany and Italy, has awakened a
similar sentiment among the Sclavonians, and they
propose to hold a Convention at Prague, about the be-
ginning of June, preparatory to the formation of an
independent Union.

It is asserted here, upon what is stated

to be good authority, that the blockade of the German ports will be raised in a few days. This I think not improbable, notwithstanding the movement of Sweden in behalf of Denmark.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
With faithful Esteem,
Your Obt. S.v.t.
A. Dudley Mann.

11 June 1848.

W. Parker

No. 22.

Frankfort-on-the-Maine, May 22, 1848.

Sir; —

The "German Parliament" as it is generally styled — though more properly speaking a general convention — was organized on the 18th. About four-fifths of the members returned are present and the attendance of the remainder, or a large portion of them, will not be delayed beyond the 1st. proximo. The proceedings so far, are too unimportant to justify me in reporting them to you.

This new Parliament is, perhaps, as learned a body, as relates to knowledge derivable from books, as ever convened for the accomplishment of a political object, and yet it does not contain, so far as I am informed, a solitary practical statesman of eminent abilities. While the delegates are animated by an earnest desire to better the condition of their constituents, they assuredly will be puzzled in their deliberations — on account of their inexperience in the science of government — in what manner to proceed to secure the end aimed at. There is no abatement in the popular enthusiasm for "Union", but upon what principles that Union shall be based is a question, now that the time for action has arrived, more difficult of solution than was anticipated by the most sanguine "Nationalist." To my mind, however, the case, as it has been all

Hon. James Buchanan.

Secretary of State.

Washington.

along, is perfectly plain. No other system than our Federal one can work well in Germany for a lengthened period; but I fear that there is not sufficient nerve in the Convention to adopt it just now. The act of the King of Prussia, ordering home his Cosmopolitan brother from England, has occasioned a renewal of manifestations of dissatisfaction with that Monarch, and diminished, to a slight extent, the chances in favor of a national Constitutional Monarchy.

The education and temper of the Germans are such as to qualify them, in all respects, for the enjoyment of political institutions like ours; and I cannot be mistaken in the signs, which I have attentively observed for a half dozen years, that they are destined to be as free as our countrymen are at this time. Every day furnishes fresh evidence for the confirmation of this belief, and I regard it as almost certain that there can be no durable public repose until the event transpires.

The conspiracy in Paris will tend to strengthen the Republic. The policy of Lamartine in retaining Ledru-Rollin in the Ministry, displayed more than the ordinary sagacity of this statesman. By it he disarmed the "communists" of their power for the utter subversion of the National Assembly. Had Ledru-Rollin been crushed officially, the result, most probably, would have been more serious. It is not to be deplored that the villainous demonstration was made, inasmuch as an opportunity was afforded to the friends of order and national liberty, to test their power in <u>France</u>—

I continue not more confident in the belief than I have been conscientious in the expression of it, in my numerous recent despatches, that there never was a period, since the battle of Waterloo, when less was to be apprehended, that a general European war would ensue, than the present. Events are daily transpiring which, in my opinion, are calculated to preclude such an occurrence. — It is not probable that you have had sufficient leisure, amid the multifarious duties attendant upon your position, to examine my oft repeated views in connexion with the subject, nor am I so vain as to suppose, that they are deserving of special consideration, when contrasted with those more lucid ones, furnished you from time to time, by our able diplomatists near the different Courts of Europe.

× The Bundesversammlung (German Diet) at its last sitting passed a Resolution requesting the several German States to immediately appoint a Committee to repair to this capital to prepare a Tariff of duties on foreign imports for the Confederation. The new Parliament, conceiving this to be an encroachment upon its right to legislate exclusively on the subject will, it is stated, very soon appoint a Committee for the same purpose. Now is the important period for exercising a vigilant watchfulness over American interests, and I rejoice that I am here to exert such influence as I possess, limited as it may be, in their behalf. ×× What assistance would I not receive from the "Declaration" if its stipulations had been perfected?

No. 22. A. D. Mann: Frankfort - 22 May, 184[illegible]

The tidings from Austria, by to-day's post, is unfavorable to the proposed Constitutional Monarchy. Vienna has again revolted and the star of republicanism seems to be in the ascendant. The Emperor is at Innspruck — the capital of Tyrol.

The army of the Confederation is in the occupancy of nearly the whole of Jutland. Hostilities, it is confidently asserted, will soon cease between the two nations. I consider them already as good as ended.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
With Faithful Esteem,
Your Ob't. Serv't.
A. Dudley Mann.

Smith

Rec'd 16 June.

W. Barton.

No. 23.

Frankfort-on-the-Maine; —
May 29, 1848.

Sir; —

The German Parliament, which assembled on the 18th instant, has so far superseded the Bundesversammlung as to undertake, for all practical uses, the legislative and executive functions of the Confederation.

This body appointed a committee of thirty of its own members, at one of its late sittings, to prepare a National Constitution. The work is an exceedingly difficult one and I fear, from the controversy of sentiment that prevails, that it will not be satisfactorily accomplished.

At the same time a committee of thirty members, composed chiefly of merchants, was appointed to prepare a commercial code — to be approved by Parliament — for the new Union. Baron von Rönne is chairman of this committee and Mr. Geverdt of Bremen a member of it; both of whom you know.

On the 27th a committee was appointed to make preliminary arrangements for the early commencement of a new Marine establishment.

Other committees have been appointed to col:

Hon. James Buchanan.
Secretary of State.
Washington.

lect instruction relative to the state of the country, in order that insurrections may be more speedily and effectually quelled and soldiers prevented from trespassing on the privileges of citizens.

Should a system of government for the "United States of Germany" be perfected our Legation at Berlin as stated in my No. 14, ought to be transferred to this Metropolis. Most of the States of Europe have all along had representatives accredited to the President of the Bundesversammlung. **

Hungary, exercising a vigilant eye over her tobacco interests, has sent two representatives to confer with Parliament upon commercial subjects.

Mr. Arago, Special Minister Plenipotentiary of France, arrived here to-day. It is reported that his mission has for its object the immediate formation of a close political and commercial alliance with Germany.— It seems to be understood, that he is also charged with the opening of negotiations on the Polish question with the government at Berlin, in the event of his not finding sufficient authority for such purpose here.

Almost every civilized nation has one of its best informed diplomatists, as respects commercial subjects, at this place just now, to watch over its commercial interests. In addition to Mr. Arago France is represented by a newly appointed resident Minister.

Among the thousand rumors daily circulated

there, there is one new effect which is creating more than ordi-
nary uneasiness in public circles: It is to the effect that
the Emperor of Russia is concentrating his strength, with a view
to the subjugation of Sclavonian Europe, and the consequent
dismemberment and obliteration of Austria.

I never perused a despatch under more de-
pressed spirits than the present. I still hoped on, un-
til to-day, that the information of the new character that Ger-
many was about to assume, conveyed in my Nos. 14, 15,
and 16, would ensure the ratification of the Mecklenburg
"Declaration". The mail is in with dates to the 9th
from Washington and I learn not a word about the sub-
ject. — The delay of the action of the Senate is utterly
incomprehensible to myself. What considerations can
have prevailed to defeat this great measure? — great,
not perhaps <u>per se</u>, but in the influence which it would exercise
at this moment over uniting and united Germany. The
world will be apt to say, should it ever be furnished with
all the facts of the case, that whatever the form of govern-
ment under which the act was committed, the members
of the body, who caused the decision, conceived that they
were at an unnecessarily distance from their producing coal-
bynein — further, vastly further, than any Prince of Europe
south of Russia, is from his subjects.

— The time stipulated for the notification to be
given at Schwerin expires in ten days: The proceed-
ings of the German Parliament place it beyond the power

of the Grand Duke, kindly as he may be disposed, to prolong for a day the period agreed upon.

I shall await most impatiently, but without much hope, the arrival of my communications by the steamer which was to sail from Boston on the 17th: Should the President's Proclamation fail to reach me by this conveyance all will be lost +

With Faithful Esteem,

I have the Honor to be, Sir,

Very Respectfully, Yr. Ob't. Sv't.

A. Dudley Mann.

Rec'd 7 Augt. 48.

Mr. Buchanan

No. 24.

Frankfort-on-the-Maine, June 5, 1848.

Sir; —

Herewith I transmit to you the Notes which I have had the honor to receive, in the order in which they are mentioned, from the Ministers of Foreign Affairs for the Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, for the Duchy of Brunswick, for the Kingdom of Saxony, for the Kingdom of Bavaria, for the Kingdom of Wurtemburg, for the Hanseatic Republic of Hamburgh, and for the Free City of Frankfort-on-the-Maine, respectively, upon the subject of the emigration of criminals from those states to the United States.

In the German sovereignties, with whose governments I have had no correspondence, I am satisfied, from the numerous inquiries which I have made, that no such practice at present exists as that of furnishing facilities to vicious persons or notorious vagabonds to reach our shores.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
With Faithful Esteem,
Your Ob't. S'v't.
A. Dudley Mann

Hon. James Buchanan.
Secretary of State.
Washington.

No. 24. A. D. Mann. Frankfurt a. L. – 5 June. 1848.

1848.

Schwerin, den 26. October 1847.

Mein Herr!

Auf Ihre gestrige Anfrage, ob im Großherzog-
thum Mecklenburg-Schwerin es irgend einer Ver-
fügung zulässig und im Gebrauch sei, unverbesserlichen
Criminal-Verbrechern und aus Correctionshäusern ent-
lassenen Sträflingen die Mittel zu gewähren, um
auf den wenigsten Raum neu Kandamenten aus-
zuwandern, haben ich die Ehre ergebenst zu erwidern,
daß im hiesigen Lande kein Gesetz existirt, welches
einzelnen Corporationen oder Individuen einen Unter-
stützung fraglichen Art verbietet. Ich habe indeß
alle Ursache zu bezweifeln, daß solche Unterstüt-
zungen bisher in irgend einer Ausdehnung Statt ge-
funden, und steht dies auch für die Zukunft um so
weniger zu erwarten, als die Fälle solcher Auswan-
derung immer nur als einzelne und seltene angese-
hen werden können.

Indem ich noch hinzufüge, daß Criminal-Verbrechern nie-
mals von, sondern jedenfalls nur nach abgebüßter Strafe
die Auswanderung gesetzlich möglich ist, habe ich die
Ehre zu sein

Ihrer ergebener Diener.

Herrn A. Dudley Mann
Special-Bevollmächtigten der vereinigten Staaten
bei Sr. Königlichen Hoheit dem Großherzog
von Mecklenburg zu Schwerin.

Ihre von Ew. Hochwohlgeboren gewünschte Nachricht über die Verbesserung der Auswanderung von Verbrechern nach den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika können Wir Ihnen ertheilen, daß für uns Herzogthum eigentliche Verbrecher niemals zur Auswanderung nach Amerika Anlaß gegeben hat. Dagegen ist allerdings vorgekommen, daß solchen mittellosen Personen, welche wegen ihres bisherigen unbescholtenen Lebenswandels schon lange Zeit in Besserungsgefängnissen detinirt worden sind, bei ausgestandener eingetretener Strafzeit der Aufenthalt in solchen Anstalten sonderbegünstigten Besserung ihres früheren Verhaltens nur wenn sie dringenden Wunsch äußert unter gewissen Verhältnissen in entfernteren Gegenden ihr Fortkommen zu suchen, Unterstützungen für Auswanderung nach Amerika aus öffentlichen Fonds bewilligt sind.

Wir benutzen übrigens freundlich diesen Anlaß Ihnen Hochwohlgeboren Unserer besonderen Hochachtung zu versichern.

Braunschweig d 19ten Januar 1848.

Herzogl. Braunschweig-Lüneb. Staats Ministerium

Graf v. Wallmoden

Sr. Hochwohlgeboren

H. Dudley Mann

in Washington

Frankfurt a/M

Der Unterzeichnete hat die gefällige Note des Special-
Commissairs der Nordamerikanischen Freistaaten
Herrn Dudley Mann vom 7. dieses Monats zu
stellen die Ehre gehabt, worin Derselbe darauf anträgt,
wenn man
1. geneigt wäre, Washington und an
dem Orte, wo man sich sonst aufhält, Zusammenkünfte in der nähe,
gütlichen Mittel gütlich beizulegen, so sei,
den Individuen welche die Vereinigten
der übrigen sogen, alle auf diejenigen welche
die Massachusetts entlassen werden, die Sicher-
heit zu gewähren, sich auf den Vereinigten
Staaten Nordamerikas zu überfinden, und
sowohl, unter der Bedingung, daß er angewie-
sen sey zu ermitteln, ob eine solche für die Wahl-
fähigkeit der vereinigten Staaten so wesentlichen,
das Verfahren wirklich bestehe, auf Mittheilung
anträgt, ob und in welcher Art dasselbe etwa die
fraglichen Personen in dem Königreiche Sachsen,

gesehen werde?

Der Unterzeichnete beeilt sich auf diese
Anfrage ganz ergebenst zu erwiedern,
daß neue Verbrecher aus dem Kö-
nigreiche Sachsen nach den Verei-
nigten Staaten kommen, dies nie-
mals mit Genehmigung der Köni-
glichen Local- oder Regierungs-Be-
hörden geschieht.

In den meisten dieser Fälle sind die Missh
thäter solche, welche flüchtig werden, um da
von ihnen geraubte Gut in Sicherheit zu brin
gen und sich selbst der gesetzlichen Strafe
in die sie verfallen, zu entziehen.

Leider gelingt ihnen in der Regel Bei
des, zum größten Nachtheile ebenso des
Landes wie der Strafbarkeit für ihre Un
thaten finden, als derjenigen, von deren
Gesetzen sie dort nicht ergriffen werden k

nun denn noch ist es, für wenigstens, nicht
gelungen einen einzigen solcher nach den Ver-
einigten Staaten entwichenen Verbrecher
wieder zu erlangen — wie dies innerhalb
der europäischen Staaten nicht schwierig ist.

Das beste und vielleicht auch das allein
Mittel aber um dergleichen Entweichungen sol-
cher zu machen und die Vereinigten Staaten
möglichst dagegen zu schützen, dass sie Land nicht
ferner dem Aufenthalte der diesseitigen Unter-
thanen als Zufluchtsort diene, scheint allein in die
Hände der Regierung zu Washington dadurch zu
legt zu sein, dass dieselbe nicht länger anstehen
möge, den bereits am 29.sten Januar 1845
gewissen ihr und unseren deutschen Staaten —
worunter auch das Königreich Sachsen —
, wegen zu gewährender Auslieferung
der vor der Justiz flüchtigen Verbre-
cher
abgeschlossenen Vertrag zu ratificiren.

Der Unterzeichnete benützt diesen Anlass mit
Vergnügen um Herrn Dudley Mann den
Ausdruck seiner ausgezeichneten Hochachtung
zu wiederholen.

Dresden, am 13. Januar 1848.

Seebach.

An den Special-Agenten
der Nordamerikanischen Freistaaten,
Herrn A. Dudley Mann.

Monsieur Dudley Mann Esq.
à Washington

Monsieur,

Je prends la liberté de vous transmettre sous ce pli la dernière ordonnance du Gouvernement Bavarois relative à l'émigration. Ce sont les conditions principales qu'on exige à remplir de ceux qui désirent émigrer dans les états unis de l'Amérique.

C'est avec bien du plaisir que je saisis cette occasion pour vous renouveler l'assurance de ma plus parfaite considération.

Monsieur

Votre très humble et obéissant Serv.
J. Dasenberger
conseiller au ministère

Munich
ce 31 Janvier
1848.

Intelligenzblatt

der Königlichen Regierung von Oberbayern.

München Nro. 31. den 31. Juli 1846.

Inhalt.

Gesetz über die Berufungssumme in Civil-Rechtsstreitigkeiten. — Gesetz, die Beseitigung der Oeffentlichkeit des strafgerichtlichen Verfahrens in der Pfalz, in den dazu geeigneten Fällen betr. — Gesetz, die Registrirungs-Gebühren in der Pfalz betr. — Gesetz, den Vollzug der Steuergesetze vom 15. August 1828 betr. — Auswanderungen nach Nordamerika. — Die Erledigung des Deuring'schen Beneficiums zu Dietramszell. — Die außerordentlichen Prüfungen für den Staatsbaudienst im Jahre 1846. — Die Heimatverhältnisse der angeblichen Therese N. betr. — Die Erledigung der kath. Pfarrei Dachau. — Dienstes-Nachrichten. — Landwehr von Oberbayern. — Gewerbs-Privilegien-Verleihungen. — Gewerbs-Privilegien-Verlängerungen. — Einziehung und Erlöschung von Gewerbs-Privilegien. — Amtliche Bekanntmachungen. — Nichtamtlicher Artikel. — Cours der bayer. Staatspapiere. —

Gesetz,

über die Berufungs-Summe in Civil-Rechts-Streitigkeiten.

Ludwig,

von Gottes Gnaden König von Bayern, Pfalzgraf bei Rhein, Herzog von Bayern, Franken und in Schwaben :c. ꝛc.

Wir haben nach Vernehmung Unseres Staatsrathes, mit Beirath und Zustimmung Unserer Lieben und Getreuen, der Stände des Reiches beschlossen und verordnen, was folgt:

Art. I.

In Streitigkeiten über den Besitz oder Rechtsbestand eines bleibenden Rechtes auf wiederkehrende Leistungen oder Gegenleistungen an Geld, Naturalien oder Diensten ist künftig von dem Erfordernisse der Berufungs-Summe Umgang zu nehmen:

1) wenn der betreffende Anspruch aus dem Lehen-, Grund-, Zehent-, Gerichts- oder standesherrlichen Verbande abgeleitet wird;

2) wenn Grund- oder Bodenzinse, Gilten, Frohnen, Hut- und Weidegerechtigkeiten oder Forstrechte, oder die Gegenleistungen für solche Lasten aus einem sonstigen Rechtsgrunde angesprochen werden.

Art. II.

In Streitigkeiten, in denen es sich nicht um

das Recht auf die im Art. I. bezeichneten Leistungen oder Gegenleistungen, sondern um Ausstände an solchen Gefällen oder Leistungen handelt, ist das Berufungs-Recht an die gesetzliche Berufungs-Summe gebunden.

Art. III.

Die Berufungs-Summe wird in allen Civil-Rechtsstreitigkeiten durchgehends nur nach dem 24½ fl. Fuße berechnet, den Gulden zu 60 Kreuzer.

Art. IV.

Vorstehende Bestimmungen finden nur auf die mit dem Tage der Publikation des gegenwärtigen Gesetzes noch nicht eingelegten Berufungen Anwendung.

Art. V.

Unser Justiz-Ministerium ist mit dem Vollzuge gegenwärtigen Gesetzes beauftragt.

Gegeben, München den 23. Mai 1846.

Ludwig.

Frhr. v. Gise. Frhr. v. Schrenk. v. Abel.
Frhr. v. Gumppenberg. Graf v. Seinsheim.

Nach dem Befehle
Seiner Majestät des Königs
der expedirende geheime Secretär:
P. Heramer.

Gesetz,

die Beseitigung der Oeffentlichkeit des strafgerichtlichen Verfahrens in der Pfalz, in den dazu geeigneten Fällen betreffend.

Ludwig,
von Gottes Gnaden, König von Bayern,
Pfalzgraf bei Rhein,
Herzog von Bayern, Franken und in Schwaben ꝛc. ꝛc.

Wir haben nach Vernehmung Unseres Staatsraths, mit Beirath und Zustimmung Unserer Lieben und Getreuen, der Stände des Reiches beschlossen, und verordnen, was folgt:

Art. I.

Die Oeffentlichkeit der Verhandlungen in Strafsachen kann in den Fällen der Art. 316, 317 und 330 bis einschließlich 339 des Straf-Gesetzbuches von den Gerichten sowohl aus eigenem Antrieb, als auf Antrag der Staatsbehörde durch ein von denselben auszusprechendes Urtheil für jeden einzelnen Fall, jedoch nur vom Beginne des Zeugenverhörs bis zum Schlusse der Debatten, beseitiget werden.

Art. II.

Von den Verhandlungen dürfen jedoch nicht ausgeschlossen werden:

1) Gerichtsbeamte;
2) Anwälte und Candidaten der Rechtswissenschaft;

3) Aerzte;
4) Gemeinderaths-Mitglieder;
5) Verwandte, Verschwägerte, und höchstens drei Freunde des Beschädigten und des Beschuldigten, wenn der Beschädigte oder Beschuldigte deren Anwesenheit wünscht;
6) bei Assisen-Verhandlungen sämmtliche einberufene Geschworne.

Dem Gerichts-Präsidenten steht außerdem die Befugniß zu, selbst während der Verhandlungen sowohl den oben genannten Personen, als auch jedem Dritten den Eintritt zu gestatten.

Art. III.

Erläßt das Gericht das im Art. I. erwähnte Urtheil, so hat der Gerichts-Präsident bei Verkündung desselben die Art. I. und II. dieses Gesetzes vorzulesen, und es ist von dieser Vorlesung bei Strafe der Nichtigkeit sowohl in dem Urtheil, als in dem Sitzungs-Protokolle Meldung zu thun.

Art. IV.

Bei allen öffentlichen Verhandlungen über Verbrechen oder Vergehen, wodurch voraussichtlich Verletzung des Schaamgefühls zu befürchten steht, kann unter Beobachtung der im Art. I. gegebenen Vorschriften die Entfernung von Minderjährigen und Frauenspersonen durch Urtheilsspruch vor oder auch während der Verhandlung angeordnet werden.

Gegenwärtiges Gesetz soll im Gesetzblatte und im Amtsblatte der Pfalz bekannt gemacht und vom Tage solcher Bekanntmachung an, in Anwendung gebracht werden.

Unser Justiz-Ministerium ist mit dem Vollzuge beauftragt.

Gegeben, München den 23. Mai 1846.

Ludwig.

Frhr. v. Gise. Frhr. v. Schrenk. v. Abel.

Frhr. v. Gumppenberg. Graf v. Seinsheim.

Nach dem Befehle
Seiner Majestät des Königs
der expedirende geheime Secretär:
P. Heramer.

Gesetz,

die Registrirungs-Gebühren in der Pfalz betreffend.

Ludwig,
von Gottes Gnaden König von Bayern,
Pfalzgraf bei Rhein,
Herzog von Bayern, Franken und in Schwaben ꝛc. ꝛc.

Wir haben nach Vernehmung Unseres Staatsrathes, mit Beirath und Zustimmung Unserer Lieben und Getreuen, der Stände des Reichs, beschlossen, und verordnen, wie folgt:

I.

Die Erwerbungen von Liegenschaften unter einem lästigen Rechtstitel von Seiten des Kreises, der Bezirke und der Kantone zu öffentlichen Zwecken sind von der Entrichtung der verhältnißmäßigen Einregistrirungs-Gebühren frei, und lediglich der bestimmten Gebühr von acht und zwanzig Kreuzer unterworfen.

II.

Die Erwerbungen der Gemeinden unterliegen der verhältnißmäßigen Gebühr; ausgenommen und nur der bestimmten Gebühr von acht und zwanzig Kreuzer unterworfen sind die Erwerbungen, welche in Folge gesetzlicher oder verordnungsmäßiger Verpflichtung im Interesse

1) der Ausübung des Gottesdienstes für die verfassungsmäßigen Kirchengesellschaften, dann für Mennoniten und Israeliten,
2) des öffentlichen Unterrichts,
3) der Handhabung der Polizei-Verwaltung,
4) des öffentlichen Verkehrs, oder
5) sonstiger allgemeiner Zwecke

gemacht werden, und den Gemeinden keinen Ertrag gewähren.

III.

Auch jene Erwerbungen unterliegen nur der bestimmten Gebühr von acht und zwanzig Kreuzern, welche von Stiftungen und den in Art. II benannten Religions-Gesellschaften im Interesse

1) der Ausübung des Gottesdienstes,
2) des öffentlichen Unterrichts

gemacht wurden, und keinen Ertrag gewähren.

IV.

Wenn über die Anwendung der vorstehenden Bestimmungen Zweifel entstehen, so entscheidet die königl. Regierung der Pfalz, Kammer der Finanzen, nach vorgängigem Benehmen mit der Kammer des Innern, vorbehaltlich der Berufung an den Staatsrath, und vorbehaltlich der Entscheidung der Gerichte in den ihnen durch die bestehenden Gesetze zugewiesenen Fällen.

V.

Gegenwärtiges Gesetz wirkt auf jene Erwerbungen zurück, bezüglich derer die verhältnißmäßige Gebühr bisher noch nicht entrichtet, aber auch schon vor Ablauf der Verjährungszeit gehörig zurück verlangt worden ist.

Unser Finanz-Ministerium ist mit dem Vollzug dieses Gesetzes beauftragt.

Gegeben, München den 23. Mai 1846.

Ludwig.

Frhr. v. Gise. Frhr. v. Schrenk. v. Abel. Frhr. v. Gumppenberg. Graf v. Seinsheim

Nach dem Befehle Seiner Majestät der Königs
der expedirende geheime Secretär:
P. Heramer.

Gesetz,

den Vollzug der Steuergesetze vom 15. August 1828 betreffend.

Ludwig,

von Gottes Gnaden, König von Bayern, Pfalzgraf bei Rhein, Herzog von Bayern, Franken und in Schwaben ꝛc. ꝛc.

Wir haben Uns nach Vernehmung Unseres Staatsraths, mit Beirath und Zustimmung Unserer Lieben und Getreuen der Stände des Reiches, bewogen gefunden, gesetzlich zu verordnen wie folgt:

§ 1.

Der § 3 des Gesetzes vom 1. Juli 1834, Abänderung des § 114 des Grundsteuergesetzes betreffend, wird auch auf die Häusersteuer anwendbar erklärt. Es sollen demnach die im Anfang der V. Finanz-Periode bestandenen Haussteuer-Contingente sämmtlicher nach dem Miethertrag besteuerten oder noch zu besteuernden Gemeinden ein Ganzes bilden, welches nach Maßgabe der catastrirten Steuersimplen auf die Steuerpflichtigen dieser Landestheile mit Vermeidung geringerer Brüche als $\frac{1}{10}$ eines Simplums umzulegen ist.

§ 2.

Die im § 7 des Gesetzes vom 1. Juli 1834 für die Pfalz getroffenen besonderen Anordnungen hören auf, wenn für sämmtliche Kantone derselben die definitiven Cataster vollendet und extradirt seyn werden. Die Contingente der Pfalz sind dann mit denen der übrigen definitiv besteuerten Landestheile beim nächsten dreijährigen Ausschlag zusammen zu zählen und gleichheitlich umzulegen

§ 3.

Gegenwärtiges Gesetz tritt vom 1. October 1846 an in Wirksamkeit.

Unser Finanz-Ministerium ist mit dem Vollzuge desselben beauftragt.

Gegeben, München den 23. Mai 1846.

Ludwig.

Frhr. v. Gise. Frhr. v. Schrenk. v. Abel.

Frhr. v. Gumppenberg. Graf v. Seinsheim.

Nach dem Befehle
Seiner Majestät des Königs
der expedirende geheime Secretär:
P. Heramer.

ad Num. 33,033.

An

sämmtliche Unterbehörden von Oberbayern.

(Auswanderungen nach Nordamerika betr.)

Im Namen

Seiner Majestät des Königs von Bayern.

Nachstehende Warnung des bayerischen Consulates in Havre für teutsche Auswanderer nach Nordamerika wird hiedurch zur öffentlichen Kenntniß gebracht, und den Districts-Polizei-Behörden von Oberbayern aufgetragen, dafür zu sorgen, daß dieselbe in die gelesensten Blätter aufgenommen werde.

In Folge eines höchsten Ministerial-Reseriptes vom 14. l. Mts. werden bei dieser Gelegenheit die in den Ministerial-Entschließungen vom 27. Juni 1839 (ausgeschrieben unterm 2. Juli 1839 Nro. 18,452) und vom 13. Jänner 1840 (ausgeschrieben unterm 18. Jänner 1840 Nro. 1471) vorgezeichneten und in mehreren späteren Ausschreibungen erneuerten und erläuterten Directiven zur genauesten Beachtung hiedurch in Erinnerung gebracht, und noch weiter angeordnet:

1) es ist keinem Ueberfahrts-Vertrage Anerkennung zu gewähren, der nicht mit dem Visa des betreffenden bayerischen Consuls an dem Einschiffungsplatze versehen ist, und es dürfen daher auf Grund von Schiffahrtsaccorden, welchen dieses Visa mangelt, Auswanderungspässe ꝛc. nicht ertheilt werden;
2) eben so ist nur den vor oder mit den im Inlande aufgestellten Agenten abgeschlossenen Ueberfahrtsverträgen die obige polizeiliche Anerkennung zu geben;
3) es ist darauf zu achten, daß in jedem Ueberfahrtsvertrage das accordirte Schiff und die Zeit der Abfahrt, so wie der Punct der Verköstigung des Auswanderers durch den betreffenden Schiffsrheder für den Fall, wenn die Abfahrt nicht genau zu der vertragsmäßig festgesetzten Zeit erfolgen würde, vollständig festgesetzt und geregelt ist;
4) den Auswanderern ist zur Pflicht zu machen, nicht nur die Mittel zur Bestreitung der Reisekosten bis zum Einschiffungsplatze, und die Kosten der Ueberfahrt, sondern auch einen entsprechenden Betrag zur Bestreitung der Kosten des ersten Aufenthalts am Ausschiffungsplatze in Amerika im beiläufigen Betrage bis zu 50 fl. im Ganzen nachzuweisen, damit die Auswanderer bei ihrer Ankunft am Orte der Landung nicht von allen Geldmitteln entblößt sind.
5) Die Ueberfahrt von Havre in Frankreich nach Amerika insbesondere betreffend, so sind es die Postschiffe der amerikanischen Paketbootgesellschaft daselbst, welche am 1., 8., 16. und 24. jeden Monats ununterbrochen von diesem Hafen nach New-York segeln, und eine geordnete und regelmäßige Ueberfahrtsgelegenheit darbieten, während dieses bei den amerikanischen Kauffahrteischiffen dieses Hafens wegen ihrer unbestimmten Ankunft und Abfahrt nicht der Fall ist.

Dabei ist zu beachten, daß die Ueberfahrts-Verträge des Agenten Washington Finlay und seiner Nebenagenten nur auf diese Postschiffe, nicht aber auf Kauffahrtei- oder sogenannte Reserveschiffe giltig, und daher nur für besagte Postschiffe anzuerkennen sind.

6) Dem Eindringen unberechtigter Unter-Agenten ist, da die Bestellung eines

Agenten immer nur von dem Schiffseigenthümer oder Schiffsrheder eines Seehafens nachgesucht werden kann, ebenso mit allem Nachdrucke entgegen zu treten, als die Ausbreitung der Agenturen auf dem platten Lande nirgends zu gestatten ist.

Der Vollzug dieser Anordnungen wird mit Strenge um so mehr überwacht werden, als der Hang zur Auswanderung im Zunehmen ist.

München, den 19. Juli 1846.

Königl. Regierung von Oberbayern,
Kammer des Innern.
In Verhinderung des kgl. Präsidenten:
Schilcher, Director.
v. Spruner.

Wichtige Warnung für Teutsche, insbesondere bayerische Auswanderer.

Durch eine Verfügung des königl. bayerischen Ministeriums des Innern vom 24. Jänner 1840 wurden sämmtliche Kreis-Regierungen angewiesen, bayerischen Unterthanen, welche nach Nordamerika auszuwandern beabsichtigen, nur dann die nöthigen Auswanderungs-Bewilligungen und Reisepässe zu ertheilen, wenn

1tens die Betheiligten durch Vorlegung an ihre respectiven Behörden von Original-Contracten oder sonst in genügender Weise den Beweis liefern können, daß sie sich einer speciellen Ueberfahrtsgelegenheit im Voraus versichert haben, und

2tens die hierüber beizubringenden Dokumente mit dem Visa des einschlägigen königl. baper. Consulates versehen sind.

Der menschenfreundliche Zweck dieser Maßregel liegt offen am Tage. Die bayerische Regierung, für das Wohl ihrer Landeskinder besorgt, selbst wenn diese ihren heimatlichen Boden mit einem neuen Vaterlande vertauschen wollen, sucht zu verhindern, daß die Auswanderer in die Hände unbefugter Verschiffer fallen, und dahin zu wirken, daß ihre Ueberschiffung auf eine billige, humane und so viel als möglich gefahrlose Weise bewerkstelliget werde.

In diesem Sinne wurden daher auch gleichzeitig alle königl. Consulate angewiesen, ihr Visa den vorgelegten Dokumenten nur nach gehöriger Prüfung der Sache nach diesen Gesichtspuncten zu ertheilen, und dasselbe in allen Fällen zu verweigern, wo es ihnen an der gehörigen Ueberzeugung von dem Daseyn der bezeichneten Voraussetzungen gebricht.

Gleichwohl mußte das unterzeichnete königl. Consulat in neuerer Zeit wahrnehmen, daß viele Landgerichte der fränkischen Provinzen und Oberpfalz, und mehrere Land-Commissariate der Pfalz, unbekümmert der für die Auswanderer daraus erwachsenden Nachtheile, die Ertheilung von Auswanderungspässen zur Reise nach Nordamerika über Havre keineswegs von der Vorzeigung der mit dem consularischen Visa zu versehenden Schiffs-Accorde abhängig machen. — Viele Auswanderer, in jener Verfügung mit Unrecht blos eine fiskalische Erschwerung erblickend, obgleich das unterzeichnete Consulat seine Visas stets unentgeldlich ertheilt, verlassen auch ihre Heimat mit bloßen Wanderbüchern oder mit Päßen, beide nur nach Hessen, Frankreich oder Holland ausgestellt, in der Hoffnung, in Mainz oder in den französischen Gränzstädten durch Unterhandlung mit Schiffs-Agenten, welche zur Errichtung von Unteragenturen in Bayern nicht befähigt sind, für ihre Reise von Havre nach Nordamerika am vortheilhaftesten Accorde schließen zu können. Es ist begreiflich,

daß dergleichen nach bereits erfolgter Verlassung der Heimat, außerhalb des Königreichs Bayern, geschlossene Contracte, der Prüfung des unterzeichneten königl. Consulats entschlüpfen. Gleichwohl that für jede Art von zum Voraus geschlossenen Schiffsaccorden den Auswanderern nie mehr Vorsicht Noth, als seitdem die Auswanderung der Teutschen die jetzige ungewöhnliche Ausdehnung erreichte.

Das unterzeichnete königl. Consulat, seit zwei Monaten Zeuge so vieler Unregelmäßigkeiten und Verzögerungen, welchen die Auswanderer bis zu ihrer endlichen Abfahrt hier ausgesetzt waren, ohne daß selbst das energischste Einschreiten der respectiven Consularbehörden jeden Einzelnen vor der Benachtheiligung hätte schützen können, indem schon in vielen Contracten zweideutige, oder das Recht auf Entschädigung ganz absprechende Clauseln, den hiesigen Verschiffer unangreifbar machten, betrachtet es als eine vaterländische Pflicht, bayerische Auswanderer vor Abschlüssen zu warnen, welche das consularische Visa zu scheuen hätten, und sie zugleich auf verschiedene Nachtheile aufmerksam zu machen, denen sie durch Annahme solcher, nicht consularisch geprüften Contracte, und bei blindem Vertrauen auf die mündlichen Versprechungen der von der Auswanderung Nutzen ziehenden Agenten ausgesetzt wären. Zugleich wird bayerischen Auswanderern hiemit ein für allemale angedeutet, daß falls dergleichen, mit keinem consularischen Visa versehene Contracte in ihrer Ausführung hier zu Streitigkeiten mit dem Verschiffer Veranlassung geben sollten, sie auf keine Unterstützung irgend einer Art von Seiten des unterzeichneten Consulats zur Geltendmachung ihrer Beschwerden würden rechnen können.

Herr Washington Finlay in Mainz, Generalagent der zwischen Havre und New-York fahrenden 16 Postschiffe, wurde voriges Jahr von der königl. bayer. Regierung befähigt, in den verschiedenen Provinzen des Königreichs Bayern Unteragenten zu ernennen, mit welchen die Auswanderungslustigen, in Betreff ihrer Ueberfahrt von Havre aus, in Unterhandlung zu treten und Abschlüsse zu bewerkstelligen hätten.

Diese Gunst gründete sich auf die vorzügliche Beschaffenheit und Bemannung dieser Postschiffe, vor Allem jedoch auf ihre regelmäßige Abfahrt von hier nach New-York, am 1., 8., 16. und 24. eines jeden Monats, ununterbrochen von den, die Schifffahrt anderer Häfen hemmenden Einflüssen des Winters.

Vermöge des Tonnengehaltes dieser 16 Postschiffe, deren jedes im Jahre 3 Reisen nach New-York und hieher zurücklegt, könnten mit denselben, in sämmtlichen 48 Fahrten 13,350 Auswanderer von hier nach New-York befördert werden, folglich mit 4 Postschiffen in jedem Monat etwas mehr als 1100 Auswanderer.

Auf diesen Raumgehalt von Passagieren hätten sich die Schiffsaccorde der Agenten des Herrn Finlay beschränken sollen, da für andere als Postschiffe letzterer keine Befähigung hatte, in Bayern Auswanderer zu engagiren.

Seit 3 Monaten nahm jedoch die Auswanderungssucht auf eine, alle früheren Berechnungen übersteigende Weise zu, und bei dem lockungsvollen Andrang von Reisenden, der Herrn Finlay in der Ausübung des ihm von der königl. bayer. Regierung verliehenen Privilegiums überkam, machte

Monsieur
Commissaire

Monsieur,

La législation bavaroise ne connaissant ni la peine de déportation ni celle d'expatriation forcée, et les communes bavaroises n'admettant point le principe de rachat du droit de domicile, le cas prévu par l'office que Vous voulûtes bien m'adresser en date du 5 de ce mois ne subsiste nullement en ce pays.

Agréez, Monsieur, l'assurance de ma haute considération.

Munich ce 21 Février 1848.

Prince d'Oettingen Wallerstein

A Monsieur
Monsieur Dudley Mann,
Commissaire des Etats Unis d'Amérique

Hochgeehrtester Herr!

In dem Schreiben, womit Sie unter dem 29. vor. Mts mich beehren, haben Euer Hochwohlgeboren der in Washington zur Sprache gekommenen Angabe erwähnt, wonach in amerikanischen Staaten zum Nachtheil der Vereinigten Staaten die Einrichtung bestehen soll, daß Personen, die eines Criminalverbrechens beschuldigt und überwiesen seyen, so wie solche, die aus Zwangs-Arbeitshäusern entlassen werden, auf öffentliche Kosten nach Nord-Amerika befördert werden. Sie haben damit den Wunsch verbunden, Auskunft darüber zu erhalten, ob eine solche Beschränkung im Königreich Württemberg gestattet sey.

Um diesem Wunsche zu entsprechen, muß ich zuvörderst den Umstand erwähnen, daß schon vor einigen Jahren in Nord-Amerikanischen öffentlichen Blättern die Behauptung aufgestellt worden war, es sey ein Transport von 28 Verbrechern aus Württemberg auf Befehl der Kgl. Regierung unter militärischer Bedeckung nach Bremerhaven gebracht und von da nach Amerika eingeschifft worden, daß aber diese Angabe völlig ungegründet war und deßhalb von dem K. General-Consul zu Baltimore in Folge des von mir selbst ertheilten Auftrags die Regierung der Vereinigten Staaten davon in Kenntniß gesetzt wurde, daß ein ähnlicher Fall in Württemberg niemals vorgekommen sey und nach der Gesetzgebung des Landes gar nicht vorkommen könne.

Euer Hochwohlgeboren,

dem Herrn A. Dallas Mann,

Consulen der Vereinigten Staaten von

Nord-Amerika

zu Frankfurt a/M.

Es ist zwar selten der Fall einzutreten, daß bei politischen Vergehen einigen Bundesstaaten die Auslieferung aus den einzelnen Staaten bei Belassung der ihnen zuerkannten Strafe zur Bedingung gemacht wurde; wenn aber auch einige Personen dieser Art sich zur Erfüllung dieser Bedingung nach Nord-Amerika begeben, so wird hierdurch für die Vereinigten Staaten um so weniger irgend ein wesentlicher Nachtheil entstehen können, als solche Personen dort, statt der monarchischen Regierungsformen, gegen welche sie sich vergangen, ganz umgestaltete Staatseinrichtungen antreffen. Solche Fälle sind es, in welchen Personen, die sich eines gemeinen Verbrechens schuldig gemacht und sich deßhalb in einer Straf-Anstalt befinden, von Seiten der Staats-Behörden auf öffentliche Kosten nach Amerika befördert worden wären, sind niemals zu meiner amtlichen Kenntniß gekommen.

Die Verfassung des Königreichs Würtemberg gewährt jedem Staats-Bürger unbedingt das Recht der freien Auswanderung. Es kann daher auch denjenigen, welchem eine Strafe zuerkannt wurde, nachdem er diese verbüßt hat, derselbe ihm, bei erfolgter Entlassung, belassen wurde, wenn später in irgend ein anderes Land sich begeben will und die Mittel dazu aufbringt, dieß von Seiten der Staats-Regierung nicht verweigert werden; dieß kann aber weder dem betreffenden anderen Land keinen Grund zu einer Beschwerde geben, für Hochverrathsgedanken werden solche vielmehr selbst dann, nach gegenwärtigen Verhältnissen aufgenommen finden, um

in den Vereinigten Staaten namentlich wird ohne Zweifel jeder Bürger Nassaus Schutz ebenfalls in gleichem Maasse geniessen.

Indem ich nun hoffe, durch die vorstehenden Bemerkungen die Aufrage für Hochwohlgeboren auf befriedigende Weise beantwortet zu haben, benütze ich mit Vergnügen diesen Anlass, um damit die Versicherung der ausgezeichnetsten Hochachtung zu verbinden, womit ich beharre

Euer Hochwohlgeboren

ergebener Diener

Stuttgart,
den 5. April 1848.

Graf v. Beroldingen

Frankfort on the Maine, April 5.
1848.

Sir,

During my residence in Frankfort the management of the foreign Affairs of Hamburg is not in my hands, I therefore can only give a private answer to Your note of the 3d of this month.

I am not in any way aware of a custom, as far as Hamburg is concerned, of sending to the United States persons, charged with and convicted of criminal offences, quite to the contrary do I remember that last year, some individuals of that description, having been sent to Hamburg in order to be shipped for America, and the Hambrough authorities happening to become acquainted with this circumstance, these individuals were arrested and sent back to wherefrom they came.

As to persons, who after having undergone a temporary punishment ~~and~~ are liberated from houses of correction, I am also not aware of a custom of sending them over sea. But I beg leave to observe that such a man is a free man, who may go by his own will wherever he chooses, and that if benevolent & philantropic men should furnish to such a liberated individual the means of beginning a corrected life in a country, where his endeavours of gaining his bread honestly, are not obstructed by the difficulty

of

A. Dudley Mann Esqr
Special diplomatic Agent of the
United States of America.

of hidding his face, I am inclined to believe th
no authority can hinder and nobody can blam
such an act.

I have only to add that in Hamburg su
many years exists an establishment called the
„Rauhe Haus", celebrated as a model for man
similar establishments in other Countries, and
esclusively destined to reconduct young indivi
liberated from houses of correction, upon the pa
of honesty and virtue.

I have the honor to be

Sir,

Your most obedien
and humble serv

P Pauls

Aug. in the W. Mans No. 24.

Euer Hochwohlgeboren

Beehre ich mich, in Beantwortung der gefälligen Mittheilung vom 5. d. Mts. zu eröffnen, daß die, fraglichen Bestimmungen, wonach die Uebersiedelung von Negersklaven nach den Territorien der Nord-Amerikanischen Freistaaten beschränkt war, dem, daselbst nicht bestehen.

Mit ausgezeichneter Hochachtung habe ich zu bleiben die Ehre.

Frankfurt am, den 9. Mai 1848.

Euer Hochwohlgeboren

ganz gehorsamster Diener

von Gagern

An

Seine Hochwohlgeboren

den Herrn A. Dudley Mann,

Special-Agenten der vereinigten

Freistaaten von Nord-Amerika,

Hier.

Auf die gefällige Note des Herrn A. Dudley Mann vom 15ten December 1847, betreffend die Anhaltung von Verbrechern, behufs der Untersuchung, und vorläufigen Communication mit dem Königlichen Ministerio des Innern, des Nachstehende ergebenst zu erwidern:

Von einer Deportation oder Landesverweisung inländischer Verbrecher auf Verfügung der Königlichen Regierungs- oder Justizbehörden kann hier um deswillen keine Rede seyn, weil solche mit der, im diesseitigen Königreiche bestehenden Criminalgesetzgebung nicht im Einklange seyn würden.

Doch werden sich Fälle, in denen Individuen, die zu Zuchthausstrafen verurtheilt sind, meistens für den größten Theil der ihnen zuerkannten Strafe verhaftet und sich durch ihr Benehmen wohl in den Strafanstalten einer Begnadigung würdig bewiesen haben, um diese unter der Bedingung, die diesseitigen Staaten zu verlassen, ersuchen, und, namentlich wenn es sich um politische Vergehen handelt, dieselbe erhalten, wobey den Begnadigten wohl die Wahl ihres zukünftigen Aufenthaltsortes nicht ganz gestellt bleibt. Auch in derartigen einzelnen Fällen die Königliche Regierung sich wieder Thun befindet,

der

der Uebernahme Schwierigkeiten in den Weg z
legen, bietet sich nicht mehr dar. Im Uebrig
ist nach dieser Art der Legitimirung bey beson
deren Verbrechen, wie zum Beyspiel Mord,
absichtlicher Todtschlag, Raub und Diebstahl in be
sonderer Verbindung, durch ungünstige Lo
Verhältnisse zu begünstigen.

Der Unterzeichnete benützt diese Gelegenheit
dem Herrn A. Dudley Mann die Versicherung
seiner ausgezeichneten Hochachtung zu erneuern.

Hannover, den 29 Januar 1848.

Königlich. Hannoversches Ministerium der auswärtigen
Angelegenheiten.
Freiherr v. Schele.

Falcke

An
Herrn A. Dudley Mann,
Agenten der Regierung der
Vereinigten von Nordamerika.

Recd 2 Sept. 48.

Paris 5 O'Clock — June 10.

Dear Sir; —

I have just received my German mail. The leading papers in the Hanse-Towns propose to refer the arbitrement of the Schleswig question to the President of the United States. This is indeed an honor which speaks volumes not only for the purity of character of Mr. Polk and the administration, but also for our country. It is conclusive evidence of the estimation in which the rectitude of our intentions are held, and contrasts our character to great advantage with that of any of the nations of Europe. If I were at Frankfort I could manage, without appearing instrumental, to get the proposition made formally. When I was in the North of Germany I had repeated conversations on the subject and I am happy to perceive that they reacted so well. — I know not whether the President would accept, but I want the proposition made to show that a nation of 45,000,000 people, have more confidence in his integrity than in the integrity of any European Sovereign or State. Such

a procedure, after her undelicate interference in the affair, would be the most humbling blow to the pride of Great-Britain that could possibly be inflicted.

** The Danish government has given notice that the Elbe, Weser and Yade will be blockaded against all nations on the 15th instant. — The armistice as you are aware was not acceded to by the Provisional Government of Germany.

My Letters are intended for yourself alone, but you are at liberty to make any disposition of them that you may consider desirable. — I have no other motive than to make myself useful to you, and through you to the country.

A. D. M.

The date of this is positively 10 August as noted on the back.

There are 3 proofs –

(1) Mann was in Paris 10 August and was in Frankfurt on 10 June.

(2) Ito was received 2 Sept. – two days after 10 June, but just right for 10 August. – another Ltr,

(3) of which this is obviously a postscript was mailed in Paris 10 August & received 2 Sept.

It should be inserted in the proper place

A D. Mann. Paris. 10 (August?) June 1848.

...e 3 July. 48.

Mr. Clayton.

No. 25.

Frankfort-on the-Maine, June 10, 1848.

Sir; —

The period agreed upon for the retification, by the United States of the "Declaration" of Mecklenburg-Schwerin having elapsed, and having received no answer from the Department to my No. 14. I conceive that I am now entirely at liberty to quit the public service and to remain with your permission, as contained in your despatch dated April 4. on this side of the Atlantic.

Herewith I transmit my account, made up to this date. When I stated, in my No. 11, that I should likely complete the discharge of the duties of my mission by the 1st of May" I did not foresee that they might be required longer to perfect the act of cession of Mecklenburg. However as I have been actuated by other motives than a desire to continue in public employment for pecuniary considerations merely, I hereby authorize you to settle the account in a manner just & honorable and satisfactory to yourself. I would rather have only the per diem allowance and my expenses for the month and nine days — since the 1st of May — than that the provisions of the "Declaration" should have been lost to the United States, in the event of their ratification, for the want of the notice stipulated to be given. Whatever balance

Hon. James Buchanan.
Secretary of State.
Washington.

you may exercise that I am entitled to, you will oblige me, as I shall be in much want of it, by forwarding as soon as you conveniently can, through the U. S. Legation at London, in a credit on Messrs. Baring Brothers & Co. — I incurred numerous unavoidable expenses at the various capitals which I visited that I do not feel myself at liberty to charge to the government. You may form a correct idea, from your own experience at Court, in what way, in small sums, such expenditures are occasioned.

Stabbed, severely stabbed, as the pleading interests in the United States have been by the procedure of the Swede (unintentionally, as I am charitable enough to believe) I will say here, as a private individual, regardless of remuneration, and by necessity and industry endeavor to distil balm by which the wounds may be healed. — Prussia and Oldenburg are disposed to act in the best of faith towards us: But — — [illegible] more common — circumlocked for the [illegible] of destroying the receipts of Sea Island Cotton in the commercial intercourse with us — than that King Bernard is a Foreigner and that Paul Frederic Augustus, in consequence of the location of his grand duchy, is entirely controlled by him. That in general Mecklenburg, according to the terms of the "exclusion," the influence exercised by this delusion would have been inducement enough to exhaust it to render it comparatively harmless, because Prussia is known to be by birth, by education, and by principle, as good a friend as the most clamorous Professor in Germany for the "inalienable Nationality." Moreover, we should have had all the Great Interests the mouth of the Ems and the mouth of the Jade placed beyond the control, as vehicles to our free staples, of

the government of the Confederation for a time. Hamburg and Lubeck would have been enclosed by Mecklenburg on Bremen by Hanover and Oldenburg. Again: the publication of the ratified "declaration" in London would have operated most powerfully in hastening the repeal of the navigation laws so far as to enable us to conclude a treaty with Great-Britain securing to our bottoms the valuable privilege carrying to and from the ports of that country. It is considered exceedingly questionable at present whether the House of Lords will not decide adversely to any change in those laws; and it is therefore, far more to be regretted that we had not brought all the indirect influence within our reach to bear upon the subject. The Hanover treaty, as is well known, contributed in no little degree to render the celebrated "Eberle Convention" unpopular in England previous to the last election. It frequently was observed by General Gansevoort in his evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons. They were also favorably noticed by the London journals, and the system countenanced upon, with much severity, which prohibited the British government from contracting similar advantageous ones with any power or state.

More than two years subsequent to the first interview, which I had the pleasure of enjoying with you, I adopted the opinion which I have seen no cause to change since, relative to the only proper mode of extending our commercial intercourse with Germany. I perceived a disposition in the Zollverein to coerce the several United States into its embrace, and to fasten upon them its tariff of duties — unless timely

An effort was made to make the United States a party to this scheme under the stipulations of the Convention concluded at Berlin in March 1843. 1844? This Convention I could not conscientiously approve of, and I am free to state that I commented upon and exposed its imperfections at the time, notwithstanding the high character of our negotiator. This renowned civilian was satisfied that he had committed a mistake when he became acquainted with the nature of the concessions granted to us by Hanover and Oldenburg, for upon quitting my apartment at the moment of my departure from Washington he concluded a conversation which he held upon the subject with the remark, "May your present mission result as favorably for the interests of our country as that from which you lately returned." The policy of the administration, unlike that of its immediate predecessor, was to fortify the Local States in their generous commercial sentiments toward us instead of placing weapons in the hands of the Zollvereins for their destruction. The Zollvereins was industriously engaged in exciting a spirit of nationality, in order to hasten the perfection of the Germanic Union, and it was obviously the duty of our government to endeavor to bind the Local States to moderate duties on our four staples with a view to ulterior purposes. This duty the Executive branch has discharged nobly, at least as far as I am acquainted with the facts, and certainly as far as I have been the instrument, or rather the recipient, of its delicate instructions, and expressed intentions.

The central government of Germany, as

soon as it is more properly organized will doubtless endeavor to negotiate a reciprocity Treaty of Navigation with the United States similar to that which we contracted with Prussia. While I am anxious to see the Flags of all nations assimilated with our own, in Navigation intercourse with our ports, I would not bestow the privileges of the indirect carrying where an inequality exists in commerce, extent of sea-board, &c. upon such nations as are not generous in their Tariff of duties on the articles of our growth and produce, which their inhabitants require for consumption. I would, therefore, conclude no Treaty with Germany, permitting her to engage in the triangular trade, unless she would agree, that no higher or other import than 25 per centum, ad valorem, should be imposed on our Tobacco. This would favor our staple to nearly as great a degree as the Zollv. Hanover and Oldenburg duly, as it would cause the cultivation of the plant to cease in Germany.

I shall be prepared by the Opening of the next session of Congress to show, if I can procure the statements in an authentic form, that the states composing the Zollverein will have exported for the year terminating on the 31st of August next, ten million dollars worth of their manufactures to the United States, while the consumption of raw articles, produced in the United States, during the same period, will not have exceeded three million and a half dollars! The exports of the products of the seven Coast States to the United States, do not amount to two hundred thousand dollars per annum, while the actual consumption

in those States, of the products of the United States for the same period, since the enaction of our last Tariff low, amounts to not less than one million and a half dollars! With this large balance of trade against them, the more important ones, animated by liberal sentiments, obligated themselves to admit our staple at a more nominal duty. Why should not the Zollverein, when united with the Boast States, with such an enormous balance of trade in its favor, be governed by a similar liberality?

I am well aware that efforts have been made, and by abler heads than mine, to create an impression at Washington that regenerated Germany — or the re-modelled Zollverein, as respects commerce — would open an immense market for our agricultural staples generally, and also for several descriptions of our manufactures, by the loom and the spindle. (Let the country be not deceived by such statements, wherever their emanation, and by whomsoever they may be disseminated. Let the government not be diverted from the track, which duty to the interests of the governed requires it to follow, by the false opinions contained in the speech of a Prussian functionary, recently delivered at Berlin, and translated for, and transmitted to, the United States for circulation and effect.)— It is idle in the extreme,— it is, in fact, downright nonsense, to suppose that Germany can benefit our industrial pursuits, in any other manner than by the consumption of our four staples — viz: Cotton, Tobacco, Rice and Whale oil,

and a few other articles which are indispensable to the work-shops, and upon which it is not contemplated to levy any duty whatever. The existing import in the Zollverein on Pot and Pearl Ashes is only 18 cents per 100 lbs; on Rosin 12 cts. per 100 lbs; on Quercitron 12 cts. per 100 lbs; on Lead 18 cts. per 100 lbs; on Clover Seed 12 cts. per 100 lbs; on Flax and Rape Seed 3 cts. per 100 lbs. The rate has not been increased on either of the above articles since the commercial union was formed, nor will it be trifling as it is, under a new Tariff for all Germany. — With respect to bread-stuffs and provisions generally, the most formidable rival that we shall find for the English market — for furnishing it with the annual supply occasioned by an insufficiency of yield in the realm — will be Germany, unless when crop failures are experienced. We ourselves have had to import from Germany large quantities of grain to relieve our absolute wants. While I believe that if the people were properly fed the production of the country, on an average, is not more than adequate to the consumption, I nevertheless believe that it is not possible for us, under any system of duties however liberal, which may be established by the new Union, to augment the consumption of bread-stuffs and provisions, of our growth, in Germany. The Hanseatic Republics, immediately upon the sea-board, where there is no charge for overland transportation, ordinarily consume but inconsiderable quantities of these articles, although they enter duty free, or what amounts to about

the same practically, — two thirds of one per cent. ad val. Their mercantile marine engaged in Navigation with the United States is, and will continue to be in part supplied with them at our ports. — The Zollverein duty on bacon, lard, and salted meats is about $1.25 cts per 100 lbs.; and on wheat rye, oats &c. 12 cts. per scheffel. Whether this duty (amounting to about 12 per cent. in the aggregate) be retained, modified, or abolished by the national government is a matter of but little importance to our country. When crop failures occur government will provide, as was the case last year, for the wants of the people. I am disposed to believe that without any application from us the articles mentioned will be admitted free.

There are practical advantages obtainable under good management, which it seems to me that we should endeavor to realize instead of seeking for those of an imaginary character. We have it in our power to augment the consumption of Tobacco in Germany 40,000 or 50,000 Hogsheads per annum: We have it in our power to increase the consumption of our Rice by weakening its formidable East-India competitor. The exportation of Paddy from Java to the North of Europe, on account of the length of the voyage, was found not to be profitable, and a number of mills are now in the course of erection on the Island, for cleaning the staple. Under such circumstances, it is of primary importance to our growers of Rice, that Paddy should be introduced into the German ports free of duty.

In benefitting the tobacco planter we should benefit, in a fair division of labor, every tiller of the soil in the Union, as well as our commerce and navigation; and it is a mistaken notion to suppose that the empty sound of "free trade" in foreign countries, in other products, not required, will relieve our agriculturists, while the solitary article which could be favored to a great degree, in its consumption — on account of the peculiar fondness of the people for it — is burdened with an import of from fifty to one hundred per cent ad valorem.

In closing my correspondence with the Department I beg to assure you, that I remain,

With Faithful Esteem,

Your Obt. S'v't.

A. Dudley Mann.

No. 25. A. D. Mann. Frankfort 10 June —

Recd 29 July 48. delivered by Mr Corcoran.

(anticipated by Mr Dana's private letter of 14 July received some hours previous to the presentation of these despatches)

No. 26.

Schwerin, July 1, 1848.

Sir; —

Your several despatches under date of May 29, together with the documents transmitted therewith, were placed in my hands at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, during the forenoon of the 22nd, ~~instant~~ ultimo, by Denis Corcoran Esq., the bearer of them from the Department.

In obedience to your instructions I started, with as little delay, as the necessary preparations for my departure would admit, and proceeding by the most expeditious conveyance, reached this place on the afternoon of the 26th.

Deeming it more expedient, for the attainment of my object, to wait upon the Minister for Foreign Affairs with the ratification of the President, than to address him a Note, I immediately sought and obtained an interview with this chef of the Cabinet. After conversing with him a few minutes, on the exciting topics of the day, he suddenly inquired, "What has become of our Treaty?" "This" I replied, handing him the ratification, "will explain to your excellency in what manner it was dis-

Hon. James Buchanan.
Secretary of State
Washington.

No. 6

posed of by the President." After carefully perusing the document he remarked, "So,—it is all right then." — I believe, for the moment, he had forgotten that the six months had elapsed, but reminding him of the fact myself, and stating the reasons as explained in your despatch relating to the subject for the delay, I took occasion to inform him that as an evidence of the cherished desire of my government to strengthen the ties of friendship and extend commercial intercourse with the Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, upon the principles stipulated in the "Declaration", that the President had sent a special Cabinet Courier out with his ratification. + Before we seperated I succeeded in extracting a promise from him — without apparently requiring it — that as soon as the Grand Duke returned from Eisenach, where he was on a visit to the Duchess of Orleans, he would endeavor to obtain from him a formal acceptance of the ratification, and the Proclamation of the Declaration forthwith. This commitment was most fortunate, for its influence predominated when the Grand Duke returned.

You may readily imagine, after the constant solicitude which I have expressed upon the subject, how delighted I am to have it in my power to forward you a document — as I do herewith — which perfects the "Declaration" and, of course, authorizes the President to issue his Proclamation. — If, in the soreness of my heart, I complained in language to you less temperate than I usually employ, of the Senate, for the procrastination of definitive action in that body, upon a measure eminently calculated to accomplish a great good for our pro-

ducing countrymen, in its fullness of joy, on account of my instru-mentality in recovering what they had lost, I dismiss it from my memory and ask forgiveness. + +

I shall have copies of the Declaration, as soon as they can be prepared, sent to the Legations at London and Paris. The concessions which we have obtained cannot fail to exercise an extraordinary degree of influence on the de-cision of the House of Lords, with respect to the Navigation Act. I am almost tempted to go over and see Mr. Bancroft, because I am truly desirous that a Treaty may be perfected with Great-Britain, in accordance with the principle which you and I conversed about just before I left Washington — and which I communicated to Mr. B. on my arrival in London in August last — before you re-tire from the Department.

I dined yesterday with the reigning family: — The Grand Duke fears that he will be reproached by the Constit-uent Assembly at Frankfort, where his Duchy is represented, for having ratified the Declaration under the circumstances. Notwithstanding the national provisional government which has been in embryo for the last three weeks, is not yet fully de-veloped he conceives that none of the German states can, with entire propriety, contract new Treaties, although each of them has still the undoubted right to do so.

After I returned to Washington with the rati-fied copy of the Hanover Treaty, I took the liberty of offering you my advice, to give yourself no further concern about

the transit duty and river toll system of Germany; for we had inflicted upon it a fatal blow in our negotiations with King Ernest. The Grand Duke remarked to me that this system was gradually expiring, and under your agency, exclusively; for its abolition was not mooted in other German states, until the government of the United States concluded with the "Steuverein" for the free transit of four of your chief staples;" to which the Minister added, "They are securing all that they could reasonably desire, in a commercial point of view, and much that seemed utterly impracticable when first undertaken."

The young Grand Duke is indeed a Prince in the German vernacular — fürst: That is, the first man in his realm, which with the exception of one (or at most two) is more than can be truthfully said of any other sovereign of Europe. He is well read, well travelled, well intentioned, and possesses a head well filled with good common sense. He is not degraded, as far as I learn, by a solitary vice, while he is adorned by all the nobler virtues of our nature. He is a Prince, and therefore I have no political sympathies for him, but his worth as an individual commands my respect. — A delegate the other day at Frankfort, stated in his speech, that, after all that had been said in relation to Liberty, there were but two states on earth practically free: ~~The one was the Republic of North America — the other~~ the Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. The

freedom of France was the tyrant of anarchy." The Grand Duke appears to appreciate the compliment, and to enjoy the association of his duchy with such a name, as that of honored, stable, elevated, American.

Of all the astonishing revolutions in Europe the most extraordinary one certainly, is that of public opinion relative to the United States. In every circle — even in such as no longer ago than three years, endeavored to make our name a by-word, and a reproach to the cause of self-government — it is admitted that, in no country on the face of the globe, is there so great a degree of security for life and property, or so much stability in political institutions, as that embraced in the American Union. The most uncompromising monarchists — including Princes of royal blood — have remarked to me, "your system works admirably, as concerns yourselves, but Europeans are not prepared for its adoption." A Sovereign observed to me, upon the receipt of the tidings of the recent insurrectionary movement in Paris, "I do not think that the French are fitted by nature for a republican form of government." I asked, if any testimony could be found in their history, to justify a belief, that any other form is better suited to them? He replied, "certainly not; — it seems that they are an ungovernable race." And "ungovernable" they are and will probably continue to be — as well as the other enlightened nations of Europe — until adversity imbues them properly, with the beauties of practical republican simplicity. In a word they must emulate our precepts, making as their ex-

ample, as the best governed member of the family of nations, before they can get along tranquilly or creditably. — Politicians in the mean-while, becoming more and more alarmed, as to the security of the future, will persevere to invest the greater portion of their fortunes, with a view to a permanent settlement there themselves, in the states composing our union. Thus the honest peasant, who a short time since left his father-land, to seek an abode in our western wilds, will find himself still pursued by the aristocrat of the purse, whose princely wealth was erected, under a system of unjust laws, from his honest earnings; but not with the power to make additional exactions upon his faithful toils. They will meet upon the same platform, whatever the inequality in their pecuniary condition, and be compelled — thanks to the virtues of our sage-like fathers — to "labor in the same vineyard." **

Intelligence was received about a week since, that peace had been re-established between the United States and Mexico, and that the army of the former was withdrawing from the capital of the latter. The news was communicated to me at Hamburg on my route hither, and although I was fully prepared for its reception, I must confess that I was not prepared for such an expression of regret, at the terms of the peace, as reached my ears in that city of merchants, — the favored, and measurably controlled, State of Germany by the British government. These regrets, strange as it may ap-

peer;— proceeding, as they do, from a community which less than three years ago obstinately resisted an application for the recognition of the independence of Texas, because it was believed that such a procedure, (an acknowledgment of its sovereignty) would favor the annexation of that State to the United States — were not occasioned by our having obtained at a just price a part of the Mexican territory, but because we did not retain that which we had, and take possession of the remainder! This is the light in which the matter is viewed, now that hostilities are terminated, by our former clamorous European revilers. All who comprehend fully the nature of the case, perceive that dire "necessity, alone, "unsheathed the sword "against Mexico, and that victory, unattended by rapacity, "returned it to its scabbard." xx

In a general survey of the political condition of Europe which I design to take in my first despatch to you after returning to Frankfort, I shall find occasion to notice, as it deserves, your judicious letter of instructions and suggestions — alike honorable to your heart and to your head — to our Minister at Paris, a copy of which you so obligingly transmitted me.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

With Faithful Esteem,

Your Ob't. S.v.t.

A. Dudley Mann.

No. 26. A. D. Mann. Schwerin - 1 July - 18[illegible]

Rec'd 29 July, 1848. Delivered by Mr Cramer

No. 27.

Hamburgh, July 4, 1848.

Sir; —

The Constituent Assembly at Frankfort has just completed the form of a National Provisional Government, and has chosen the Arch-Duke, John, of Austria, Director of Germany. In the balloting, which resulted in the election of this clever scion of Royalty, the anomalous spectacle was witnessed of a Prince being placed upon a level with the subject of a Prince, for similar political preferment. If Royalty had not been severely scathed — divested indeed of its assumed and former titled dignity — this act would be regarded as too humiliating, to be submitted to, by reigning Houses. It is not certain that the Arch-Duke will accept the office of executive ~~Chieftainship~~: a committee proceeded to Vienna a day or two ago to announce to him his election, and to ascertain his determination on the subject. — You will perceive that we had scarcely an hour to lose in obtaining the ratification of the "Declaration."

The recognition of the Provisional Government

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by the government of the United States, in conformity with our established international policy, so clearly laid down in your despatch of March 31 to Mr. Rush, is now rendered indispensable, and I presume that this duty has already been assigned, as coming somewhat within his sphere of action, to our Minister at Berlin. — On several of the occasions of my writing to you I incidentally mentioned that the Legation in Prussia should be removed to Frankfort-on-the-Maine, as soon as a central government, whether permanent or provisional, was established. That occurrence has now transpired, and all diplomatic functions necessarily cease at the capitals of the states. — I have not felt myself at liberty to correspond with any of our representatives abroad, relative to the nature of my employments or the success attendant upon my movements, leaving it to yourself to communicate to others, acting under your instructions, such facts connected with my mission, as you desired them to know. I conceive that a silent tongue and a quiet pen, unless when there is an absolute necessity for the exercise of the one or the other, contribute to multiply the chances for success in diplomacy.

"Where did the money come from?" — This is the question of agonized France and amazed Germany, with reference to the development of the mercenary spirit which manifested itself in Paris a few

days prior to the awful outbreak. The Emperor of Russia is generally suspected of having furnished it exclusively. I think it not unlikely that he may have contributed liberally, but I believe that a far greater part of the amount was derived from German and other Princes, and, possibly, something from British Lords. I am quite well convinced, that an immense fund has been provided by rich monarchists, and placed at the disposal of Louis Philippe and Metternich, for the purpose of overturning the French Republic, and extinguishing liberal principles elsewhere in Europe. Indeed- eals more destitute of a just sense of humanity, than the pair of renowned absolutist refugees mentioned, never inhabited the earth. In England they are secure from that vengeance which would wreak itself upon them in the countries of their nativity; and there they deliberate, systematically, upon the most effective mode of thwarting the Almighty's Holy purposes, in forging galling chains, for humbling his noblest work to the rule of unprincipled potentates. Robespierre committed deeds of such enormity as to occasion, until now, by their recital, a shudder from the stoutest hearted, but his crimes, considering that he had a head to save, were as pardonable as the crimes of those who, undisturbed and unpunished, in their ambitious machinations, spilt the blood of 15,000 or 20,000 of their fellows. Metternich is insufficient to re-

admitted into Austria. Opposing to the moment of his flight all concessions he will not have the temerity to return, or rather to attempt to do so, while the French Republic exists. He has but little time left for the consummation of his designs, for however much mercy may be excluded to such an embodiment of political guilt, as is personified by him, his advanced age justifies the supposition that his earthly career is near its termination. Desperate deeds are, consequently, requisite to perfect speedily his ambitious intentions. — Louis Philippe not less wicked, but less experienced in machinations that which he possesses practically mischievous, finds in Metternich a ready and a skilful co-laborer for the restoration of his dynasty.

Joinville, it is confidently believed, aims at the Throne of France, in the event of its re-construction. He is a skilful sailor and a chivalrous officer, and, therefore, is the favorite of his House with his countrymen; but his intellect is not of a high order, while his sense of hearing has been greatly impaired: — but I have been informed recently, and on undoubted authority, that Aumale is the favorite of the family, and also of the monarchists of Europe, and that Joinville would prefer his brother as sovereign, instead of reigning himself. — Aumale has been represented to me as a man of extraordinary greatness for one of his years.

— far superior to either of his brothers — but so haughty in his general demeanor as to prevent any attachments to him personally, out of his immediate circle. Should the monarchial schemes succeed, it is thought that he will ascend the Throne, and Great-Britain, Russia, and other powers and states will unite in sustaining his reign and in guaranteeing the perpetuity of his dynasty. In conclusion on this subject, I can assure you that the glorious triumph of democracy over monarchy, in February, cannot be maintained except by the most profound statesmanship and never ceasing vigilance among the votaries of liberty. The political salvation of Great-Britain and the safety of Russia, and all other oligarchies, rests upon the overthrow of the Republic. I tremble for the result with such temptations, such bribes to corrupt a needy, distracted, fatigued people, but I will continue to hope — even in the face of so much cause for despair — for the best.

The German army in Denmark has been considerably augmented lately. Troops in large bodies, daily pass through this place, on their route to the seat of war. An engagement has been expected for some time, but there is a rumor this morning that the Danish army, after having advanced within a few miles of the encampment of the Germans, suddenly receded from its position; and hopes are renewed that

hostilities are virtually at an end. With the exception of a somewhat rigid surveillance to which German navigation has been subjected by the Danes, the war has been but little more than a mere guard one from the beginning. If good counsels had prevailed with the King of Denmark, Schleswig-Holstein would have been restored to the fatherland at the outset: but like Mexico in the annexation question, he has had bad advisers.

An arrival yesterday at Lubeck from St. Petersburg, brings frightful accounts of the ravages of the Cholera at that capital. The disease was rapidly spreading, and hundreds of persons dying of it daily. The greatest fears are excited, that it will find its way down the Baltic, and into Germany. Lady Bloomfield, the wife of the British Ambassador, with her children, came passengers by the steamer which conveyed this news, and are occupying rooms adjoining mine. They were frightened awfully.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
With Faithful Esteem,
Your Ob't. S'v't.
A. Dudley Mann.

ed 29 July 48.

Mr Clarke

No. 28.

London, July 14, 1848.

Sir; —

Immediately after closing my despatches, transmitted by Mr. Corcoran, the post arrived at Hamburgh with information from this metropolis, that the proposed modification of the British Navigation Laws, would certainly fail in the House of Lords, however large the majority by which the measure might be passed in the "Commons." I resolved, therefore, — in view of the importance to the leading interests of our country, of contracting a Treaty of Navigation and Commerce between the United States and Great-Britain — to proceed as expeditiously as possible to our Legation here, with a copy of the "Declaration" just ratified by Mecklenburg-Schwerin, (which could not be forwarded to proclaimed, and sent back from Washington in less than six weeks) and place it in the hands of Mr. Bancroft. — While I am well aware that it is not the policy of the government of the United States, to attempt to influence the legislation of other powers and states, I nevertheless conceive that there is no impropriety when a question

Hon. James Buchanan.
Secretary of State.
Washington.

of such magnitude as that of a change in the celebrated Act, which had its origin among the bold and reckless co-temporaries of Cromwell, is pending, to place all the weapons at our disposal in the hands of those who are desirous of employing them. The provisions of this Act have ever operated with peculiar severity against us, and are at present the principal hindrance to our becoming, speedily, the first commercial and maritime nation on earth.

I was much disappointed in not finding Mr. Bancroft at home; but I was unwilling, had it been in my power, to withdraw him from the temporary retreat which he was in the enjoyment of, urgent as the case was, because I know how agreeable if not indispensable a relaxation was for him from the arduous duties and cares of office. He is expected to return this afternoon. — In the mean-time I have explained the nature of the benefits which we expect to derive from our Conventions with Mecklenburg, Oldenburg, and Hanover, to members of Parliament and other influential persons of my acquaintance in an incidental manner; and the facts have been communicated. I feel almost confident to the "Times," and will soon find their way to the floors of Parliament. But I fear that the adjournment is too near at hand for the accomplishment of our desires. The journal of yesterday just men-

tioned / The Times yesterday stated in unqualified terms that the "Naviga-
tion Bill will not pass this session," but it remark-
ed in the same article, "With the immense quantity of
time which the House of Commons has wasted in worse
than useless discussions and disputes, and with a
House of Lords almost absolutely in abeyance for the
greater part of the session, it is natural to suspect that
something might have been done, and that Ministers
are responsible for the temporary failure. The good
deeds of the session will not run up to a very high fi-
gure, and so much had the partial repeal of the Navi-
gation Laws come to be considered the great achievement
and redeeming feature of the year, that its omission
will strike the public mind in much the same light
as the performance of only three acts of a great histor-
ical drama, excluding thereby the ultimate fate of every
principal personage in the plot." I feel justified
in making the foregoing quotation, from the influence
which the "Times," never more than at present, notori-
ously exercises over the deliberations of Parliament.
If the ratified "Declaration" had reached me two months
ago, the Navigation Laws would have been abolished, so
far as they are in our way, and a most advantageous
treaty concluded by our Minister before the com-
mencement of the next session of Congress. I
will recur to this subject next Tuesday, per Hermann."

Yesterday's accounts from Paris represent that metropolis to be in a state of entire tranquility, for the first time since the insurrection. It is reported that the Pope has acknowledged the Republic. The "Vicar of Germany" — the Archduke John — was expected to arrive at Frankfort on the morning of the 12th. instant.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
With Faithful Esteem,
Your Ob't. S'v't.
A. Dudley Mann.

d 7 Sept. 48.

Mr Clarke

No. 29.

London, July 18, 1848. —

Sir; —

The Provisional government of the United States of Germany has at length been organized. In conformity with our established international policy, the recognition of this government by that of the United States of America, will not, I imagine, be unnecessarily delayed. In the act of recognition however, great care should be taken that no overt commitment should be made to prejudice the present validity of our Conventions with Hanover, Oldenburg, and Mecklenburg-Schwerin. — XX It might hereafter be pleaded by the government of United Germany, that a formal unconditional acknowledgment of its existence by a Foreign power, abrogated, as a consequence, all conventions of such power with the separate sovereignties constituting the Union. I venture to make this suggestion to you, because I am aware of the desire of a formidable party at Frankfort to impose a high duty in the Tariff of the new Union upon the article of Tobacco.

The King of Hanover joins the national compact, with much reluctance and many misgivings. In a des-

Hon. James Buchanan.
Secretary of State.
Washington.

age of the 8th instant, communicated by his first Minister, to the Diet of Hanover, it is stated, — "That he has already made "sacrifices and is prepared to make additional ones to pro= "mote German Union and harmony; but if the German Par= "liament oversteps the limits, which in his opinion, it ought "to observe, he is determined to leave his Throne and his "country forever." The King expresses his belief, that the central government will be disposed to interfere with the domestic concerns of the States, and thus, to use his words, "endanger the liberty and welfare of the people — making the Princes the mere subjects of a powerful Monarch." He is the Patrick Henry of Germany, in his advocacy for the rights of the States, before the adoption of a Constitution.

Immediately after the receipt of the news of the French Revolution of February, when the great politi= cal reform movement commenced in Germany, at the instance of a distinguished friend in Munich — now alas! no more — I prepared a plan of Constitution for the contemplated Union, a copy of which, (hurriedly prepared yesterday by a merchant's clerk, and not en= tirely accurate) with the remarks accompanying it at the time, I herewith transmit. In this plan you will find your views, with reference to the form of government best calculated to ensure a durable Republic in France, anticipated to a very considerable extent. — The work

whether creditable or not, is mine alone — free from a single change in the original sketch.

While I would not advocate a salitary alteration in our own Constitution, I am persuaded that its provisions are not suited to the condition of Germany, further than I have attempted to make them applicable. The Veto power, particularly, I regard as salutary for a proper development of the genius of our institutions, without the restrictions which I have placed upon it for Germany, to protect the small States against Prussia and Austria. — The timid Germans are frightened at the idea of experiencing exciting Presidential Elections. I have shown in what manner the realization of their fears may be avoided to a measurable extent. — You will perceive that in the 25 per centum ad valorem clause, and in the clause relating to transit and river tolls, I have kept a steady eye on the interests of our country.

The only copy of my plan, except the one I retain and that which I transmit to yourself, is in the possession of the last living guest of Washington in Europe. As the early and constant friend of America, I could not withhold from this venerable gentleman the outline of a scheme of government, which I supposed would better the condition of his father-land. This he has had translated into his native language, and although it has not been published, inasmuch as I requested that it should

not be, its features are generally understood, and are becoming so popular that the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial branches will be established upon the basis which it proposes. — Where I was drawn into conversations at Frankfort upon the subject of a system of central government for Germany. I communicated my sentiments unreservedly. Upon one occasion they were taken down, and subsequently presented to the consideration of the Assembly, though not as correctly as was desirable, in a pamphlet of which the accompanying is a copy. XX

I have the honor to be, Sir,
With Faithful Esteem,
Your Ob't. S'v't.
A. Dudley Mann.

48

Recd. 7 Augt 48

Mr. Wm. Mann's No. 29 –

Munich March 21. 1848

The question is no longer a debatable one whether or not there shall be a closer union of the German states. The measure is considered so imperiously necessary that every reflecting person looks to its accomplishment as his security for the future. The question uppermost in all Germans minds is in what manner can this union be effected so as to impart to it the greatest degree of strength for promoting the general welfare and individual happiness without impairing materially the rights of the different sovereignties

The plan of a constitution – herewith transmitted – resembling in many respects, but essentially different in all important particulars / that of the United States of America may perhaps come to answer to some extent the important interrogatory, and it is therefore submitted with becoming deference to your consideration – with the express understanding that I neither design nor desire to intermeddle with the political affairs of Germany, or indeed any nation other than that to which I owe allegiance – The motive that actuates me is one of common philanthropy May Opinions upon the subject of a National Government for Germany are precisely such as I have entertained, and have often expressed to my friends, for the last 5 years

The United States of America during the earlier years of their independence were governed by a National System, not unlike that of the existing one in Germany. It was formed after

a fair experiment - some ten years - to be wholly incompetent for the accomplishment of the purposes contemplated at the time of its adoption In 1787 the respective states met, their delegates appointed by themselves & formed the present Constitution.- At this Convention Washington he who has been pronounced by one of the most accomplished European Orators as "the model of every virtue.- a boon of Providence to the Human race"- presided. The address of this magnanimous founder of a Nation, in the name of the Convention, to his Countrymen when the great work assigned to himself and his Colaborers was perfected, is so applicable at this moment in several respects to the states of Germany that I transcribe it for your attentive examination endeavouring such passages as have the most direct bearing upon them:

We are, with
great truth
September 17. 1787

"We have now the honor to submit to
"the consideration of the United States, in
"Congress assembled, that Constitution which has
"appeared to us the most advisable.

"The friends of our Country have long
"seen and desired that the power of making war
"peace and treaties; that of levying money, and
"regulating Commerce and the correspondent
"executive and judicial authorities should be
"fully and effectually vested in the general
"government of the Union: But the impropriety
"of delegating such extensive trust to one body of
"Men is evident; hence results the necessity of a
"different organization

It is obviously impracticable in the first

government of these states, to secure all rights of independent (separate) sovereignty to each & yet provide for the interest and safety of all. Individuals entering into society must give up a share of liberty to preserve the rest. The magnitude of the sacrifice must depend as well on situation and circumstance, as on the object to be obtained. It is at all times difficult to draw with precision the line between those rights which must be surrendered and those which may be reserved; and on the present occasion, this difficulty was increased by a difference among the several states as to their situation extent habits & particular interests

In all our deliberations on this subject, we kept steadily in our view that which appears to us the greatest interest of every true American, the consolidation of our Union, in which is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, - perhaps our national existence. This important consideration, seriously and deeply impressed on our minds, led each state in the convention to be less rigid on points of inferior magnitude, than might have been otherwise expected: & thus the constitution which we now present, is the result of a spirit of amity and of that mutual deference & concession, which the peculiarity of our political situation rendered indispensible

That it will meet the full and entire approbation of every state, is not, perhaps, to be expected; but each will doubtless consider that has her interest alone been consulted the consequences might have been particularly disagreeable & injurious to others: That it is liable to as few exceptions as could reasonably have been expected, we hope & believe: that it may promote the lasting welfare of that country so dear to us all, & secure her freedom & happiness is our most ardent wish

With great respect

&c &c &c

George Washington President

Thus Washington conveys to the world an
idea without intending to make a display of it, of
the patriotic magnanimity of the States in
making self sacrifices for the attainment of a
great national good. The spirit of conciliation,
mutual concession, and generous compromise
animated the separate sovereignties & eventuated
in the establishment of that Constitution under
which they have been secure and prosperous for
sixty years. Is there a solitary one that
regrets it? No:- Either of them would
consider the most fatal, of all calamities that
could possibly befal it, the severance of its name
from the Compact which unites it to its Estates.-
Instead of the original thirteen states with a
population of 3.500.000 inhabitants which
constituted the Union, there are now (including
Wisconsein which is just entering) thirty states
containing a population of 22.000.000.- I
merely make mention of this as evidence of
the satisfactory working of the national system
in the absence of the constitution - under the
Diet or "one body" - the Union would have been in
as many fragments, as there are now states;
each piece powerless for purposes of good, but
strongly armed for mischievous deeds.-

It may be proper to remark, for the
benefit of such as imagine that they perceive
insurmountable obstacles to the formation of
a practical union of Germany, that the
American Convention had one question to
adjust, and that paramount to all others,
which Germany would not have to combat
with.- I of course mean the question of slavery
- a part of the states tolerated the institutions
which held colored men to service, while the

remainder more opposed to such bondage - It
was exceedingly difficult, therefore, to agree upon
the basis of representation, between those that
owned slaves & those that did not, in Congress, but
it was as amicably as it was definitely arranged,
by adding to the whole Number of free persons
in the slave states 3/5ths of all other persons
Indians excepted

Form of

Constitution

The States of Germany. desirous of forming a closer and more perfect union, in order the better to provide for the common defence and to insure domestic tranquility, as well as to promote the general welfare. do hereby adopt this constitution for the United States of Germany

Article 1.

Section 1.

1 All legislative powers herein conceded shall be vested in a congress which shall be composed of a Senate and House of Representatives and styled The Congress of the United States of Germany.

Section 2.

1 The Senate of the United States of Germany shall be composed of two Senators from each States - embracing the Principality or Principalities therein contained - appointed by the executive authority thereof, for the term of Eight years (1) and each Senator shall be entitled to one vote. No person, however, shall be a Senator who shall not have attained the age of forty years and who shall not, at the time of his appointment (and for the Ten Years next preceding) be a permanent resident of the State, and owe it allegiance, for which he shall be appointed.-

2 As soon as the Senators shall

assemble in virtue of the Appointments first
made this constitution they shall be divided
as nearly as possible into four classes. The
seats of those of the first class shall be vacated
at the expiration of the second year: of the second
class at the expiration of the fourth year: of the
third class at the expiration of the sixth year: and
of the fourth class at the expiration of the Eighth
year. in such that one fourth may be chosen
every second year.

3 The Senate shall have the exclusive
power to try all impeachments for malfeasance
in office. which may arise under appointments
made in conformity with the constitution of the
United States of Germany: but its judgment
shall not extend further than to removal from
Office, and the disqualification of the removed
Office to hold in future, any Office of honour,
trust or profit under the United States of Ger-
many. when the President of the Union is tried
should this case occur. the Chief Justice shall
preside. — No person shall be convicted unless
by a majority of the Senators. All impeachments
shall originate in the House of Representatives

4 The Senate shall choose its own
Officers. its President from among its own
members.

Section 3.

1 The House of Representatives shall
be composed of members chosen every third year
by Electors duly qualified for such purpose
by the laws of the State in which they are chosen
They must have attained to the age of thirty
years at the time of their elections. and be na-
tives. or else residents. of the State which they
represents.

2 Where vacancies occur in the representation of any State, the executive authority thereof shall not delay in issuing writs of election to supply them.

3 The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every Twenty Thousand inhabitant including those in the Principalities, but each state however small, (Principalities excepted) shall have one representative.

4 Each state may regulate the times, places, and manner of holding elections for its own representatives in Congress, but should either of them fail to do so, or in any way act unjustly or in bad faith, this power shall be exercised by the Congress of the United States of Germany.

5 The House of Representatives shall choose its presiding and other officers, and shall be entitled to punish any member thereof, by expulsion or otherwise for disorderly conduct.

Section 4

1 The Congress of the United States of Germany shall assemble once every year, commencing on the first monday in January, at the Capital of the Union, but no session shall continue for a longer period than Six Months.

2 A majority of each House shall constitute a quorum to do business, but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and shall be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members in such manner as each House shall deem most efficient.

3 Neither House during the Session of Congress shall adjourn for a longer period

than three days. except in cases of sudden any emergency and even then the consent of the other must be obtained

4 Each House shall discret. deliberate and vote. upon all question with open doors. and each shall keep a journal of its proceedings. which it shall cause to be regularly published The yeas and nays when demanded by two thirds of the members present. shall be called on any question and entered on the journal.

5 No Senator or Representative shall. during the time for which he was appointed or elected. and for three years thereafter. be appointed to any office under the authority of the United States of Germany. and no person holding Office under the United States of Germany. shall be a member of either House. while he continues to exercise the functions thereof

6 The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services of per diem

Section 5.

The Congress of the United States of Germany shall have power. subject to the conditions herein expressed.

1 To lay and collect import duties on Goods. wares and Merchandize - The Growth Produce and manufacture of foreign countries - but such duties shall exceed in no instance on any article Twenty fives per centum ad valorem on prime cost or the cost a ship board at the foreign port of exportation provided that such articles be

imported through German Ports of Entry. duly
recognized as such and direct from the Country
in which it shall have been produced.

2 To lay and Collect Port Tonnage Duties on Foreign
vessels and on native vessels engaged in Foreign
Trade:

3 To regulate commerce by Treaty or otherwise
with Foreign Nations

4 To establish an uniform currency, and
to coin money, regulate the value thereof and of
Foreign coin

5 To establish an uniform standard of weight
and measures throughout the German Union

6 To borrow money on the credit of the
United States of Germany to pay the debts and
provide for the common defence thereof.

7 To provide for the punishment of counter-
feiting the securities and legitimate coin of the
United States of Germany.

8 To organize a General Post Office Establish-
ment in lieu of the system at present exis-
ting in the different states.

9 To promote the progress of science and
the useful arts by securing for a period not
exceeding ten years to authors and inventors
the exclusive right to their respective writings
and discoveries

10 To raise and support Armies in addition
to the Contingent to the union of each State, which
shall also be supported at the expense of the
Union when they may be demanded by the
exigencies (2)

11 To provide and support a Combined Navy

11 To make rules for the genival Government and regulation of the land and Naval Forces. but this power as relates to land shall only extend to the Army of contingency. and the armies which it may authorize to be raised:

12 To defend and punish piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas. and Offences against the Law of Nations

13 To declare war. grant Letters of Marque and reprisal and make rules concerning Captures on Land or Water:

14 To erect Light Houses. Forts. Armouries. Arsenals and Navy Yards at such sites as the public good may require. and to exercise control over them:

15 To improve the Harbours. Seats and navigable streams embraced within the limits of the United States of Germany. and to abolish all river and transit tolls and Duties

16. And to make all Laws which shall be deemed necessary and proper for the faithful execution of the foregoing powers and all other powers vested by this constitution in the Government of the United States of Germany. or any Department thereof

Section 6.

1 No duty or other tax shall be laid upon articles exported from any state. nor shall a preference be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another. and vessels bound to or from one State shall not be compelled to enter, clear or pay Duties in another

all articles of foreign growth produce and manufacture imported into any State of the Union shall (if exported therefrom within Six months after their entry be entitled to a drawback of the amount of duty collected upon them. provided that the fact of their exportation is established to the satisfaction of the proper authority)

Section 7

1. No money shall be drawn from the Treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by a law of Congress and an explicit and regular statement of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall from time to time be published.

2. No State belonging to the United States of Germany shall enter into any treaty alliance or confederation with another power. nor shall any one of them by any act grant letters of marque or reprisals or pass any law impairing or dispensing the obligation of contracts

3. No State shall lay imposts or other duties on imports and exports.

4. No State shall coin money issue upon it the device of the National coin or make any thing but Gold & Silver a legal tender in the payment of debts.

Article 2.

Section 1.

1. The Executive power shall be vested in a president who for the time being shall be denominated "The President of the United States of Germany"

2. The President shall hold his office during the term of six years and together with the Vice President chosen for the same term be elected as follows: Each State shall appoint in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct a number of electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Members of the House of Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States shall be appointed an elector. The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for two persons one of whom at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for and of the number of votes for each which list they shall sign and certify and transmit sealed to the seat of the General Government directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed and if there be more than one who have such majority and have an equal number of votes then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President and if no person have a majority then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States the representation from each State having one vote. A quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case after the choice of the President the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice President.

3. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States of Germany.

4. No person except a natural born citizen or a citizen of the United States of Germany at the time of the adoption of this Constitution shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty five years and been fourteen years a resident within the United States of Germany.

5. In case of the removal of the President from office or of his death resignation or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office the same shall devolve on the Vice President and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal death resignation or inability both of the President and Vice President declaring what officer shall then act as President and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected.

6. The President shall at stated times receive for his services a compensation which neither can be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States of Germany or any of them.

7. Before the President enters on the execution of his office he shall take the following oath or affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States of Germany and will to the best of my ability preserve protect and defend the Constitution."

Section 2.

1. The President shall be Commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States of Germany and of the militia of the several States when called into the actual service of the United States of Germany. He may require the opinion in writing of the principal officer in each of the executive departments upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States of Germany except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power by and with the advice and consent of the Senate to make treaties provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint ambassadors other public ministers and consuls judges of the Supreme Court and all other officers of the United States of Germany whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for and which shall be established by law. But the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper in the President alone in the courts of law or in the heads of departments.

3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

Section 3.

1. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may on extraordinary occasions convene both Houses or either of them and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed and shall commission all the officers of the United States of Germany.

Section 4.

1. The President Vice President and all civil officers of the United States of Germany shall be removed from office on impeachment for and conviction of treason bribery or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

Article 3.

Section 1.

1. The judicial power of the United States of Germany shall be vested in one Supreme Court and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges both of the Supreme and inferior courts shall hold their offices during good behaviour and shall at stated times receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

2. The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under this Constitution the laws of the United States of Germany and treaties made or which shall be made under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States of Germany shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State; between citizens of different States; between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States; and between a State or the citizens thereof and foreign States citizens or subjects.

3. In all cases affecting ambassadors other public ministers and consuls and those in which a State shall be a party the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction both as to law and fact with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

4. The trial of all crimes except in cases of impeachment shall be by jury and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed but when not committed within any State the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

Section 2.

1. Treason against the United States of Germany shall consist only in levying war against them or in adhering to their enemies giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act or on confession in open court.

2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

Article 4.

Section 1.

1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts records and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts records and proceedings shall be proved and the effect thereof.

Section 2.

1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2. A person charged in any State with treason felony or other crime who shall flee from justice and be found in another State shall on demand of the executive power of the State from which he fled be delivered up to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No person held to service or labour in one State under the laws thereof escaping into another shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein be discharged from such service or labour but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due.

Section 3.

1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States or parts of States without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States of Germany with the consent of the States whose limits are to be affected; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States of Germany or of any particular State.

Section 4.

1. The United States of Germany shall guarantee to each State a republican form of government and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the Legislature or of the executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

Article 5.

1. The Congress whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary shall propose amendments to this Constitution or on the application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States shall call a convention for proposing amendments which in either case shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of this Constitution when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the States or by conventions in three fourths thereof as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year 1808 shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State without its consent shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

Article 6.

1. All debts contracted and engagements entered into before the adoption of this Constitution shall be as valid against the United States of Germany under this Constitution as under the Confederation.

2. This Constitution and the laws of the United States of Germany made in pursuance thereof and all treaties made or which shall be made under the authority of the United States of Germany shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned and the members of the several State Legislatures and all executive and judicial officers both of the United States of Germany and of the several States shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States of Germany.

Article 7.

1. The ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention by the unanimous consent of the States present the seventeenth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty seven and of the Independence of the United States of Germany the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

[illegible]
President and deputy from Virginia

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

term of three years commencing with the first of September and shall be for ever ineligible to any other term

3. The State containing the largest population shall be entitled to furnish the first President, and that containing the next largest the Second, and so on according to the order of their size, to the State containing the least

2. Each State shall be entitled to as many Electoral votes for President as it has Senators and Representatives in Congress and each State shall determine upon the manner in which it shall choose its Electors to vote for Presidents. The Elections in all the States herein shall take place on the same day, and the votes of the Electors cast at the Capitols of the United States of Germany on the first Monday in August. The person having the highest number of Electoral votes even though that number be less than one half of the whole, shall be declared to be duly elected President

3. The President shall be at least fifty years of age, a native and a resident for twenty years of the State from which he is elected. In case the office shall become vacant by his death, removal, resignation, the Governor of the State from which he was elected, shall appoint his successor for the remainder of the term which he was elected to serve.

4. The President shall reside during his Presidency at the seat of the Government of the United States of Germany, and shall receive a compensation for his services which shall neither be increased nor diminished during his continuance in Office

Section 2

1. The President shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of a majority of all the members of the Senate, to make treaties with Foreign

[illegible] and he shall nominate with
the recommendation of a Majority of his Cabinet: and
by and with the advice and consent of the Senate appoint
Ambassadors. Ministers. and other Diplomatic Agents
Consuls and Vice Consuls: Judges of the Supreme
Court. Custom House Officers: and all other officers
whose salaries exceed . but no person
shall be commissioned by him who holds an Office
of Trust. Honor. or Profit in any State: He shall
also have power to fill such vacancies. as may occur
during the recess of Congress. but his appointments
shall be subject to the ratification of the Senate when
that body convenes.

2 The Cabinet of the President shall consist of a
Minister of Foreign Affairs; a Minister of Finance; a
Minister of War; a Minister of the Navy; and a Minister
of Posts; of which the Minister of Foreign Affairs shall
be Chairman.— No two of these Ministers shall be
selected from the same State. or from adjoining States
and neither of them from the State from which the President
at the time of their appointment belongs

3 The President shall. at the commencement of
each session of Congress. lay before that body all use-
ful and necessary information relating to the state
of the Union, and in case of danger to its security,
whether from external or internal causes. he may
by Proclamation convene both Houses

4 Every Bill which shall have passed the Se-
nate and House of Representatives. shall. before
it become a Law be presented to the President for
his signature. if he approve he shall sign it. if not
he shall return it to the Senate within ten days
accompanied by his objections. when that body shall

proceed to reconsider it. If after reconsideration a Majority of the Senators present (provided there be a quorum) agree to pass the bill it shall become a law. the objections of the President to the contrary notwithstanding

5. The President shall receive the Ambassadors Ministers and all other diplomatic functionaries accredited to the Government of the United States of Germany and grant Exequaturs to Consul Generals. Consuls. Vice Consuls and other Commercial Agents.

Article 3.

Section 1.

1 The Judicial power of the United States of Germany shall be vested in a Supreme Court consisting of five Judges the first to be designated by the title of "Chief Justice of the United States of Germany and the other four as "Associate Justices" thereof. The Chief Justice shall be selected from the central part of the Union and the four Justices from the sections of the four remote corners of it.

2 The Judges of the Supreme Court shall hold their Offices provided their Judicial behaviour be good until they attain the age of seventy-five years and shall receive a compensation for their services annually of which shall neither be increased nor diminished during their continuance in Office. They shall appoint their Clerk and other Officers.

3 The Judicial power of this tribunal shall extend to all cases which may arise under this Constitution in which it shall have original jurisdiction. The Trial of all crimes shall be by Jury. and the proceedings shall be oral and open. No person shall be convicted except on the testimony of two witnesses

and he shall be confronted by his accusers during the prosecution of his Trial.

4 Treason against the United States of Germany shall consist only in levying war against them. or in giving aid & comfort - physical or moral - to their enemies in time of War. The Congress shall determine what punishment shall be inflicted for such Offences

5 The Supreme Court shall hold its Sessions at the Capital of the United States of Germany.

Article 4.

Section 1.

1 The President. the Members of both Houses of Congress and the Judges of the Supreme Court shall take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States of Germany, when they enter upon the discharge of their respective duties

2 The Congress shall make no law respecting an Establishment of religion. or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. or abridging the freedom of speech or of the Press or the right of the people to peaceably assemble and petition their rulers for a redress of grievances.

3 The seat of the Government of the United States of Germany shall be permanently located. unless there invaded by Foreign Troops at the Free City of Frankfort and the Congress may purchase acres of land and exercise control over them. as a Site for a Capitol. a Presidential Mansion. a Hall of Justice. and such other buildings as may be required for transacting the business of the Union. An appropriation for this purpose. and such appropriations as may from time to time be required for the erection of the buildings and the embellishment of the grounds shall be made by laws from the Treasury of the United States of Germany

4 The Congress, whenever a majority of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of one half the States which shall be parties to it, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which in either case, shall be valid to the intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the votes of the States.

5 The government of the United States of Germany shall for ever guarantee to the States, respectively, sovereignty thereof - all power not herein ceded away being reserved to themselves.

6 No new State shall be either formed or admitted into the Union composed of the part of any State or of the parts of States, without the previous consent of the States from which it shall have been formed.

7 A Census of the population of the United States of Germany, shall be taken once in every ten Years, beginning with 1850, and the representation in Congress apportioned accordingly. A subdivision of 50.000 inhabitants in any State shall entitle it to an additional representative in Congress, and consequently to an additional Electoral vote for President.

1 The 1st Art: 1st Section may be amended to read after the words "for the term of Eight years" provided that neither of their removals shall at any time be decided under a resolution of three-fourths of all the members composing the popular branch of the legislature of the State which they shall have been appointed to represent

2 The 1st Art 5th Sec 10th Par. to be amended so as to read after the words "public exigencies" - and to provide for the Officering thereof. as well as for regulating in contested cases. the grades of the Officers of the standing army. as shall be constituted by the Contingent of the Troops of the several States. in time of war.

Entwurf

zu einer

deutschen Verfassung

von

Achanier.

Gedruckt bei Streng und Schneider in Frankfurt a. M.

Die deutsche Verfassungsfrage beschäftigt jetzt alle Gemüther. Ich halte es für Pflicht, nachstehenden Entwurf, der mir von einem erfahrenen Staatsmann mitgetheilt wurde, zu veröffentlichen, da er die Aufmerksamkeit der constituirenden Versammlung in hohem Grade verdient.

§ 1.

Alle Staaten Deutschlands bilden einen Staatenbund.

§ 2.

Folgende Grundsätze werden von allen Staaten festgesetzt, angenommen und gegenseitig garantirt:

Jeder 21jährige Deutsche ist nach Ableistung des verfassungsmäßigen Eides deutscher Staatsbürger.

Alle Ausnahmsgesetze und Privilegien sind aufgehoben.

Die Kirche hat durchaus nichts mit dem Staate zu thun, und hat jeder Glauben vollkommene Freiheit.

Der Unterricht der Jugend ist frei. — Die Regierungen sorgen für öffentliche Schulen, in welchen unentgeldlich unterrichtet wird. — Jeder Religionsunterricht bleibt ausgeschlossen.

Die übrigen inneren Angelegenheiten der einzelnen Staaten, so wie deren Verfassungsform, vorbehaltlich daß dieselbe sich auf Volkskammern basirt, bleiben denselben überlassen.

andern Angelegenheiten
al-Bundesregierung in Frankfurt a. M.

§ 4.

Dieſe Regierung beſteht

a) aus einer Bundeskammer.

Die Mitglieder der Bundeskammer werden durch directe Wahl von allen deutſchen Staaten gewählt, im Verhältniß von einem Abgeordneten auf 70,000 Seelen. Bundesſtaaten, die eine mindere Seelenzahl haben, wählen ebenfalls einen Deputirten. Jeder deutſche Staatsbürger iſt Wähler und wählbar. Jede Wahl iſt auf drei Jahre gültig. Die Bundeskammer iſt permanent, — kann ſich aber bei Erledigung der Geſchäfte auf beſtimmte Zeit prorogiren. — Die Prorogirung geſchieht auf Antrag der Miniſter und muß von der Kammer genehmigt werden. Das Miniſterium hat die Befugniß, die Kammer in dringenden Fällen augenblicklich einzuberufen.

b) Aus einem Senate.

Jeder Bundesſtaat hat zwei Senatoren zu erwählen; die Wahl geſchieht durch die Regierungen, und die Senatoren bleiben ſechs Jahre im Amt.

(Dieſer Senat ſoll namentlich die Intereſſen der einzelnen Staaten vertreten; bei der ungleichen Bevölkerung der Bundesſtaaten werden die großen Staaten in der Deputirtenkammer zu viel Einfluß haben, welcher Einfluß aber durch den Senat gehörig balancirt wird.)

c) Aus einem Bundesoberhaupt.

Das Bundesoberhaupt wird durch die Bundeskammer in geheimem Scrutinium und durch abſolute Mehrheit gewählt. — Dieſe Wahl

geschieht au[illegible] in re[illegible]
Fürst kann Bundesoberhaupt sein. Das Bundesoberhaupt darf nach Ablauf seiner Amtsführung nicht wieder gewählt werden.

d) Aus einem Ministerium, das aus der Deputirtenkammer von dem Bundesoberhaupte gewählt wird. — Minister der innern und der äußern Angelegenheiten, der Zölle, der Finanzen, der Justiz, des Krieges, der Posten und der Industrie.

e) Aus einem Oberfeldherrn, dessen Wahl dem Ministerium zusteht.

f) Aus einem Bundesgericht. — Der Präsident des Bundesgerichts ist Oberrichter und hat vier Richter unter sich. Das Bundesgericht wird vom Senat auf Lebenszeit ernannt.

§ 5.

Befugniß der Central-Bundesregierung

a) Schlichtung aller möglichen Streitigkeiten zwischen den Bundesstaaten

b) Vertretung des Staatenbundes bei allen möglichen Regierungen. — Die Bundesstaaten haben keine diplomatischen Agenten, sondern die Bundesregierung ernennt Gesandte an alle auswärtigen Höfe und Consuln für Handels- und Industrie-Angelegenheiten, so wie die auswärtigen Staaten nur mit der Centralbehörde in diplomatischer Verbindung stehen und Gesandte bei ihr accreditiren.

(Große Ersparniß der einzelnen Staaten und Repräsentation des Staatenbundes als Corpus, dadurch sein Einfluß als Weltmacht.)

c) Die Central-Bundesregierung entscheidet über Krieg und Frieden, und schließt Bündnisse und Handelsverträge mit auswärtigen Regierungen.

d) Alle Bundesstaaten entlassen ihre Armeen. — Es wird eine Bundesarmee von 150,000 Mann

gebildet, [illegible] Befehl [illegible]es Oberfeldherrn steht, und [illegible] zu [illegible]erung des innern Friedens, der Besetzung der Bundesfestungen, und zum Schutze der Gränz[illegible] dient. — Im Fall eines Kriegs ist jeder Deutsche waffenpflichtig. Jeder Bundesstaat liefert sein verhältnißmäßiges Contigent zur Bundesarmee.

e) Alle Binnenzölle werden aufgehoben. — Die Regulirung des Zollwesens dem Auslande gegenüber obliegt der Central-Bundesregierung.

f) Das Postwesen wird ebenfalls von der Bundesregierung allein geleitet und regulirt. —

g) Die Zölle und Postwesen constituiren die Einnahmen der Central-Bundes-Casse.

h) Die Central-Bundes-Casse hat folgende Verpflichtungen:

I) Das Bundesoberhaupt erhält seinen Sitz im Bundespallast und jährlich fl. 50,000.

II) Jeder Minister jährlich fl. 8000.

III) Der Oberstrichter jährlich fl. 10,000 jeder der vier Richter fl. 5000. —

IV) Jeder Senator fl. 4000

V) Jeder Abgeordnete fl. 7 Diäten.

VI) Der Oberfeldherr jährlich fl. 12000 die Armee den festzusetzenden Sold.

VII) Die Bundescasse zahlt die Gehalte der Gesandten, der Consule, und bestreitet alle Ausgaben der Canzleien, der Bundesfestungen, der Zölle, des Postwesens, und der Justiz.

VIII) Endlich wird auf Kosten der Bundescasse eine Bundesmarine allmählich gegründet, und unterhalten. - Der Ueberschuß aus den Zoll- und Postgefällen, die wohl auf 100 Millionen anzuschlagen sind, bildet einen Bundesfond. — Sobald derselbe eine Höhe von dreißig Millionen erreicht hat, wird der jährliche Ueberschuß nach einem festzusetzen-

verthei[illegible] Bund

Alle Gesetzvor[illegible]ge und [illegible]onstigen Anträge [illegible] den in der Bundeskammer [illegible]on den Ministern [illegible]er den Abgeordneten [illegible]estellt. Wenn solche durchgehen, so sind dieselben dem Senate zur Genehmigung vorzulegen. — Der Senat kann solche indessen nur mit einer Majorität von $^2/_3$ der Stimmen verwerfen.

§ 7.

Das Bundesoberhaupt ist rein executive Gewalt, ohne andere Verantworlichkeit als die der Ausführung der Beschlüsse beider Kammern. — Jede Verfügung des Bundesoberhauptes muß von den Ministern contrasignirt sein.

§ 8.

Das Ministerium ist verantwortlich. — Wenn in der Kammer der Antrag gestellt wird, das Ministerium habe das öffentliche Zutrauen verwirkt, so hat das Bundesoberhaupt, wenn der Antrag genehmigt wird, alsbald ein neues Ministerium zu ernennen. —

§ 9.

Das Bundesgericht entscheidet die Streitigkeiten der einzelnen Staaten, und bildet die höchste Instanz in Prozessen zwischen Angehörigen verschiedener Staaten, so wie der Staatsbürger gegen einzelne Staaten, und gegen das Ausland.

§ 10.

Es kann an der Verfassung nur dann eine Abänderung gemacht werden, wenn solche von der Bundeskammer und dem Senat mit einer Majorität von $^2/_3$ der Stimmen angenommen wird.

rec'd 7 Augt. 48.

W. Parker.

No. 30.

London, July 19, 1848.

Sir;

I have just received a letter from my son, who is at Frankfort-on-the-Maine — where I left him on order that I might be kept correctly advised of all that was transpiring at that metropolis — under date of 15th instant, accompanied by a translation of the enactment of the Constituent Assembly, for the organization of a Provisional Central Government for Germany, and also a translation of the first official address of the Vicar, the Arch-Duke John to his countrymen; both of which I transcribe as follows: —

1. A Provisional Government is to be formed for all general affairs of the German nation, until a Constitution is definitively adopted.

2. (a) It shall exercise the Executive power so far as relates to the public security and prosperity of the German Confederacy: — (b) To undertake the direction of the whole armed force, and particularly to nominate its Commander-in-Chief: — (c) To represent Germany in respect to its international and commercial policy, and to nominate for this purpose, Ministers, and Consuls: —

3. The formation of the Constitution is to remain beyond the control or agency of the Provisional Gov:

ernment.

4. The Provisional Government shall have power to declare war and establish peace, with the co-operation of the National Assembly.

5. The Provisional Government shall be confided to an Administrator of the Empire, (Reichsverweser) who shall be elected by the National Assembly.

6. The Administrator shall exercise his power through Ministers selected by himself, and responsible to the National Assembly. All orders emanating from him shall be counter-signed by at least one responsible Minister.

7. The Administrator is not responsible.

8. The National Assembly shall enact a special Law for regulating the responsibility of the Ministers.

9. The Ministers shall have the right to participate in the sittings of the National Assembly, and be heard by that body.

10. The Ministers shall appear when required for the purpose of giving information to the National Assembly.

11. The Ministers shall have the right of voting in the National Assembly, provided that they have been duly elected members of that body.

12. The position of Administrator is in-

compatible with that of a member of the National Assembly.

13. The Bundesversammlung (German Diet) shall cease to exist the moment that the Provisional Government is formed.

14. The Provisional Government shall place itself in connexion, as far as possible, with the Plenipotentiaries of the State Governments concerning Executive measures.

15. The duties of the Provisional Government shall terminate as soon as the Constitution of Germany shall have been completed and its provisions carried into execution.

To the German Nation.

Germans! — Your representatives at Frankfort, in Parliament assembled, have chosen me to be the Administrator of Germany.

I have taken the head of the Provisional Central Government, for our country, amidst enthusiastic cheers and hearty greetings, — which every where welcomed me and which have deeply touched my heart.

Germans! After years of oppression we shall now have full and unrestricted liberty. You deserve it, for you have manfully and perseveringly struggled for it. It will never be taken from you, because you know too well how to guard it.

Your representatives will now complete the Constitution for Germany. Wait for it with a confident hope. The edifice will be erected with earnestness, deliberation, and true patriotism, and will be as durable as your own eternal mountains.

Germans! Our country is passing through trying times: They will however, be overcome. Your roads and your rivers will again be covered with commerce. Your industry will find employment, and you will prosper if you confide in your representatives, if you confide in me—the man whom you have chosen to assist you in making Germany united, free, and powerful.

But do not forget that Liberty cannot take root unless protected by order and legality. Co-operate with me in restoring them wherever they have been disturbed. I, for my part, am resolved to enforce the full power of the law against criminal proceedings, and other acts of lawlessness. I will henceforward protect the citizens of Germany against violence.

Germans! Let me hope that Germany will enjoy uninterrupted peace. To preserve peace is the most sacred of all my duties.

But should German honor or German rights be assailed then will our brave army know

how to combat, aye, and how to conquer for the father=
land.

Frankfort, July 15, 1848.

(Signed.) Arch-Duke John.

Schmerling, Minister Interior and Foreign Affairs.

Heckscher, Minister of Justice.

Peucker, Minister of War.

The list of the Cabinet will not be com=
pleted until the Administrator returns from Vienna, whith=
er he has gone to open in person, in obedience to a promi=
se to the Emperor before his election, the Austrian Cham=
bers. The appointments made are less popular than
was desirable, but if the remaining three be even as
good, the Ministry, it is believed, will be supported by
a sufficiently efficient working majority.

The procedure of the King of Hanover, re=
ferred in my last, presents a grave question to the de=
liberations of the Constituent Assembly. This Prince,
standing upon his "reserved rights," resists consolidation,
and consequently the abrogation of his power as a sove=
reign, and a spirit is manifested in the Assembly
to coerce him into obedience, so far as to obtain from
him an unqualified recognition of the Provisional Gov=
ernment. He is willing to delegate certain privi=
leges to the Nation, among others that for declaring war
and the superintendence of the army and navy, but he

is utterly averse to any interference with the domestic affairs of his Kingdom, or to an increase of the duties on imports for the purposes of protection. As the sacrifices, which he states that he has made for the good of all Germany, he alludes to the stipulation relative to transit duties and river tolls in our treaty; and I here take occasion to repeat that too much caution cannot be exercised in the act of acknowledgment on our part of the Provisional Government, in order to retain, and extend, the advantages which we possess in the Boer States.

Should Ernest be over-ruled by his own subjects in this matter, he would doubtlessly abdicate, as he threatens to do. It has been already proposed in the Assembly, that in such an event the citizens of Hanover shall be at liberty to choose their own form of government.

Whatever may occur with respect to external affairs, I conceive that a nation has, in reality, been called into existence, which for external influences, from its central location and indubitable physical strength, will keep the remainder of Europe in obeyance, and thus establish and perpetuate general peace. Germany although not likely to be so free as the country of which you and I are citizens, for many years, has, nevertheless -

made, or rather is making, a very fair start towards the attainment of the goal of well regulated and durable liberty. The man who heads the nation is a simple-minded Prince as regards to ambition, — a republican in the abstract. He is the husband of an humble Post-master's daughter, — devotedly attached to the partner of his choice. Upon leaving Frankfort for Vienna he stated in a public speech that he should hasten to return, and would bring with him all that was most dear and precious to him on earth, — his wife and child." This noble sentiment, if really entertained, could have had its origin in no other than a pure heart.

You will, doubtless, be informed by our Minister near this Court, that Lord John Russell announced on Monday night the determination of the government to suspend definitive action on the Navigation Bill until the next session. I regret the failure of this measure, just now, the more on account of its precluding the possibility of our contracting a Convention of Navigation and Commerce, of such character as would eventuate in giving us the chief mercantile marine on earth. If Great-Britain will consent to exchange with us on reciprocal terms the tri-angular carrying — which I can give her trading interest imperatively requires — our sails will so multiply

that at no distant day they will whilen move occupy highway, than those of all the world beside.

To-morrow is the day designated by the Department for the termination of my mission. To the last hour I shall endeavor to make myself useful to my country. I will afterwards cross over the channel and abode for a time in poor distracted, mercurial, unstable France. Although I may find an occasion to write to you from Paris this, of course, concludes my numbered correspondence.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
With Faithful Esteem,
Your Ob't. S'v't.
A. Dudley Mann.

Hon. James Buchanan.
Secretary of State.
Washington.

Recd 7th Augt. 48.

Mr Marcoa.

ans.d by Mr Stubbs 10 July—

London, July 20, 1848.

Sir; —

I had the honor to receive your Despatch of the 3rd instant, at one o'clock to-day.

With reference to my account it will be impossible for me to furnish vouchers for any considerable portion of my expences. It is composed of items with the exception of Hotel bills, where receipts for the sums expended could not be obtained, — such as sixpences, shillings, half crowns, and other small sums paid to porters, stewards, waiters &c. &c., rail-road fare, coach fare, and other travelling fare. I supposed that there could be no objection to the adjustment of my claim, made up in the manner of that of my former mission, which was accepted by the Department. In that settlement vouchers were not exacted, and the amount allowed me was proportionately more, as may be seen by reference to the files, than that contained in the account recently transmitted, although I have necessarily from the immense extent of country which I have traversed during my present mission, been submitted to heavier expenditures.

Since I entered upon the discharge of my present duties, I have travelled from Washington to Lis-

export and from thence to Manchester, Leeds, Hull, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Edinburgh, Leith, Glasgow, Belfast, Dublin, Lancaster, Cork, Liverpool, London, Southampton, Havre, Paris, Antwerp, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Frankfort-on-the-Maine, Hamburgh, Bremen, Oldenburg, Hanover Mecklenburg-Schwerin, back to Hanover, Brunswick, Leipsic, Dresden, Munich, Stuttgard, Baden, Frankfort-on-the-Maine, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Hamburgh, and London, at each of which places I had more or less to employ me for the government, in obedience to my instructions.

Since rendering my account I have been in the public service forty-one days, and my necessary expenses, have been considerably larger, during most of that time, than the average incurred previously.

But I will remove all obstacles to the settlement of my account to the entire satisfaction of the Treasury Department. Let Mr. Stubbs make up a new account to this date, without reference to the amount allowed me at the former settlement, and charge for expenses the lowest average which has been admitted in cases of this kind. — This will serve as a ratification, on my part, of such settlement. The per diem amount of my services — 391 days — is $3128. I have received, including the draft or credit which arrived yesterday, $4500. — I know to a cent how much I have expended but I cannot establish

the amount by vouchers. I told Mr. Derrick at the time of receiving my instructions, that vouchers could not be obtained considering the flying character of my mission.

In your dispatch of the 3rd I am reminded that my duties terminate to-day: By mine of yesterday you will perceive that I am fully aware of the fact.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

With Faithful Esteem,

Your Ob't. S.v't.

A. Dudley McNiff.

(126)

A. D. Mann. London. 20 July. 184

Private — No. 1.

Paris, August 3, 1848.

Dear Sir;

The day succeeding that of the termination of my official duties, Mr. Bancroft returned to his post from the York exhibition, and I had two lengthened conversations with him upon the subject of a Treaty of Navigation and Commerce with Great-Britain.

In my opinion a mistake was committed, in proposing to confer the privileges of our Coasting Trade upon the British Flag. I so expressed myself to Mr. B.: For this Trade Great-Britain has no equivalent that she can offer. No nation has the same extent of connected approachable Coast, the same number of eligible Ports, nor the same quantity of produce to move from one point to another, within its limits, as the United States. Our Sea-Board Navigation intercourse is vastly more valuable than that of Great-Britain, including her Colonies and Dependencies. Look at our Commerce — our rapidly increasing Commerce — between New-York and New-Orleans alone! — What constitutes our Coasting-Trade? Under a stipulation conveying the right to engage in it to Great-Britain — unless a special reservation were made — vessels covered by the British Flag would, doubtless, consider themselves entitled to visit our highest river Ports of Entry, with any cargo which they might find it profitable to carry from Richmond, Charleston, or Philadelphia. They could employ tug steamers to tow them, as they now do from the Belize to New-Orleans. — In return Great-Britain could convey to us no internal Navigation but that of the Thames, the Mersey, the Shannon and the Clyde, which we already enjoy as

Hon. James Buchanan
Secretary of State.
Washington.

for as it can be made profitable, or, indeed, as fully as we could under any Convention.

"But it seems to me that there are other, utterly insurmountable, objections to contracting a reciprocity Coasting Trade Treaty with Great Britain, or indeed with any other Power or State. Our domestic institutions, co-existing with the Constitution, would be greatly endangered by a procedure of this kind. + It has occurred, and not unfrequently, that American vessels clandestinely carried "persons held to labor" from one port in the Union to another; by which American citizens have been illicitly deprived of their rightful property. It is to be trusted that there are but comparatively few individuals who are disposed to thus commit acts of disgraceful injustice against their countrymen; but inconsiderable as they may be in number they have, nevertheless, unhappily been instrumental in engendering sectional animosities of so violent a character as to occasionally cast a gloom over the otherwise apparently glorious future of our country. — The British whether from a mistaken, sickly, philanthropy, or from an inordinate desire to plant the germ of dissension amongst us, are all abolitionists as relates to slavery in the United States: It consequently, requires no stretch of the imagination to perceive, that they would avail of the Coasting Trade to gratify their inclinations, or to accomplish their unhallowed purposes. ++ The instrument of our injury, if not our ruin, which we should in this manner create, could not be counter-balanced by any pecuniary benefits which we should realize: It is scarcely necessary that I should make mention of the facilities that would be offered for establishing a system of espionage on all our interior proceedings.

"A fair reciprocity Treaty with Great-Britain, — one

based upon such principles as were discussed in the interview which I had with you just before my departure — could not eventuate otherwise than in making us the first maritime power of the earth; in building us up in fact, and in less than a score of years, a Commercial Navy larger than that of all the world beside. The authorization of the privileges to our Flag of the Foreign indirect carrying to and from Great-Britain, and to and from the British Colonies and Dependences for like privileges, in carrying from all the world to our Ports in British bottoms, — (all nations being entitled under the Constitution to carry our products from our Ports free of export duty) would almost certainly occasion such a result within the period designated.. Although under such an arrangement we should, ostensibly, give as much as we should get, yet we should unquestionably turn what we would get to a much better account than Great-Britain would turn that which we should give. — In the first place we can build cheaper, durability considered, than Great-Britain, or any other nation. This statement may astonish you, but I will establish its truthfulness by incontrovertible testimony: The Hanse-Towns are permitted, by the Treaty concluded with them by Mr. Clay, to sail, in their intercourse with our Ports, the vessels of the build of any country whatever. At this time one sixth of the tonnage of Bremen employed has been purchased from our citizens, while, as far as I can aware, not more than one or two vessels are owned in that State of British build, and but very few of the build of countries in the North of Europe. — But our wonderful success in Navigation is mainly attributable to the incomparable superiority of our mariners, over those of all the world. The masters of our Barks are not only excellently good sailors, but they are also, as a class, in the highest degree trust-worthy and possessed

of first rate qualifications for conducting Commercial adventures: Hence, we should be peculiarly benefitted by the tri-angular Trade with Great: Britain. The American ship-owner, in nearly every instance, trusts confidingly to the management of his captain when his vessel is abroad. Foreign ship-owners, on the contrary, seldom leave any thing to the judgment or discretion of their captains. They regard them as mere commanders, and control them by rigid instructions whatever their destination. One of our ships would make a voyage around the globe, and receive and discharge in the mean time a half dozen profitable cargoes at British Colonial Ports, in as little time as a British vessel would require for the performance of a voyage to Rio de Janeiro, and from thence home via New-Orleans.

"But the most important consideration — a paramount one in my mind — with respect to securing the privileges of the direct carrying to Great-Britain, is the influence that we should be enabled to exercise in crippling, in the most inoffensive manner imaginable, the British military marine to so great a degree that we should be rendered physically more potent on the high seas than the "proud mistress." This distinction is less desirable, however, as acquiring power ourselves, than as depriving a nation of a species of power which it might seek an occasion to employ, as amicable as our relations now are, at a distant subsequent period, to our disadvantage. — You are aware that the declared motive, for the advocacy in Parliament of a large Naval force, is the protection in home and Foreign waters of the Commercial Navigation: The real motive, I am quite persuaded, is totally different, but it has not the temerity to truly unveil itself. Any diminution of the Commercial Tonnage would likely, therefore, be accompanied with a

corresponding diminution in the Military Tonnage. The British public has been informed recently, that the Steam Tonnage of the Royal War Marine amounts to more than that of the Commercial Marine, — or that an armed Ton is supposed to protect a carrying Ton.

"There is scarcely a probability that the Navigation Laws will be re-modified before the middle of next session, and even then, in view of that which has transpired, I fear we shall find it exceedingly difficult to conclude such a Treaty as will enable us to participate in the indirect Trade. One of the witnesses, the most important, stated before the Committee of the House of Lords, that, "The Americans have no Colonial Trade to dispose of; — the only "thing of value which they could give us is their Coasting Trade, which "is very large indeed." It is most unfortunate that a belief has been occasioned that we would consent to divide this Trade, a Trade not less valuable than sacred to our people.

"As I have been entrusted by the Administration with important Commercial negotiations, and as I desire in all sincerity of my heart that it may be above reproach hereafter, for having committed a solitary blunder in diplomacy, I conceived it to be my duty to thus freely and frankly communicate my sentiments to you. It must be understood that I am incapable of cherishing or entertaining other than the kindest feelings for Mr. Bancroft. — In the honest zeal of this patriotic representative, to advance the best interests of the nation, nothing worse can be said of his success, than that he overshot the mark at which he aimed."

Extract from a Despatch of A. Dudley Mann to the Hon. James Buchanan, dated Frankfort-on-the-Maine, June 10, 1848.

* * * * * * * Hanover and Oldenburg are disposed to act in the best of faith towards us: But no remark is more common — circulated for the purpose of destroying the example of this Liberal Steuerverein in its Commercial intercourse with us — that King Ernest is a Foreigner, and that Paul Frederic August, on account of the Location of his Grand Duchy, is entirely controlled by him.

Had we secured Mecklenburg, according to the terms of the "Declaration," the influence exercised by this statement would have been improved to such an extent as to render it comparatively harmless; because Frederic Francis is known to be, by birth, by education, and by principle, as good a German as the most clamorous Professor in Parliament for the "Deutsche Nationalität." Moreover, we should have had all the Coast between the mouth of the Ems and the mouth of the Trebel, placed beyond the control, as relates to our four staples, of the Confederation, for a time. Hamburg and Lubeck would have been enclosed by Mecklenburg, as Bremen is by Hanover and Oldenburg. Again, the publication of the ratified "Declaration" in London, would have operated most favorably, in hastening the repeal of the Navigation Laws, so far as to enable us to contract a Treaty with Great-Britain, securing to our bottoms the valuable tri-angular carrying, to and from the Ports of that country. It is considered exceedingly questionable, at present, whether the House of Lords will not decide adversely to any change in those Laws; and it is, therefore, the more to be regretted that we had not brought all the indirect influence, within our reach, to bear upon the subject. The Hanover Treaty, as is well known, contributed in no little degree to render the celebrated "Charte Illegitime" unpopular in

in England previous to the last Elections there. Its provisions were clearly explained by Consul-General Swain, in his evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons: They were also favorably noticed by the London journals, and the system animadverted upon with much severity, which prohibited the British government from contracting similar advantageous ones, with any Power or State.

More than two years anterior to the first interview which I had the pleasure of enjoying with you, I adopted the opinion which I have seen no cause to change since, relative to the only proper method of extending our commercial intercourse with Germany. I perceived a disposition in the Zollverein to coerce the seven Coast states into its embraces, and to fasten upon them its Tariff of duties — import and transit. An effort was made to make the United States a party to this scheme, under the stipulations of the Convention concluded at Berlin in March 1843. This Convention I could not conscientiously approve, and I am free to state that I commented upon and exposed its imperfections at the time, notwithstanding the high character of the negotiator. This renowned civilian was satisfied, subsequently, that he had committed an error, — when he became acquainted with the nature of the concessions granted to us by Hanover and Oldenburg, — for upon quitting my apartment at the moment of my departure from Washington, he concluded a conversation, which we had been holding upon the subject, with the remark, "May your present mission result as favorably for the interests of the country, as that from which you lately returned." The policy of the Administration, unlike that of its immediate predecessor, has been to fortify the Coast States in their generous Com-

mercial sentiments towards us, instead of placing weapons in the hands of the Followers for their destruction. The Followers was industriously engaged in exciting a spirit of Nationality, in order to hasten the perfection of the Germanic Union, and it was obviously the duty of our government to endeavour to bind the Coast States to moderate duties on our four staples, with a view to ulterior purposes. This duty of the Executive branch has been discharged nobly as far as I am acquainted with the facts, and certainly as far as I have been the instrument, or rather the recipient, of its not in use/ dilucid instructions and expressed intentions.

The Central government of Germany, as soon as it is more properly organized will, doubtless, endeavour to negotiate a reciprocity Treaty of Navigation with the United States, similar to that which we contracted with Prussia. While I am anxious to see the Flags of all Nations assimilated with our own in Navigation intercourse with our Ports, I would not bestow the privileges of the indirect carrying where an inequality existed in Commerce, extent of Sea Board, &c. upon such Nations as are not generous in their Tariff of duties on the articles of our growth and produce, which their inhabitants require for consumption. I would, therefore, conclude no Treaty with Germany, permitting her to engage in the tri-angular Trade, unless she would agree not no higher or other import than 25 per cent. ad.val. should be imposed on our Tobacco. This would favor our staple to nearly as great a degree as the 70 cts Hanover and Oldenburg duty, as it would cause the cultivation of the Plant to cease in Germany. [I ought to have added that such ad. val. duty would tend to diminish the consumption of the fine Tobacco produced in the West. Indies, for which ours would be substituted]

I shall be prepared by the opening of the next session of Congress to show,

if I can procure the statements in an authentic form, that the States composing the Zollverein will have exported, for the year terminating on the 31st of August next, ten million dollars worth of their manufactures to the United States, while their consumption of raw articles produced in the United States, during the same period, will not have exceeded three million and a half dollars! The exports of the products of the seven Coast States to the United States, do not amount to $ 200.000 per annum, while the actual consumption of the products of the United States in those States, for the same period — since the election of our last Tariff too — amounts to not less than one million and a half dollars! — With this large balance of trade against them, the more important ones, animated by liberal sentiments, obligated themselves to admit our staples at a more nominal duty. [70 cents per 100lbs on Tobacco.] Why should not the Zollverein [whose duty on Tobacco is $3.35cts per 100lbs.] when united with the Coast States, with such an enormous balance of trade in its favor, be governed by a similar liberality.

I am well aware that efforts have been made, and by abler heads than mine, to create an impression at Washington that re-generated Germany — or the re-modelled Zollverein as respects Commerce — would open an immense market for our agricultural staples generally, and also for several descriptions of manufactures by the loom and the spindle. Let the country not be deceived by such statements, wherever their emanation or by whomsoever disseminated. Let the government not be diverted from the track, which duty to the governed requires it to follow, by the false opinions contained in the speech of a Prussian functionary, recently delivered at Berlin, and translated for and transmitted to the United States for circu-

lation and effect. — It is idle in the extreme — it is in fact downright nonsense — to suppose that Germany can benefit our industrial pursuits in any other manner, than by the consumption of four of our staples — viz: Cotton, Tobacco, Rice, and Whale-Oil; and a few other articles which are indispensable to the work-shops, and upon which it is not contemplated to levy any duty whatever. The existing impost in the Zollverein on Pot and Pearl Ashes is only 18 cents per 100 lbs.; on Rosin 12 cts. per 100 lbs.; on Quercitron 12 cts. per 100 lbs.; on Lead 18 cts per 100 lbs.; on Clover Seed 12 cts. per 100 lbs; on Flax and Rape Seed 3 cts. per 100 lbs. The rate has not been increased on either of the above articles since the Commercial Union was formed, nor will it be, trifling as it is, under a new Tariff for all Germany. — With respect to Bread-stuffs and Provisions generally, the most formidable rival that we shall find for the English market — for furnishing it with the annual demand occasioned by an insufficiency of yield in that realm — will be Germany, unless when crop failures are experienced. We ourselves, have had to import from Germany large quantities of Grain, to relieve our absolute wants. While I believe if the people [German] were properly fed, the production of the country on an average would not be more than adequate to the consumption, I, nevertheless believe that it would not be possible for us, under any system of duties, however liberal, which may be established by the new Union, to augment the consumption of Bread-stuffs and Provisions of our product in Germany. The Hanseatic Republics, immediately upon the Sea-Board, where there is no charge for over-land transportation, ordinarily consume but inconsiderable quantities of these articles, although they enter duty free, or at that which amounts to about the same practically — two-thirds of one per cent. ad valorem.

their Mercantile Marine engaged in Navigation with the United States, is, and will continue to be, in part supplied with them at our Ports. — The Zoll-verein duty on Becon, Lard, and cured Provisions is about $1.25 cts. per 100 lbs.; and on Wheat, Rye, Oats, &c. 12 cts per scheffel. (bushel) Whether this duty, (amounting to about 12 per cent. in the aggregate) be retained, modified, or abolished by the National government is a matter of but little importance to our country. I am disposed to believe, that without any application from us, the articles mentioned will be admitted free. — There are practical advantages, obtainable under good management, which it seems to me that we should endeavor to realize, instead of seeking for those of an imaginary character. We have it in our power to augment the consumption of Tobacco in Germany 40,000 or 50,000 Hhds. per annum: We *have* it in our power to increase the consumption of Rice, by weakening its formidable East-India competitor.* The exportation of Paddy from here to the North of Europe, on account of the length of the voyage was found not to be profitable, and a number of mills are now in the course of erection, on the Island, for cleaning the article. Under such circumstances it is of primary importance, to our growers of Rice, that Paddy should be introduced into the Ports of Germany, free of duty. — In benefitting the Tobacco-Planter we should benefit, by a fair division of Labor, every tiller of the soil in the Union, as well as our Commerce and Navigation: And it is a mistaken notion to suppose, that the empty sound of "Free Trade" in Foreign countries in other products not required, will satisfy our Agriculturists while the solitary article which could be favored to a great degree, in its consumption — on account of the peculiar fondness of the people for it — is burdened with an Import of from 50 to 100 per cent ad valorem.

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* Written under a belief that the Mecklenburg Treaty would not be ratified in time.

No. 1. A. D. Mann. Paris. ~~August 7~~ May 10 1869.

Coby (Private)

Circle 2 Sept. 48.

Private. — No. 1.

Paris, August 3. 1848.

Dear Sir; —

The day succeeding that of the termination of my official duties Mr. Bancroft returned to his post from the York exhibition, and I had two lengthened conversations with him upon the subject of a Treaty of Navigation and Commerce with Great-Britain.

In my opinion a mistake was committed in proposing to confer the privileges of our Coasting Trade upon the British Flag, and I so expressed myself to Mr. B. For this Trade Great-Britain has nothing to offer as an equivalent. No nation has the same extent of connected approachable Coast, the same number of eligible Ports, nor the same quantity of produce to move from one point to another within its limits as the United States. Our Sea-Board Navigation intercourse is vastly more valuable than that of Great-Britain, including her Colonies and Dependencies. Look at the immense and rapidly increasing Commerce between New-York and New-Orleans alone.

What constitutes our Coasting Trade? Under a stipulation conveying the right to engage in it to Great-Britain — unless a special reservation were made — vessels covered by the British Flag would doubtlessly, consider themselves entitled to visit our highest river Ports of Entry, with any cargo which they might find it profitable to carry from Philadelphia, Richmond, or Charleston. They could employ tug steamers to tow them, as they now do, from New-Orleans to Belize &

seem. In return Great-Britain could convey to us no internal navigation but that of the Thames, the Mersey, the Shannon, and the Clyde, which we already enjoy as far as it can be made profitable, or indeed as fully as we could under any Convention.

But it seems to me that there are other utterly insurmountable objections to contracting a Reciprocity Coasting Trade treaty with Great-Britain, or with any other power or state. Our domestic institutions, co-existent with the Constitution, would be greatly endangered by a procedure of this kind. It has occurred, and not unfrequently, that American vessels have clandestinely carried persons held to service from one Port in the Union to another, by which American citizens have been illicitly deprived of their rightful property. It is to be trusted that there are but comparatively few individuals who are disposed thus to commit acts of disgraceful injustice against their countrymen; but inconsiderable as they are in number they have nevertheless, unhappily, been instrumental in engendering sectional animosities of so violent a character as to occasionally cast a gloom over the apparently otherwise glorious future of our country. The British whether from a mistaken, sickly, philanthrophy, or from an inordinate desire to plant the germ of dissension among us, are all Abolitionists, as related to slavery in the United States. It consequently, requires no stretch of the imagination to perceive that they would avail of the Coasting Trade to gratify their inclinations, or to accomplish their unhallowed purposes. The instrument of our injury, if not our ruin, which we should in this manner create, could not be paralysed by any pecuniary benefits which we should realise. It

is scarcely necessary that I should make mention of the facilities that would be opened for establishing a system of espionage on all our interior proceedings.

A fair Reciprocity Treaty with Great-Britain — one based upon such principles as were discussed in the interview which I had with you just before my departure — could not eventuate otherwise than in making us the first maritime power of the earth — in building us up in fact, in less than a score of years, a commercial Navy larger than that of all the world beside. The authorisation of the privileges to our Flag, of the Foreign indirect carrying to and from Great-Britain, and to and from the British Colonies and Dependencies, for like privileges, (in carrying from all the world to our Ports in British bottoms — all nations being entitled under the Constitution to carry our products from our ports free from export duty) would almost certainly occasion such a result within the period designated. Although under such an arrangement we should ostensibly give as much as we should get, yet we should unquestionably turn what we get to a much better account than Great-Britain would turn that which we give. — In the first place we can build cheaper, durability considered, than Great-Britain or any other nation. This statement may astonish you, but I will establish its truthfulness at once by incontrovertible testimony. The Hanse-Towns are permitted by the Treaty concluded with them by Mr. Clay, to sail, in their intercourse with our Ports, the ships of the build of any country whatever. At this time one-sixth of the tonnage thus employed has been purchased from our citizens, while as few as

I am aware, not more than one or two vessels are owned in that state of British build, and but very few of the build of other countries of the North of Europe. — But our wonderful success in Navigation is mainly attributable to the unconquerable superiority of our mariners over those of all the world. The masters of our barks are not only excellently good sailors but they are also, as a class, in the highest degree trust-worthy and possessed of first rate qualifications for conducting commercial adventures. Hence we should be peculiarly benefitted by the tri-angular trade with Great-Britain. The American ship-owner, in nearly every instance, trusts confidingly, to the management of his Captain when his vessel is abroad. Foreign ship-owners, on the contrary, seldom leave any thing to the judgment or discretion of their Captains. They regard them as mere commanders, and control them by rigid instructions, whatever their destination. — One of our ships would make a voyage around the globe, and receive and discharge in the mean time a half dozen profitable cargoes at British Colonial Ports, in as little time as a British vessel would require for the performance of a voyage to Rio de Janeiro, and from thence home via New-Orleans.

But the most important consideration — a paramount one in my mind — with respect to securing the privileges of the indirect carrying to Great-Britain, is the influence that we should be enabled to exercise in crippling, in the most inoffensive manner imaginable, the British Military Marine, to so great a degree that we should be rendered physically more potent on the high seas than the

"proud ourselves." This distinction is very desirable, however, as acquiring power ourselves than as depriving a nation of a species of power which she might seek an occasion to employ, as friendly as our relations now are, at a distant subsequent period to our disadvantage.

You are aware that the declared motive for the advocacy, in Parliament, of a large Naval force, is the protection in home and foreign waters of the commercial Navigation: — The real motive, I am quite persuaded, is totally different, but it has not the temerity to truly unveil itself. Any diminution of the commercial Tonnage would likely, therefore, be accompanied by a corresponding diminution in the Military Tonnage. The British public has been informed recently that the steam Tonnage of the Royal War Marine amounts to more than that of the commercial Marine — or that armed Ton is supported to protect a carrying Ton!

There is scarcely a probability that the Navigation Laws will be modified before the middle of next session, and even then, in view of that which has transpired, I fear we shall find it exceedingly difficult to conclude such a Treaty as will enable us to participate in the indirect Trade. One of the witnesses — the most important — before the committee of the House of Lords stated that, "The Americans have no Colonial Trade to dispose of; — the only thing of value which they could give us is their Coasting Trade, which is very large indeed." It is most unfortunate that a belief has been occasioned that we would consent to divide this

trade;— a trade not less valuable than sacred to our people.

As I have been entrusted by the administration with important commercial negotiations, and as I desire in all the sincerity of my heart that it may be above reproach hereafter for having committed a solitary blunder in diplomacy, I conceived it to be my duty, thus freely and frankly to communicate my sentiments to you. It must be understood that I am incapable of cherishing or entertaining other than the kindest feelings for Mr. Bancroft. In the honest zeal of this patriotic representative to advance the best interests of the nation, nothing worse can be said of his success, than that he overshot the mark at which he aimed.

I have been here too short a time to submit to you any reflections upon the condition of France. In a few days I shall do so in connexion with the other States of Europe.

I have the honor to remain,
With Faithful Esteem,
Your Friend & obt. svt.
A. Loudley Mann.

Hon. James Buchanan.
Secretary of State.
Washington.

No. 1. A. D. Mann. Paris - 3 Aug. 1868.
Private -

Rec'd 2 Sept. 48.

Private. No. 2.

Paris, August 10, 1848.

Dear Sir; —

Paris was perhaps never more tranquil, more perfectly orderly, than it has been for the last fortnight. The dearly purchased quiet promises to be durable. Notwithstanding the gradual relaxation of military rule a sufficiency of vigor is still exercised to enforce implicit obedience to the sovereign power. The spirit by which the revolution was achieved has been crushed: The Republic has been wrested from the guidance of those who were merely instrumental in calling it into existence. None of the men of February, who drove Louis Philippe into exile, as related to the government of France, are any longer either heard or felt. In this remark, I do not wish it to be understood that I embrace Lamartine and his more rational colleagues.

In the National Assembly there are but two parties, neither of which however is yet fully organized. The more powerful at present, by 70 or 80 votes, is that which inclines to a republican form of government. The other is covertly for a restoration of the Throne. — The out-and-out communists do not number above 30. Proudhons wild project was supported by only a solitary member, except himself. The rights of property are consequently as secure under the most democratically constituted government on earth as they could possibly be under the most absolute monarch.

this fact speaks volumes in behalf of the *vox populi* system of conducting the affairs of the world. It will deserve royalty of another of the weapons upon which it relied for sustenance. ++

Lavaigne is a soldier by profession and by inclination but a republican in principle and in practice. If he be not an enlightened statesman, he is at least a true, practical patriot. He is animated by a laudable ambition to save France from anarchy or from oligarchy. He has scourged the communists into tacit submission while the monarchists regard him alike with awe and admiration. In the *émeute* of June it seems indeed that evil was permitted by that Power which superintends man's destiny in order that good might result from it. The prolific brains of the pair of illustrious fugitives, near the Court of St. James, planned the mechanism of the application of the match to the magazine, but in the destructive explosion they fortunately received incurable wounds:— In Lavaigne they behold an avowed enemy to their mischievous purposes — an enemy not less implacable in his hate than formidable in his strength. Eminence of reputation is often the creation of extraordinary emergencies: It is thus with the personage honoured by France as the bearer of her republican banner.

Although it may be profitable it is ever unpleasing to turn from a joyous present to speculate on the future. The Republic to-day is in the full tide of successful experiment." It is realizing the ardent hopes of its friends; it is falsifying the cherished predictions of its enemies. Lavaigne is emphatically the man of France, but were we to make the events of the last few

months a criterion by which to judge the future this popularity is too evanescent to merit other than a momentary consideration. But we should be careful not to contrast the nature of the esteem in which the ultimatum is held, with that which we beheld so enthusiastically displayed for the eloquent advocate, to the prejudice of the French people. The tenets of the one belong to earth, and constitute a part of the stern realities of life: those of the other are impracticable — existing only in the regions of fancy. While I believe, nolgrè all that has been said to the contrary, that a purer heart never throbbed in a Frenchmans bosom, particularly that of a functionary, than Lamartines, it is apparent to every eye that he created expectations which were utterly beyond the possibility of realization. — Lamartine promises nothing: His fame is based upon his performances. Lamartine like the "foolish man" built his house upon sand, but Ledru like the "wise man" has erected his upon a rock, and the gold of Potentates may descend to its roof and the tempests of evil factions rage against its walls, but it will not fall."

As I am quite persuaded that Lamartines errors are exclusively those of the head, it is likely that they will be forgiven if not forgotten, and if his judgment shall become properly tempered he may yet play a conspicuous part in the affairs of his country. He has recently had valuable lessons in the school of life, and evidences are not wanting that he is an "apt scholar." I sincerely hope that he will make himself as practical a statesman as I believe him to be a well-intentioned republican. Such talents as his, if judiciously exerted would greatly assist to enlarge the bounds of

political freedom. — It is stated upon good authority that Marrast is about to go abroad, and that Lamartine will succeed him to the Presidency of the National Assembly.

Thiers continues to play his old game. He battles exclusively for position, and its consequent emoluments and patronage. If he saw any chance of prostrating Cavaignac he would doubtlessly, exert his powerful talents to re-establish the Throne, in order to secure the premier-ship under the new Sovereign. As this is a forlorn hope for the present, he is prepared to support the government, provided the government will suffer him to become its acknowledged champion, and do service against the monarchists. — But Cavaignac, in my opinion, is sufficiently aware of the glaring imperfections of his character — politically and morally — to be influenced, resolutely, to withhold from him his confidence. He will prefer to trust Lamartine with his forbles, to trusting Thiers with his vices. It is just as certain that the latter will not co-operate with the former as that two Lions can never inhabit the same forest. I consider therefore, that it is more than probable that the party lines will be strictly drawn within the next month, and that Thiers will be found at the head of the most unprincipled opposition to the Cavaignac government that ever disgraced a civilized country. The contest for the mastery will be terrific to the votaries of liberty, and were their cause less just, even the stoutest heart might despair. Thiers will be backed by the purse of the Princes and Nobility of every nation, and with millions of francs at his disposal it is idle to suppose that he will not be

able to command men. The publication of La Presse was resumed two days since, and in the unscrupulous Girardin he will find an able co-laborer.

France can never enjoy prosperity, under any form of government, until she totally abandons her absurd and demoralizing commercial system. She possesses extraordinary resources, the development of which, under judicious legislation, would ensure to her in a few years, stability of character. — But at a future period I will take up this subject, and lay before you such facts and figures as I may be successful in collecting.

The overwhelming defeats of Charles Albert in Lombardy, have occasioned fresh alarms that a general war is inevitable. I view the subject in a different light. German and British French mediation, will now be employed, and successfully if I am not much mistaken, for terminating hostilities between the belligerents. Sardinia has no intention of engaging in an armed intervention, if such a procedure can be honorably avoided. The mission of Germany in her re-construction, if official declarations are worth any thing, is that of peace. The Circular of Nesselrode to Russian Agents in Germany, defines the policy of that colossal power anew, with respect to her pacific purposes, if she be let alone. Great-Britain is more desirous than ever for the establishment of tranquility on the Continent. — Nothing less than re-union, on some terms or other, particularly in the face of the re-union of Germany, will produce contentment among the Italians. Pity that so odious a Prince as

the King of Sardinia should have made the cause of Italy his own cause. He fights alone for the attainment of additional power while the Italians fight for nationality. Germany fights for Schleswig and is preparing to battle if necessary, with Holland for Limburg. Italy is actuated by the same spirit in shedding her blood to secure the restoration of Lombardy and Venice.

The Ministry of the German Provisional Government has been completed. An old and former intimate friend of mine is at the head of the Department of Commerce: He is fully sensible of the importance of cultivating close commercial relations with the United States. I wish I were near him now in an official capacity, although I believe our interests are already well secured in Germany.

In view of the probable union of Italy, would it not be well to make an effort to bind several Italian to low duties, as we have done Hanover &c.?

Germany will soon take her stand at the head of the nations of Europe. She is at least practically a sovereign power. The Administrator might have selected abler Ministers but he has acted with singular discretion in choosing them from different sections of the country, so as to harmonize as far as possible all interests. — Lord Bowley has been sent by the British government to Frankfort to watch over British interests, but he is not accredited, as I am informed, to the Provisional Government. Maj. Donelson was

Moniteur August 10.

Les gouvernemens de la France et de l'Angleterre se sont définitivement entendus pour arrêter l'effusion du sang humain, pour offrir leur médiation commune aux parties belligérantes en Italie. C'est un fait accompli.

Un courrier de Londres a apporté hier à Paris l'adhésion du cabinet anglais aux bases de la médiation, déjà adoptées par le Gouvernement de la République.

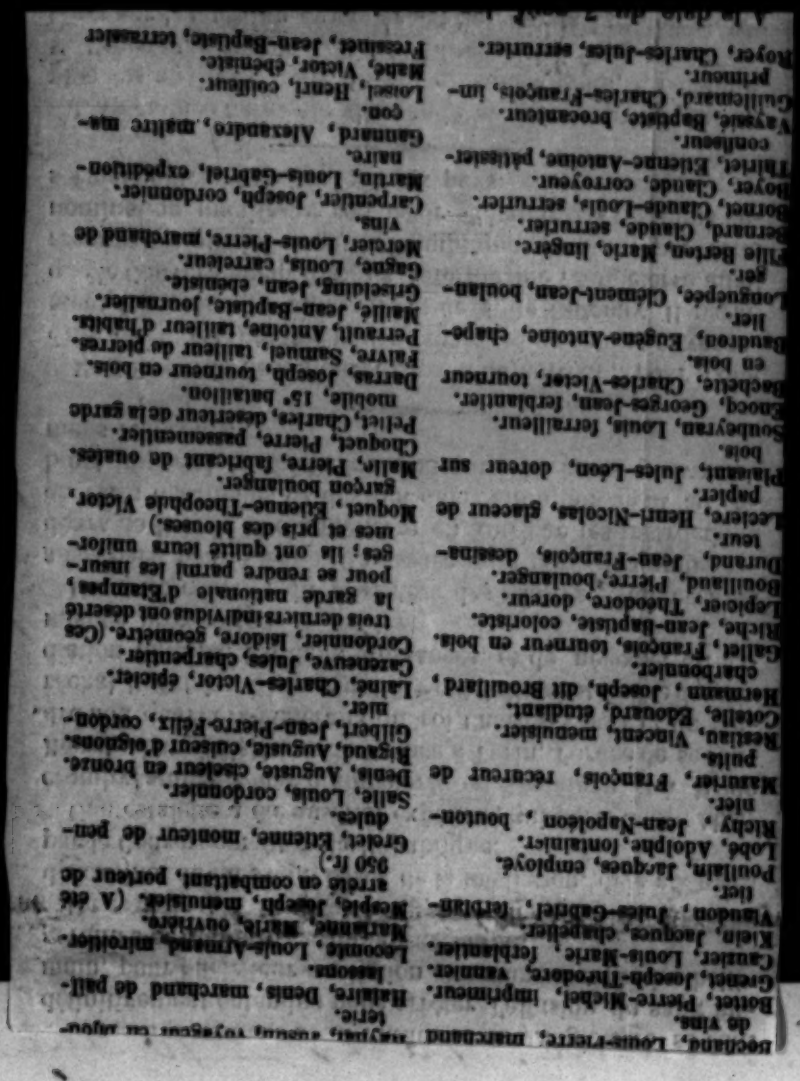
Une estafette a été aussitôt expédiée, qui porte à lord Abercromby, ambassadeur d'Angleterre en Sardaigne, et à M. de Reizet, chargé d'affaires de France à Turin, l'ordre de se rendre aux quartiers-généraux du roi Charles-Albert et du maréchal Radetzky, de leur notifier officiellement l'offre de médiation faite par les deux puissances, et de négocier un armistice provisoire.

Un autre courrier du ministère des affaires étrangères est aussi parti pour Vienne. On assure qu'il porte aux ambassadeurs de France et d'Angleterre en Autriche les instructions en vertu desquelles ils devront offrir simultanément au cabinet impérial la médiation commune de leurs gouvernemens respectifs.

M. Gustave de Beaumont est parti aujourd'hui pour Londres, où il est nommé envoyé extraordinaire du Gouvernement français, en remplacement de M. de Tallenay. Il paraît que le Gouvernement français, informé que l'Angleterre allait reconnaître officiellement la République, a voulu, par cette nomination, manifester son désir d'établir des relations désormais officielles entre les deux pays.

L'Assemblée nationale allemande se préoccupe de plus en plus des affaires d'Italie. Il y a quelques jours, un député, M. Venedey, a annoncé qu'il se proposait d'interpeller le cabinet sur la question de savoir s'il ne comptait pas employer tous les moyens en son pouvoir pour arrêter la guerre et amener une paix honorable entre l'Autriche et l'Italie. Le ministre des affaires étrangères par intérim, M. de Lohmerling, a demandé quelques jours pour répondre.

Les opinions en Allemagne sont très divisées sur ce point. Vous rencontrez, dit un journal anglais auquel nous empruntons ces détails, vous rencontrez de savans professeurs qui vous parlent des droits de l'Empire germanique sur une partie de la Lombardie, des commerçans redoutant pour le commerce allemand de Nuremberg, Munich, Stuttgart, etc., les conséquences de l'indépendance italienne. La plupart des Autrichiens déclarent que la ville de Trieste est perdue si Venise cesse d'appartenir à l'Autriche; mais la masse du public allemand est assez raisonnable pour comprendre que toute paix qui ne donnerait pas à l'Italie un gouvernement purement italien impliquerait la perpétuation de la haine et de la guerre entre ces deux peuples.



Frankfort for a few days, soon after I left there. — Baron von ... will receive it is confidently asserted, the appointment of ... Minister to Washington. Upon his arrival, which may ... delayed for some months, our Minister at Berlin will proceed ... if not before, be removed to Frankfort.

You will receive accounts that daring attempts have ... made upon the life of Thiers. They are entitled to no ... credit whatever, for they have not the slightest foundation in ... truth. It is believed that they originated with the clique ... the "Constitutionnel" — for the benefit of Thiers.

In conclusion I feel warranted in assuring you that ... ere is but one step from Barbarism to the re-establishment of ... Throne. Should this patriot chief fall, or lose the prestige ... his character, the Republic would immediately cease to exist.

The day after my arrival I called at the Lega... and left a copy of the "Declaration." But I have not ... met with Mr. Rush.

As Ever, Sincerely Your Friend,

A. Dudley Mann.

Hon. James Buchanan.
Secretary of State.
Washington.

No. 2. A. D. Mann. Paris — 10 aug. 1868

Private —

2 Sept.
with Mr. Mann's No. 3. 17 Aug. 1848.

(Translation.)

Manifesto of the Prince of Leiningen, the President of the Ministry of the Germanic Union.

Every nation has an indisputable right, under certain circumstances, of undertaking reforms in its internal affairs, even by forcible means, that is to say, through the medium of revolution.

It is not the object of these lines to discuss what was the foundation of civil and religious liberty, and what those circumstances are, or when the moment has arrived in which a nation ought to have recourse to such a right (forcible means); or whether those circumstances occurred, and whether that moment had arrived for Germany, when a short time since she thought proper to exercise that right. The fact that such an event has actually occurred is sufficient. The object of the German revolution was the restoration of one united Germany. The great majority of the nation having in the most unequivocal manner announced this its will, by a total or partial overthrow of the then existing order of things, it became, and necessarily must be, the grand object to regulate and establish on a firm basis what was already attained, and so far as it was exclusively ideal or theoretical, to

carry it into practical effect. Thus, as the revolution was an outburst of the collective will of the nation, so consequently, the latter must also exclusively reserve to itself the restoration of the new order of things. The nation therefore committed its full power to a National Assembly elected by itself. Inasmuch, as the governments of the individual States – that is to say, the Princes with their States assemblies – allowed the elections to this constituent Diet to take place in the hitherto recognised legal manner, they de facto recognised the revolution.

It became then the mission of the thus elected Imperial Assembly to carry into effect the expression of the national will – that is to say, to establish freedom and unity on the basis of a new order of things. The somewhat impatient delegates at length beheld the ripening of the first fruits on the 28th of June – the Imperial Diet appointed and undoubtedly with the greatest consistency in the exercise of its own plenary power an Administrator of the Empire, with a central government. The German confederation was dissolved, and resigned its power into the hands of imperial authority. Truly a great event. Not only was a German Empire decreed in place of the hitherto existing confederation of states, but the German nation is hereby placed in a position to testify

by facts whether it really desires true freedom, or whether it has suffered itself to be led by a small band of demagogues in mournful imitation of the course pursued in a neighboring state.

Furthermore, and most especially the nation must also decide whether it really desires one united and powerful Germany. It is of the utmost importance that it should answer this question to its own satisfaction, and thereupon lay down its will. As there is only one kind of real liberty which rests on law and order, so there is but one sort of unity — matter of fact union of all the component parts of a whole, and that, too, in such a manner as to avert the possibility of any dispute or contest between the whole and the parts. If any other course be pursued, not concord or unity, but discord and division will be established. If the German nation, therefore, desires unity, it must not only will the means thereto, but also adopt the consequences thereof. There must be no more opposition of Bavarian, Prussian, Saxon, or any other interests to those of Germany, — the former must be absorbed in the latter. Jealousy between individual states, revilings of the northern by the southern parts of the empire, or vice versa, are therefore mischievous absurdities. Opposition or disobedience to the Imperial authority or the National Assembly, however, is a

crime against the majesty of the nation itself - treason to the fatherland - which must be speedily followed by condign punishment. Dynastic interests so far as they therefer to the Imperial power, cannot, if the nation desires unity, be taken into consideration, for the princes are as much called upon to conform to that will as any other German. If, therefore, the nation would convert words into deeds it must admonish the Imperial power - that is to say, the National Assembly and the Central Government - to adopt with rapidity and decision, and without regard to collateral interests all such measures as correspond with the object of restoring a free and united Germany and moreover lend its own hearty support in aid of this work. The convocation of the plenipotentiaries of the individual governments, if their object were any other, than in some degree to facilitate the conventional transition from the old to the new order of things, would be in the highest degree superfluous and even injurious. else they, perchance to negociate with the Imperial power. In that case the National Assembly must annul its own decisions and the power and influence of the Imperial government would be stifled in their birth. If the nation however, now that it is called upon to decide, is sensible that its Bavarian, or Hannoverian or Prussian or other reminiscences and sympathies, besides many collateral and co-existent interests, are too preponderant to be sacrificed to Ger-

man unity – if the old spirit of discord and jealousy is still too powerfully at work – if the jealousy between race and race, between north and south, is still too strongly felt – well, then, let the nation convince itself of the fact, return to the old federal system, leave the individual States to constitute themselves, recall the General Constituent Assembly and dismiss both Imperial Administrator and Imperial Government. Such a confederation in itself does not exclude the possibility of restoring, if not a free and united Germany, at all events a body of free German nations, commanding in their collective alliance the respect of foreign Powers. But to construct a new empire, and at the same time formally to organise an inevitable contest for the supreme sovereignty between the individual States – to sow discension instead of power, to establish an empire which would combine in itself all the defects of the old one in a far greater degree, because now, not only would Princes as in former times, contest the authority of the Emperor, and foment disputes among themselves, but State assemblies would clash with the Imperial Parliament, State assemblies with other State assemblies, associations with other associations, clubs with clubs, that would indeed be a sad result of a revolution which has been undertaken at the cost of great sacrifices and considerable risks for the purpose of restoring a free and united Germany. The nation must ponder

on this question the more seriously, inasmuch as it might otherwise effect the most undesirable consummation of rendering itself ridiculous for ever, as by trumpeting to the world German unity and German powerfulness as in reality it would present a spectacle directly the reverse. It is the duty of the nation to come to a clear and definite understanding respecting its will. The decision rests with the nation alone. We, however, every one in the present day, whether invited or uninvited, deems it his duty to express his opinions, the writer of these lines will hardly be refused permission to do the same. He entertains the conviction that the German nation must now advance on the beaten track in order to present an united and powerful Germany in the most striking contrast to a dismembered and weak federal State. Duty and honour demand, interest and prudence suggest such a course.

To retrograde to a confederation of States, or to establish a weak Federal State by a powerfully impressed independence of the individual States, would only create a mournful period of transition to fresh catastrophes and new revolutions. Great ideas, such as have now gained possession of the German mind, although they may once more slumber for a time, will break out afresh notwithstanding, with renewed force. The danger of harbouring in Germany revolutionary movements, or even a civil war for a series of years, is far too

great, not only to our own country, but to Europe — nay, to civilisation itself — not to render imperative every effort to avert so dire a calamity. It is the serious duty of the Imperial power — that is to say, of the Imperial Government and the National Assembly, supported by the national will — to devote itself with courage and decision to the fulfilment of this great mission. The Imperial power must so far as it may be necessary, absorb in itself the sovereignty of the individual States, it must unremittingly undertake the thereto requisite organisation of Germany, it must, whilst establishing the organisation of the Imperial government, reduce that of the individual States. A perfectly established central State, in which, again, other perfectly established States of larger or smaller size, were encased, would be virtually a monstrosity, and at the same time so expensive, that the nation would not tolerate it. Experience, too, would soon teach us that sovereignty is not divisible. The Imperial power must, above all, abolish, as speedily as possible, the diplomatic intercourse of the individual States at home and abroad and concentrate it in its own hands. This is a vital question. It will and must equally honour and equally represent the interests of every part of Germany. It must appropriate the unconditional disposal of the national forces, and take such measures respecting them as it may deem advisable. It must advance the customs lines

to the frontiers of Germany. It must not allow the governments or the constituent State assemblies dependent on it to occupy themselves with matters that appertain to the National Assembly alone.

"If, however, obedience to the Central Power be refused, punishment must follow with all speed. It must summon to its bar, and call to a strict account, all disobedient ministers, generals, or other public functionaries. It must dispolve State assemblies and army divisions, if they oppose its commands. Only in this way will the Imperial power be able to carry into effect the will of the nation to restore a free and united Germany - supposing, of course, that such is really its will - only in this way will it obtain the requisite power for the re-establishment of order, the restoration of tranquillity, and at the same time of progress at home, only in this way will it succeed in the satisfactory solution of those social questions, which neither the eloquence of oratory nor the thunders of artillery are henceforth in a position to dispose of in perpetuity. Thus finally, would Germany be able to assume an attitude with regard to foreign countries which would command their respect, without as hitherto, irritating them by empty menaces. Any other course which the new Imperial power might pursue must either lead to a weak and disunited Germany (because the seeds of discord would be again deposited in the soil) or gradually bring

back Germany to the old confederation of States. "It would really be unworthy of a great nation and its representative to deceive itself – to say one thing and to will another. Choose therefore!"

(Signed) . F. Carl (Prince of Leiningen).

Rec'd 2 Sept. 48.

Private. No. 3.

Paris, August 17, 1848.

Dear Sir; —

I transmit herewith a translated copy of the Manifesto of the President of the German Council. This document may be regarded as the embodiment of the sentiments of the Provisional Government upon the subjects which it discusses with so much force. It is sufficiently explicit to be comprehended by the most stupid Sovereign or the most deluded Communist. — The Prince of Leiningen, as you are perhaps aware, is one of the Duchess of Kent by her first marriage, and, consequently, half brother of the Queen of England. He resided at Munich during my sojourn there, where he zealously espoused the cause of the people and became exceedingly popular. He subsequently published a work, having for its object the political regeneration of Germany — abounding with sound advice to the Reigning Houses — which was received by the advocates of reform with marked manifestations of favor.

It is quite confidently believed that peace is almost as good as re-established in the Lombardo-Venetian Provinces, and that there is also a tolerably good prospect for a speedy adjustment of the Schleswig affair. The ac-

counts, relative to the negotiations, are, in both cases, so multifarious and contradictory that a correct opinion cannot be formed of the probable terms of the settlement either in the one or the other. It is certain that nothing short of perfect re-union to their father-land, whatever the conditions they may be forced to accept, will satisfy either the Italians or the Germans. Dissertations upon Vattel and Pufendorff, and quotations of the stipulations of recognized European Law, have no influence on the minds of people of the same race, who desire to be embraced in a national brotherhood.

The Emperor of Austria has at last summoned sufficient courage to return to Vienna. The monetary affairs of his Empire are in a deplorable condition, while his credit cannot command money on any terms. It is reported that the Emperor of Russia has advanced him a considerable sum. — I incline to the belief that his Imperial Majesty will abdicate at an early day, if the Orleans family continue in exile.

Tranquility happily remains undisturbed throughout France. New <u>emeutes</u> are apprehended, but, so far as I am able to judge, without sufficient cause. Persons, apparently well informed, assert in the most positive terms that the Republic cannot fail to be annihilated in less than a month. Whether this occurs or not, there

is no likelihood that there will be any more fighting in the streets, — any more barricades. The army, at present, is all-powerful and its strength is duly acknowledged and feared by such factions as are disposed to be insurrectionary: — But it is asserted that the life of Cavaignac is in eminent danger and that he is fully aware of the fact. It is thought by assassins. Monarchists would doubtlessly, pay any price for it, because it is the only barrier to the re-construction of the Throne, in the existing state of things. As goes Cavaignac so goes the Republic: There is nothing beyond him but Royalty. While he lives, and retains his position order will prevail. The revolution which succeeds his displacement will be a bloodless one. There will scarcely be a sword unsheathed in defence of the Republic.

There, it is stated, entertains a preference for Louis Napoleon as Sovereign. The name of that Prince has been adroitly kept before the public eye for the last ten days: It is placarded at every street corner in large letters. No allusion is made to the pretensions of the Prince, but the "able works" which he has written, in connexion with the glory of France, are commended to the perusal of the patriotic, when in reality he is not the author of a single volume that is readable. But

Thiers was never more insincere — insincere as he always is — than when he undertakes to convey an impression to his countrymen that Louis Napoleon is his favorite. He is unscrupulously for the House of Orleans — its paid spy and intriguer — under an express understanding that in the event of its restoration, he is to be entrusted with the <u>portefeuille</u> for Foreign Affairs, and perhaps appointed to the Presidency of the Council. He uses, however, the name of Louis <u>Napoleon</u> in order to avail of the charm which it possesses, as a mean of exciting the multitude to overthrow the Cavaignac government.

It must be confessed that there are alarming signs in the horizon of political freedom in France. — I have occasionally employed myself recently, in endeavoring to ascertain something of the actual state of sentiment with reference to the extinction placed upon the Republic, and I am convinced to my great chagrin that an over-whelming majority of the people of France are, at this time, in favor of the re-establishment of an oligarchical form of government! The late Provincial Elections have all tended in that direction. — The manufacturing operatives are clamorous, not for a well defined Republic, but a legalized system of Communism, to be administered by Louis Blanc or Ledru Rollin, while the laboring agriculturalists, frightened lest a reenactment

of such events as those of June may transpire, with singular unanimity, want a King for their ruler. — In this Metropolis I make it a part of my daily avocation to interchange opinions with the shop-keepers, hotel-keepers, master mechanics, hack-men, porters &c., and I have rarely met with one of either class who has not shrugged his shoulders, and thrown his face into a curious contortion, when I, apparently in an incidental manner, spoke of the blessings which would be derived by the people from the Republic. — Frenchmen are not capable of making self-sacrifices for the attainment of a general good, particularly if it be not immediate and of a pecuniary nature; and the losses which have been experienced in the value of property, together with the ruinous prostration of trade, have operated detrimentally to republican principles. It would be strange if it were otherwise, for France, as a nation, is assuredly the most avaricious one in Christendom. **

It is understood that the Committee on the Constitution will make their Report next Monday, and that the debate upon it will be commenced the Monday following, — the 28th instant. The election of President by universal suffrage, was advocated by Lamartine and carried. If the Report be adopted the chances for the preservation of the Republic will be vastly increased; because France will then have a sheet-anchor upon which to rely, instead of a

solitary legislative department, whose members are influenced by their interests, passions and prejudices — and many of whom are at all times prepared to sell their constituents to the highest bidder. — But the National Assembly I fear will not act in good faith upon the Report. The incendiaries will discuss, and propose amendments to it, until they finally succeed in having it rejected altogether. — What then? Will Bavaria prorogue them? This is precisely what they most wish, because they could then proclaim a Dictator, and realize their fondest hopes in his fall. Moreover, the new elections, should they be ordered would result most likely, from the increased instability of the Republic, in the return of four-fifths of the members, committed to favor a monarchy.

It pains me to communicate such opinions and facts, as some of the foregoing to you; but however I may express myself here to the friends of rational liberty in order to stimulate them to persevere, to yourself I will speak the truth fully. — state the case fairly, according to my own understanding of it.

I have this moment received news that the entire Ministry at Schwerin resigned a few days ago. — That of Bavaria has also handed in its resignation. It is also rumored that the King of Wurtemburg has resolved to abdicate. In Germany there is but little

left to any potentate but a powerless and unmeaning Crown. In a word Courts are but mere mockeries,— mere pantomimic shows.

I wish that the Frankfort Cabinet in the plenitude of its new power, may not undertake more than it can properly accomplish. Its object is a laudable one in wresting power from sovereigns, but I fear that it is not sufficiently impressed with the magnitude of the danger attendant upon consolidation.

Faithfully your Friend.

A. Dudley Mann.

Hon. James Buchanan.
Secretary of State.
Washington.

No 3. A. D. Mann. Paris – 17 Aug. 1868

Private –

Recd. 11 Sept. 48.

Private. No. 4.

Paris, August 24, 1848.

Dear Sir; —

Less and less brightly shines the blaze of Liberty in France: More and more terrific becomes the aspect of the monarchical cloud which is suspended over the Republic. — From present indications nothing short of a super-natural agency can prevent the re-construction of the Throne.

The revelations attendant upon the conspiracies of May and June, so far as the official investigation has been communicated to the public, have occasioned an additional shock to all orderly and well-intentioned citizens, and contributed to render the revolution and its fruits exceedingly unpopular. The plot of the insurgents to pillage and burn the city, rather than fail in their desperate purposes, has created a feeling of insecurity, which, with all the confidence that is placed in Cavaignac, it will be difficult to allay; for it is argued that any disaffection in the military could not result otherwise than in the consummation of the designs of the conspirators. But such apprehensions are groundless, in my opinion, notwithstanding the numerous rumors daily circulated of disaffection in the different corps of the army.

Lamartine against whom interested knaves created suspicions, nobly supports his high character for in-

tegrity: He has passed through the fiery furnace unscathed. And Ledru Rollin too, notwithstanding the excessive virulence of his enemies — as matters now stand — will occupy a higher place in public esteem than before the inquiry commenced. He has unquestionably been more sinned against than sinning. But I send you the Report as far as it has been published so as to enable you to judge for yourself.

Cavaignac continues to sustain his exalted reputation. He is, you may be assured, a very superior man — not less sincere and frank than magnanimous and upright. Considering that he was "called in the camp" he possesses rare qualifications for the highest civic employments. Although not what would be regarded, in the strictest sense of the term, a finished orator, he nevertheless speaks effectively, fluently, gracefully. When you look upon his bearing in debate you imagine that you behold the patriot who could throw, like our own Washington, a proffered sceptre indignantly from him, and a soldier who could have stood in the pass with Leonidas. He impresses you as the personification of Truth.

Not the least part of the grandeur of Cavaignac's character consists in the entire freedom from concealment of his principles and his policy, — an inestimable virtue in a public personage to whatever country he belongs. — You will find a translated copy of his speech of Monday (Aug. 21) in the papers, but I prefer to give you an extract

from the more important portion of it, in the precise, and correct sense in which it was delivered. "It is not necessary" said he "that I should look elsewhere than in the history of my own country, for names rendered immortal by "war — while statesmen who had devoted their valuable lives to "the cause of peace terminated their career in obscurity, but "in the delightful tranquility which they were instrumental "in establishing. I have as high a degree of veneration "for those of the latter class, as for those of the former. If "we emulate civilians more and warriors less, we shall unquestionably succeed better in disseminating, and imbuing "the minds of our countrymen properly with, salutary re"publican doctrines. Should I therefore, in the line "of policy, which I deem it imperative upon me to follow, "to perpetuate peace in France, — a peace honorable and in "all respects worthy of a Republic — be successful, I conceive that I shall have performed the most important service in my power, not only to our common country but to "civilization and humanity. If, however my purposes "should be thwarted; if at a future period I should be "compelled by dire necessity to enter this hall, and to demand, from this tribune, your concurrence in the commencement of hostilities against a foreign foe; you may "readily believe that I would experience no embarrassment "in resuming the profession for which I was educated and "the habits to which I have been accustomed through life.

"Be assured that which necessity requires — when the honor
"of France demands — I will be prepared to again grasp the
"sword, however much I may have preferred its remaining
"in its scabbard. Until such an occasion is presented
"I shall remain steadfast in my resolution to resist all acts
"calculated to retard the prosperity of the Republic, or sully
"its reputation as a disturber of the general peace of Europe."

This speech was delivered on the Italian question.
Yesterday in a few remarks which he made from the tri-
bune, he took occasion to state that: "Though there may
"have been abler Ministers in France, never, at any time,
"was there a more limited government than that, which
"directs the affairs of the Republic."

In the face of such lofty sentiments as the forego-
ing, and the statements accompanying them, I will not yet
despair of the preservation of the Republic. — The peace
of Europe is no longer in danger. The question is
settled by the judicious counsels which have prevailed
with the European administration. — Indeed, a gen-
al war, in the depressed condition of the finances of the
states of Europe, is an obsolete idea.

The publication of four incendiary newspapers
has been suppressed during the present week, but with-
out causing any sensation. In fact Girardin and
the clique of the "Constitutionnel", perceive "the hand-wri-
ting on the wall," and depart themselves accordingly.

Gen. Lefloch has been appointed to represent this government at the Court of St. Petersburg, as Minister Plenipotentiary. It is understood that the Czar will send a full Minister, instead of the Charge as was the case during the latter part of the reign of the ex-King.

Germany has appointed most of her diplomatic functionaries. Baron von Rahmer the celebrated historian who wrote a clever work on the United States, and whom you must have met with at Washington, is accredited to this republic: The appointment for the United States is not yet announced.

I enclose a slip containing the provisions of the Bill just introduced in Parliament by the government for the modification of the Navigation Laws. It will be seen that it is not intended that the Coasting trade shall be divided with any country. The bill removes every hindrance to the contracting of such reciprocity treaties as may be entered into by Great-Britain. It will not be acted on, of course, until the next session.

The Boundary Bill, which I prepared a couple of years since for Mr. Campbell of New-York, if it had passed would not have drawn exceeding $100,000 from the treasury. It conformed very much to the Report which you subsequently transmitted to Congress upon the Boundary question. — I gave the original copy to a friend at Frankfort, a member of the Assembly, and I believe that it is

to be taken as the model of the German system. — I observe that for the maintenance of the British Consular establishment Parliament has appropriated, a few days since, the sum of £120,180 (sterling) for this year.

Faithfully your Friend.

A. Dudley Mann.

Hon: James Buchanan.
Secretary of State.
Washington.

No. 4. (Private) A. D. Mann. Paris — 26 Aug.

l'Hôtel-de-Ville all passed pacifically, and Blanqui's Club turned out to be in a minority. I cannot say exactly what members of the Provisional Government were proscribed by the Clubs. I only heard cried—'Not all the members of the Provisional Government.' Cabet spoke wisely, and confined himself to demanding the adjournment of the elections. Blanqui's Club required an immediate deliberation. Cabet opposed it, and had a great ascendancy. In my firm conviction the masses of 100,000 men obeyed the delegates of the Luxembourg. I do not believe I ought to say what man placed the delegates in movement, but being desirous to know how it was that such a great number of men could be convoked, I was told—'During all the night we received little notes.' The government had not a soldier in Paris; to have called in any would have caused an immediate *émeute*. After March the National Guard, greatly affected by the danger which Paris had run, earnestly demanded the entrance of troops into the capital.

"A strong dissension arose in the government with respect to the adjournment of the elections. The moderate party would not consent to it, the other considered it indispensable. It was resolved on, but for a very short period.

"The second demonstration in April had its pretext and reason. Its pretext was the nomination of a Captain of the Staff—its reason the overthrow of the Provisional Government. The Minister of the Interior was to be reserved, but he declared that he refused the proposition with energy. That occurred on the 15th April. M. de Lamartine then had communications with Blanqui, and he assured us that he did not intend to overthrow the Provisional Government. The national guard was called out, and its bearing was so imposing that the *émeute* dared not show itself. The result o. the demonstration was pacific. On the whole the Red Republique was always threatening, and desired to overthrow all. Everything came from the Luxembourg. As I only express an opinion, I believe I can say that the flag of revolt was borne in the name of Louis Blanc, Ledru Rollin, Flocon and Albert. But I declare that some of then protested energetically against the accusation. M. Ledru Rollin, did so, and so in particular did M. Flocon, who expressed himself with great indignation.

"The three dissensions in the government seem to me one of the causes which may have helped to maintain a government until the meeting of the National Assembly; the socialists feeling assured so long as Louis Blanc and Albert formed part of the government; the Red Republicans being satisfied with M. Ledru Rollin and M. Flocon; the bourgeoisie with M. Arago, M. Lamartine and M. Marie. But the danger came when the Assembly met. In my opinion, the fusion as I have often said was a misfortune."

M. Marie next entered into some details with respect to the order for the arrest of Blanqui, Flotte and Lacambre, and the fête for the distribution of flags. He complained that the police completely failed to the Provisional Government and the Executive Commission, and said that that was the great cause of the insufficient measures that were taken.

M. Marie stated that the report of the Executive Commission gave an exact account of the affairs of the 15th of May, and he entered into similar details to those given by M. Arago. He added that they were obliged to make their own police, in order not to be deceived. He said that Caussidière neither went to the Executive Commission nor sent any one. First of all, the clubs did not intend to take part in the demonstration; but, in the night, the Club des Droits de l'Homme, the most dangerous of all, and the other clubs decided that they would descend into the street. A report of M. Caussidière, nevertheless, set forth that the demonstration would be pacific, and that Blanqui would be closely watched.

The witness recommended the committee not to place entire confidence in the information of the police with respect to the clubs, it being without value, and often without sincerity.

With reference to the insurrection of June, M. Marie said that, on the 22d of that month, he was informed that 300 or 400 workmen desired to speak to him. He refused to receive them, but admitted five delegates, among whom was Pujol, whom he recognised as having invaded the National Assembly on the 15th of May in consequence of which he refused to allow him to speak. Pujol, therefore, told the other delegates not to speak. M. Marie then said to them, "You are true workmen; speak to me, then! Do you require the permission of Pujol? Aye you his slaves?" &c. The delegates then complained that the decree relative to the national workshops would cause the death of the workmen, and they threatened to assassinate him. The ministers having assembled in council, M. Marie gave the names of the five delegates to the Minister of the Interior, and ordered that they should be arrested. Fifty-six delegates of the Luxembourg were assembled in the Jardin des Plantes, and he ordered their arrest also; but not one was taken, although they walked about publicly. At a council in the evening, having demanded if the arrests had been effected, the Minister of the Interior answered that the addresses of the men were not known. Great agitation prevailing among the workmen, and a column of workmen having threatened to prevent another column from starting for Angers, M. Marie wrote in the evening to the Minister of War: "The day and evening have been very much agitated; that causes me disquietude with respect to to-morrow. Take all your measures. I am told that at six o'clock to-morrow a great number of workmen will assemble on the Place du Panthéon. Send two regiments of infantry and one of cavalry to the Luxembourg." The general was therefore warned, and the next day he was was invested with the general command. "I believe on my soul and conscience," said M. Marie, "that in these sad circumstances the Executive Commission did its duty." M. Marie proceeded to say that M. Barthelemy-Saint-Hilaire had said that he had received a police report setting forth the facts, and had communicated it to the Minister of War. General Cavaignac thought that it was necessary to meet at the Assembly; M. Arago thought that the barricades ought to be destroyed as soon as an attempt should be made to raise them. The system of General Cavaignac was to concentrate the troops at the Assembly, and from thence direct them in masses against the barricades. "That," said M. Marie, "was not my opinion, but I gave way; I came to the Assembly with M. Pagnerre. We went to the 11th arrondissement and asked if the rappel had been everywhere beaten. The orders we gave were executed. All powers, I repeat, were placed in the hands of General Cavaignac."

With respect to the ateliers nationaux M. Marie said that after the revolution almost all the shops were closed, and the workmen were without work and without bread. The bad workmen did violence to the good. An organisation was necessary. The mayors of Paris were assembled under the presidency of M. Garnier-Pagès. Emile Thomas was heard and his system was unanimously adopted. It was necessary to centralise the alarming mass of workmen by registering the unemployed and giving them work. It was simply, he said, organised alms-giving. At first conditions of admission were scrupulously exacted; but they were soon not observed. At first M. Emile Thomas only enregistered provisionally in order to economise the money of the State. "It was false," said M. Marie, "that the ateliers nationaux were considered as an army destined to exercise a pression on the National Assembly. Emile Thomas, he added, was in ardent hostility to Louis Blanc. The ateliers were hostile to the delegates of the Luxembourg: so much so that they only had from 5,000 to 6,000 combatants in the journées of June. It was the clubs and the 12th arrondissement, M. Marie said, that did all."

M. GOUDCHAUX.

(As information.)

I sent an inspector to verify the accounts of the National Workshops: but that proceeding led to no result, not even to the proofs of the vicious character of their organisation.

I give here my impressions, and nothing more. I declare that if facts were demanded. I have not a word to say to the Committee. The course of the old government had convinced us that its fall was inevitable. Some days before the revolution, some persons met at my house, and we named a Provisional Government. We endeavoured to keep out of that government M. Louis Blanc above all, and even M. Ledru-Rollin.

It appeared to us that wages were not well distributed That question had occupied my attention since 1830. But the idea which occurred to me was not the object of the meditations of all my friends. However, meetings took place, to which M. Louis Blanc came, and I was charged to argue against him. His doctrine was pure communism—the destruction of property. Our difference of views was so decided, that it was evidently impossible to retain both of us in the same government. A vote was come to: M. Louis Blanc had two supporters, and I all the rest. The system put forward by me was drawn up in writing, and laid before the Chambers.

From all this these gentlemen had come to the conclusion that M. Louis Blanc was excessively dangerous, and that he ought to be set aside, even as secretary.

I was consequently surprised to see him form part of the Provisional Government. I had been designated as Minister of Finance, and had accepted the appointment; but when I saw that M. Louis Blanc formed part of the government, I refused the post of Finance Minister. M. Ledru-Rollin also induced me to withdraw, but on another account. I therefore tore up my commission, and went to seek for M. Garnier-Pagès. At last, by dint of entreaty, I was induced to again accept, although perfectly convinced that I could not live with M. Louis Blanc. The largest propositions were accepted without discussion, and the taxes were suppressed without any attention being paid to the resources of the Treasury.

M. Goudchaux explained the affair of the *drapeau rouge*. A man, instigated by M. Louis Blanc, proposed the red flag. M. de Lamartine courageously opposed that idea; but his victory was an easy one, for the crowd would not hear of the *drapeau rouge*: no person was for it, but a few men set on by M. Louis Blanc. The next day, when he came to the council, a red flag was being prepared, and every one admitted it on the proposition of M. Louis Blanc. I declared, says M. Goudchaux, that nothing of the sort should be, I consenting. I then resigned my portfolio. M. Louis Blanc declared that blood was about to flow, and that M. Goudchaux would answer for it with his head. M. Goudchaux accepted that responsibility, and at last, after long insistance, the red flag was proscribed. This fact shows that public affairs could not go on with M. Louis Blanc and others. Beaten in the matter of the *drapeau rouge*, M. Louis Blanc had a red ribbon adopted for the button-hole. M. Goudchaux yielded after some resistance; but the people abused the Provisional Government, and M. Louis Blanc was publicly addressed on this subject to prove to him that the national colour was not the red one.

The day after came the abolition of the impost on salt, without one word being said to the minister: in fact, he was never consulted about any thing. He declared to those gentlemen, that they were ruining the country, and that he would give in his resignation. They then became alarmed and turned back on their steps by issuing a proclamation on the decisions come to, reserving such measures as the National Assembly might think fit to take afterwards.

M. Louis Blanc was at the Luxembourg; M. Goudchaux did not read the journals, for he had no time. When he knew what was going on, he assembled the Council on March 3. He declared that if M. Louis Blanc was not withdrawn from the Luxembourg, he (M. Goudchaux) would not form part of the government. The persons deliberating were 13 or 14 in number. He further declared that the country was about to be set on fire by what must inevitably emanate from the Luxembourg. He observed that M. Garnier-Pagès was no longer necessary at the mairie, and declared that if, in 24 hours, nothing was changed, he should withdraw. He gave in his resignation on Saturday at midnight. He was besought to go to the council on the Sunday evening, and he there had his resignation accepted. He would still have withdrawn it at that hour, if what he demanded had been acceded to.

The *Moniteur* did not contain his resignation on the Monday, but it did on the Tuesday. M. Goudchaux refused every offer made to elect him to the National Assembly, in order not to be obliged to oppose the Government; all opposition in his opinion at that period might shake and endanger the republic. At a later period, he allowed himself to be put up for Paris, because the situation was changed. The dissension in the government still existed and was publicly known. To him it had always appeared that MM. Ledru-Rollin, Flocon, Albert, and Louis Blanc were an immense danger for the government. An army is about to be formed of which Louis Blanc will be the Lieutenant and Ledru-Rollin the captain. They would not look at the matter as I did, or at least they did not recognize the possibility of escaping such a danger. That danger was so great that some deemed it necessary to conspire to save their friends, but that was done too late. I always anticipated an effusion of blood, and looked on it as inevitable. I considered it better that it should arrive promptly, for if it were delayed, there would be 10,000 killed, whereas if a conflict took place in March or April, it would have been only a skirmish.

The intercourse between Louis Blanc and the conspirators never ceased to exist: even that of Ledru-Rollin never ceased one single instant: they still continue; but I do not think that they conspire. They aim only at being carried to power, and I think that M. de Lamartine has the same views. M. de Lamartine has allowed himself to be led away and overpowered; he wished to remain always a moderator of the others; he fancied he could lord it over everybody by the power of his language. One day, there was an intention to arrest Blanqui; he had conversed with Blanqui, and at once he said, "Do not arrest that man, I will be responsible for him." To say, why M. de Lamartine preferred some persons to others, would be difficult. However, M. Goudchaux believes that, according to M. de Lamartine, the most ardent men were endowed with the greatest capacity, and that he could not form a government without other men less capable—he hoped to be able to moderate their enthusiasm by his proper authority.

The organisation of the national workshops is anterior to February 24; at least it existed on paper, drawn up cleverly by Louis Blanc, and all the misfortunes which afterwards took place were sure to occur. It was said to the workmen, "You may fold your arms; the government will never allow you to die of hunger; you will be masters of the situation; the great manufactories and public establishments will be expropriated, and you will have them for yourselves."—What was wanting to the Revolution of February was a man; at present that man is found—it is General Cavaignac. He is a guarantee for the country, and if he can be kept in power it is to be hoped that all will go well.

M. DE LAMARTINE,

Member of the Provisional Government, July 5.

Events are enchained together in the political as in the moral order of things. On February 25 an event took place, and with it and by its side an excess. The proclamation of the Republic, it appeared to certain men, ought to carry away more than a throne—even the whole of society. As a sign of that idea, the *drapeau rouge* was imagined. That was repulsed, but not extinguished—not completely destroyed amongst the mass of the people.

On March 17 the national guard, which only existed in a latent state, made its appearance. The next day, or the day after that, there was a strong counter-manifestation for a Parisian Republic in place of a national one; 200,000 men wanted to impose the law on the Provisional Government, but that body rejected the measures with energy. On April 16 there was the menace of a communist movement. I was informed at five in the morning of what was passing in the clubs—of the intention of naming a Committee of Public Safety to be substituted for the Provisional Government; I had the friends whom I possessed in the national guard separately informed of what was passing. The matter was still in a problematical state, when M. Ledru Rollin came to me in the morning; he was much excited "We are going," he observed, "to be attacked by 120,000 men, at the head of whom are 20,000 from the clubs." He informed me of the offers which had been made to him, and of the design which existed to exclude me, as well as several of my colleagues, from the government. I said to him, "As Minister of the Interior, you have a right to have the rappel beaten; if by chance there exists in Paris a national guard we are saved." M. Ledru-Rollin without hesitation acceded to my proposition, and went out to get the rappel beaten. I hastened to Duvivier's. My plan was to get some battalions of the guard mobile collected round the Hotel de Ville, and there with General Changarnier to defend myself to the death, hoping that the national guard would by dint of musket shots save Paris. Duvivier at once entered into my plan. He had admirably comprehended hat force of the guard mobile which I had created on a list of coarse grey paper at the Hotel de Ville. Where are the artridges? said he; I thought there might be some at the quarters of the staff of the national guard. General Certais appeared exceedingly loyal. I went at last to the Hotel de Ville. General Changarnier came and joined me there at the moment; he made his military arrangements, and we awaited the result of the manifestation. Two young men had been despatched to the banlieue to informe it o what going on. At last, after a painful time of expectation, the 12th legion appeared on the bridge, crying out *Vive la République!* The armed force being resuscitated, the triumph of the moderate republic was ensured. The banlieue in its turn appeared; every thing was drowned in an immense movement of the national guard to the cry of *Vive la République!*

On May 15 it must be plainly avowed, we were deceived by the incapacity of the pisons at the head of the public force. It was still the same animus, the same tendency; the question was to confiscate the republic to the profit of a violent party who wante to urge matters to extremities. For others, it was an attempt at intimidation. The armed sections, the great categories of the seditions and disaffected of Paris, did not play in the matter the first part. More importance than he merited must have been given to Blanqui, who possessed a monomania of conspiring, who was quite an artist in secret plots against the state. Barbès had come to my house; he called me his saviour; he did not rate Blanqui very high. Blanqui did not influence 60 men in Paris; he was merely a standard. He assumed the command on May 15, but to say the trut, there were no leaders there. Barbès was caught in the snare of Blanqui's popularity; the proof of Blanqui' slight importance was that the other clubs had determined to assassinate him.

To sum up—having observed as I have done for the last four months the tendences of all sorts to put down the National Assembly, I think I can declare that nothing serious has been perceived in the armed sections, and in the statesmen of the ultra republic.

The movement of June 23 was altogether spontaneous. The agitation of the national workshops had two causes:—the desire to obtain the money of the government, and next communism, which did all it could to bring about the civil war. As to the part played by the Executive Committee, as to my own part in the responsibility, I have not wished to speak of it, I did not wish to bring personalities into play in so frightful a catastrophe; recriminations were revolting to me. More than a month back, an order was given to General Cavaignac to surround the National Assembly with troops, and not to reckon on the National Guard except as a reserve, as a moral support, a magnificent supplement of force. There were then only 6,500 men of regular troops at Paris. It was agreed that 25,000 men of the line should be placed in barracks at Paris. I required in addition 15,000 other troops in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital. We had besides 16,000 of the Garde Mobile, 1,500 of the Republican Guards, and 2,000 Guardians of Paris. It was consequently a force of 60,000, independently of the National Guard, and I judged this force more than sufficient to put down any insurrectional movement. I constantly besieged General Cavaignac with my observations on the matter. For the moral state of things, I demanded a series of repressive laws; some against the press, and other against tumultuous assemblages. We were unanimous in the Executive Committee to demand these measures from the National Assembly. It appeared to me that the National Assembly was menaced with two dangers—the national workshops and the Bonapartist movement. I therefore thought of protecting the National Assembly, if it were forced to quit Paris, and wanted to have 20,000 men disposable from the army of the Alps. I insisted more than my colleagues on the necessity of executing these various measures, and I was exceedingly surprised at the small number of troops who were at Paris. I do not accuse General Cavaignac, whose high military reputation and loyalty are above all attack; but in fine I am forced to declare that there was something in the administration of the war department which did not respond to our confidence. I had proposed to force the barricades before the night came on, and to make one desperate effort; but the absence of troops prolonged the struggle.

From all that I have just said, it results that in these various manifestations and insurrections the same intentions were manifested. But you, gentlemen, political men, making an enquiry for the present and for the future, you must have remarked and are bound to cause others to do so, that every thing was produced isolatedly. Each of the fractions of the anarchical party always acted by itself, and it is that which gave us the victory. The dissolution of the national workshops appears to me to insure it infallibly for the future.

GENERAL DE LAMORICIÈRE.

I have nothing very particular to state to you as to the causes of the late events. Had the insurrection succeeded, it would have been the loss of a social bottle, and the triumph of the programme of May 15. I have no doubt whatever that there were in the national workshops a culpable understanding with the insurrection; I have a moral conviction of this fact, but, in addition, I saw at the barricade St. Martin, some of the foremen of these establishments; I saw passes signed LALANNE; and several individuals belonging to the workshops were arrested with cartridges and money in their possession. I have charged General d'Artois to send me in a report on these matters, and I will transmit it to you.

M. Flottard caused two individuals of the Ecole Centrale, who were bearers of money to be set at liberty; I have since learned that one of them afterwards left his lodging at night secretly.

I was much struck at the military combinations which had directed the establishment of the barricades, and I must declare that in putting down the insurrection, I was most fortunate in meeting such admirable devotedness on the part of the national guard, the guard mobile, and the army. The aid of the pompiers was most useful to me.

I have heard much regret expressed about troops not being at Paris at the moment of the insurrection; but it must be borne in mind that at that period, too great a development of military force would have raised a general outcry against the government, which would have been taxed with provoking the struggle. What caused the conflict to drag on was, that the first day there was such unwillingness manifested to employ extreme measures as is done in a city taken by assault. From the moment that circumstances permitted, and indeed obliged to have recourse to them, all was visibly decided. Besides, a great change was operated when the representatives joined us; they reanimated the moral force in the ranks of the army; we then at once obtained the advantage, and the loss was not very great.

The ammunition did not fail; about two millions of cartridges were fired off. I ought to explain why I complained of the absence of howitzers; I had batteries enough, and as a battery usually consists of two howitzers and four cannon, it was supposed that the howitzers were there; but there were six pieces of cannon sent for each battery and no howitzers. The suppression of the two howitzers had been made by Montpensier. General Cavaignac, being ignorant of that circumstance, did not know the reasons of my insistance and reiterated demands.

GENERAL COURTAIS.

Report of the Sub-Committee charged to interrogate him.

MM. Waldeck-Rousseau, Pougeard, and Dahirel having been deputed to interrogate General Courtais, proceeded for that purpose to the Conciergerie. That gentleman entered into a long explanation of the different measures adopted by him on the 15th May. On the 14th, he said he was present at the council held at the Luxembourg. MM. Arago, Marie, Lamartine, Generals Foucher and Tempoure, and Colonel Charras, the Minister of War were present, as well as another person whose name he did not know. There was a general conviction felt by all present that the manifestation intended for the following day would be pacific. The military arrangements were discussed and agreed upon, and he was appointed to the general command. He afterwards issued orders in conformity with the decisions come to by the council. As early as four o'clock in the morning of the 15th, he wrote to the Prefect of Police, and received a written answer from him at five o'clock. M. Caussidière said in his reply: "You may make yourself easy; if you do not beat the *rappel* nothing will place." M. Courtais, afterwards gave an account of the private orders, which occupied his time in the morning of the 15th. About 11 o'clock he mounted his horse, saw the guard relieved, and, notwithstanding the orders he had received to repair to the Luxembourg, he thought it his duty first to satisfy himself from ocular demonstration that all the orders he had given, relative to the neighbourhood of the National Assembly, had been properly attended to. According to his account not one of them had been carried into execution. The bridge and the gates of the Chamber were badly guarded; the troops which should have been stationed near the Invalides, were in march towards the Champs-Elysées; in a word, if the invasion had been then attempted its could not have failed of success.

On the sub-committee expressing its astonishment at his being so late in repairing to the spot where the troops were to have been concentrated, he replied that according to the reports made by the police the assemblage was not to have left the Bastille until one o'clock, whereas it started at half-past ten; and that he had no reason to suppose that the positive orders he had issued would not have been attended to. Instead of 1,000 men ordered from one legion there were only 47 assembled, and instead of the bridge being occupied by a mass of troops the foot pavement only had been occupied, by order of the President of the Assembly. When he found that the bridge had been passed by the rioters, he had opened the gates of the Chamber. It had been agreed upon between him and M. Buchez, the President, that the 25 delegates of the petitioners in favour of Poland should be conducted into the Salle des Pas-Perdus, but while this was being done the other insurgents rushed in, disarmed the small number of *gardes mobiles* stationed on the steps, and forced the doors.

When asked why he had not ordered the squadron of Dragoons which were ready mounted in the court-yard of the barracks on the Quai d'Orsay to charge on the mob, he replied that he did not think they would have done so, as they were demoralized in consequence of what had taken place on the 24th February. He added, that when he saw the gateway of the Chamber forced, and was informed that the other entrance by the Place de Bourgogne was threatened by another body of insurgents, he went to that point, and was pushed down, as well as M. Etienne Arago and others, on the peristyle. On attempting to defend the entrance a blow with a poignard was aimed at him, which he parred with his arm. General Courtais complained of the inaction of General Tempoure, who had given up his command, and was seen among the spectators in the tribune of the Chamber. As to the fact of the clearance of the Salle by the Garde Mobile, he stated that he had with difficulty got to the spot where M. de Lamartine was, and proposed to conduct him to the Hotel de Ville at the head of the National Guards. Just as he was about to mount his horse he saw M. Flocon and M. Crémieux; the latter was seated on a post, and appeared to be very much cast down. He endeavoured to restore their courage by telling them that the Assembly was about to resume its sitting, and that order would soon be generally restored. A short time after this he was surrounded by about thirty or forty National Guards, who disarmed him and caused him to be arrested.

In the course of his interrogatory General Courtais declared that, whilst in the command of the National Guard, he had had several warm altercations with M. Arago, then Minister of War, because there had been a refusal to serve out cartridges to the National Guards without the *visa* of the Minister, whereas Sobrier had been furnished with them on the simple *visa* of Caussidière. He affirmed that to his knowledge there had been introduced, during the night, into the house of Sobrier 500 muskets and 30,000 cartridges, and he had even threatened to attack the post of the Montagnards with the National Guards. The men belonging to Sobrier had even kept him prisoner for a short time on one occasion when he had endeavoured to enter the house in the Rue Rivoli, where there was a cloth-warehouse belonging to the National Guard. He declared that, although he might have committed faults, yet the crime of treason was one which he held in horror. He appeared to feel some resentment against the Executive Council, who ought not, he said, to have sacrificed him as it had done. He said, as was well known, that the Provisional Government were divided in its opinions, but that for his part he ranged himself on the side of the opinion of the *National*, to which he had always belonged. M. de Lamartine was of his opinion, and had told him to be distrustful of such and such persons whom he would not name.

The following letter was addressed by M. Buchez, the President of the Assembly, to General Courtais.

"I send you the following extract of a letter which I have just received from the Prefect of Police. (Quarter past 10.) I have just heard that, contrary to what was expected, several persons, the number of whom may be increased, are repairing armed to the different places of meeting; these people will be specially watched by the Police.' Will you assure yourself of the exact state of the assemblages which are said to be very numerous on the Boulevard, near the Faubourg du Temple; do not hesitate, if necessary, to cause the rappel to be beaten all over Paris; do not forget that this is the only way to avoid any serious collision.

"14th May, ¼ past 11, a.m. "BUCHEZ."

Letter from Gen. Courtais to Gen. Guinard.

"The salle is invaded; I much regret that you were not there. The delegates promised me that the people should not enter, but they forced the doors. Do not cause the rappel to be beaten for fear of leading to frightful misfortunes."

15th May.—Three-quarters past 2.

Deposition of General Tempoure.

On being questioned by M. Picot, the examining magistrate, he admitted being the author of two letters, which were produced, addressed to General Courtais. The cause of his having written the first, was that he had at an early hour of the morning received a letter from General Courtais, mentioning the arrangements which he had made, and begging to be informed of his; in reply, he had pointed out the position which his battalions would occupy in case of alarm, for in order not to alarm the inhabitants, it had been agreed upon over night, in presence of the Executive Committee, that his men should remain ready at their quarters until the moment when the rappel for the National Guard should be beaten. A short time after despatching the first letter he had written a second, pointing out the proper station for the two battalions in the barracks of the *Ave Maria*. When asked which of the Members of the Executive Committee had taken the most prominent part in the resolutions come to on the 14th, for the arrangements of the 15th, Gen. Tempoure replied, that it was M. de Lamartine.

Letter from General Tempoure, dated Nantes, Aug. 9.

"Sir,—I have been one of the deplorable victims of the deplorable events of May 15, and nevertheless I consider I conducted myself on that day in a manner to merit the esteem and approbation of honest men, I would say of those who do not participate in the demagogic ideas which place France in danger. I lost on that occasion the command of the Garde Mobile, and yet I consider I have acted as a good citizen in suffering in silence a sort of unmerited disgrace, in order not to raise fresh embarrassments to the Government at a moment when it had need of all its strength for the interests of the country. But reserve is no longer possible after the paragraph which has appeared in the report of the Committee of Inquiry into the affairs of May and June. In the first place I must be allowed to say that it would have been but justice to have heard what I had to say in my defence, after the incriminating declaration of General Courtais. That gentleman, quitting his character of an accused party, made himself an accuser, and said that I had abandoned my command of the Garde Mobile, to appear as a spectator in the public tribune. His position as an accused party should have imposed more reserve on him, and he is wrong for his own sake in making me break the silence which I had imposed on myself. I have in my possession a document *wholly written with his own hand*, and which will render any defence of his conduct impossible. You will find an authenticated copy of it subjoined, which I beg of you to lay before the Assembly. It is true I was seen in the public tribune, but I was carried into it by violence by a considerable number of the rioters, when I presented myself at the door of the Assembly, to confer with the President, at the express orders of the Minister of the Interior. These rioters, recognizing in me an old soldier of the Empire, exclaimed that there was no one more proper than I was to demand, in the name of the people, a declaration of war in favour of Poland, for whom I ought to sympathize like them. On reaching the tribune I resisted this pretension with all my energy, and persisted in remaining silent, in spite of the violent threats which were uttered against me. My momentary captivity could not, however, have had any influence on the events which occurred. From seven o'clock in the morning of the 15th four battalions of the Garde Mobile had been placed at the disposal of the President of the Chamber, and, at his request, drawn up round the building. This circumstance could not have been unknown to General Courtais, since he himself gave an order *in writing* to Commandant Bazac, of the 5th battalion, stationed on the Pont de la Concorde, to *unfix their bayonets*, and that in presence of the mass of people who were directing their course towards the Chamber, for the purpose of invading it. These four battalions were completely at the disposal of General Courtais, for, on the previous evening, in the council held at the Luxembourg, he had, at *his own request*, been invested with the command of all the forces in Paris. It hence appears that the Executive Committee had provided for a unity of command, and that all the measures which were necessary had been taken. It had been expressly agreed upon that the Garde Mobile should remain in their quarters until the *rappel* for the National Guards was beaten, and it is in consequence of that *rappel* not being beaten that all the misfortunes occurred on that day. It has been most unfortunate for me, since it made me lose the command of the Garde Mobile, and deprived me of giving fresh proofs of my devotedness to the National Assembly and to the cause of order. I am most anxious that this devotedness should be well established, and that no doubt on that subject may remain, I will say, notwithstanding the great repugnance I feel to speak of myself, and in spite of the reserve which I have imposed on myself, that after having got out of the hands of the rioters, and placed myself at the head of my battalions, I was summoned at the very moment when Huber, mounted on the railings of the Chamber, announced the dissolution of the National Assembly—I was summoned, I say, by a considerable number of his followers to march with them to the Hotel de Ville, to there instal the new government which had just been proclaimed. From that moment my duty was pointed out to me; I no longer required any orders: I took upon myself the responsibility of my acts; and after replying to their summons, "That they might kill me, but that they should not dishonour me," I added that I recognised in no one the right to dissolve the National Assembly, and drawing my sword, I turned towards my men, and cried "Vive l'Assemblée Nationale." I made a short speech to them, in order to inspire them with the same sentiments. The moment was decisive; the battalions resolutely advanced on the crowd, and, in a short time, the inside of the building and the neighbourhood of the Assembly were cleared. These facts have been testified to by officers, sub-officers, and privates, who were present, and cannot be called in question. I feel therefore the confidence of having rendered a real service to my country by protecting the Assembly, and notwithstanding which I have lost the command of the Garde Mobile. I abstain from all reflection on that subject, because I make it a point of duty to use no recrimination against the Executive Government. Although deeply wounded by the disgrace of which I have been the object, I shall not the less persist in my sentiments of devotedness to the Republic, and to the cause of order. I regret to have had to write such a long letter, but you must comprehnd the feelings which dictated it, and that I could not remain passive under the impression which the accusation of General Courtais put forward in your report has produced. Accept, &c.

Letter from Colonel A. de Goyon, of the 2d Dragoons, to the members of the Committee of Inquiry.

On the 15th May I received orders to have my men ready to mount and to wait for orders; this was so promptly attended to that my chief, the General of Division Fouché, on sending one of his staff to know where I was, was surprised to find that I was already on horseback, with my cartridges distributed, and my arms charged; it was then about noon. I remained in this position for a long time, having before my barracks on the quay a battalion of the 10th legion, who, like myself, were waiting for orders. Four times I sent to the Etat-Major of the Division, to my General of Brigade, to the National Assembly, and to the Champ de Mars, to obtain orders, but none of my chiefs could be found. I was in this position when M. de Rémusat, M. Radoul-Lafosse, and another representative came to my barracks. When informed by them of what was going on I said, "If you are dispersed, endeavour to assemble in the court of my barracks, and I will guarantee your independence; if you are still in number in the Chamber, I am ready to march to your support without any orders—I will take the responsibility on myself." These gentlemen were in favour of the latter step, and in a minute my regiment was in motion, happy to leave its inaction, and desirous to prove its devotedness; at this moment a legion of the National Guard crossed the old Pont-Royal, and a battalion of the 10th also made a movement. On my arrival we were most heartily welcomed; we were the only regiment of the line present. General Fouché, who was on horseback before the gate of the Chamber, on the side of the bridge, came up to me and said, "Colonel, who gave you orders to quit your barracks?" "No one, general," I replied, "but when I was informed of what was passing, I could not remain in shameful inaction in my barracks with such a regiment as mine." "That is all right," said the general; "it proves that you can rely on your regiment; come, then, with me to the Hotel de Ville, for it is there you will have something to do." "I follow you, general; but, as I am the first arrived at the National Assembly, I will leave 100 men here, and follow you with the rest." The general accepting my proposition, I left Commandant de Feu with 100 men at the Assembly, and followed the general with 400. We soon arrived at the Hotel de Ville. A party of my men were on the Place of the Hotel de Ville to make room for the National Guards who were at the moment advancing on that point, and to allow them to enter the building. It would be very difficult for me now to state precisely the hour that I left my barracks, but the deputies I have alluded to would be able to do so. What I can affirm, however, is that the movement was made so promptly that I had arrived at the Hôtel-de-Ville more than an hour before M. Lamartine and M. Ledru-Rollin, whom I saw pass me and before the Garde Républicaine and the Montagnards who went there with hostile intentions, and whom I stopped on the Pont-au-Change. Passing along the quay, having on my right the Pont-au-Change, my Lieutenant-Colonel said to me—"Colonel, there is a party of rioters who are going to take us on the flank; look sharp after those men." I immediately caused the bridge to be barred by the 2d squadron, and I then observed a party of from 50 to 60 men marching in military order, with vedettes in front, and holding themselves in readiness to fire. The rallying cry was "Vive l'Assemblée Nationale." I galloped on to the bridge towards those men attended only by my staff, and I repeated that cry "No," they replied, "A bas l'Assemblée Nationale." I answered I shall charge you immediately. They cocked their muskets and took aim at me and my troop, but they dared not fire, and then dispersed. The national guard arrived in a long column, and passed before me, which still further intimidated them, and there was no longer any one to charge. I regretted I had not been able to recognize any of them before they dispersed, more particularly as at their head were Gardes Républicaines in uniform, and three men in plain clothes but wearing the cap of the national guard and decorated, and a dragoon, whose uniform was of fine cloth and of a lighter green than that worn by the 8th regiment. There were also two or three who wore the *bonnet rouge*, and some ill-looking montagnards. This detachment, I have no doubt, were proceeding to the Hôtel-de-Ville to support the new government which was to overturn the National Assembly. Those are the events just as they took place. M. Lamartine, in his report of them, made to the National Assembly merely said—"The 2d dragoons turned out, but it makes no mention of any further particulars of the way in which the movement was made, and of the services it rendered. I considered it my duty, not on my own account, but for the sake of my regiment to point out these facts."

LE GERANT, J. A. GALIGNANI.

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Great Britain.

LONDON, AUGUST 18, 1848.

STOCK EXCHANGE, AUG. 18, *Twelve o'clock.*—The improvement in the state of the weather has had a slight effect upon the Funds, and this would have been greater but from the fact of money stock coming to market, and checking the rise. Consols for the Account opened at 86¼, 86¼, improved to 86¼, 86⅜, and have again receded to 86⅛. For Money they have been done at 86⅛, 86¼, 86.

Two o'clock.—Consols are less buoyant than at the commencement of business, being 86, 86⅛ for transfer, and 86⅛, 86¼ for Account. There have been sales again for transfer. Exchequer Bills 32, 35 pm. Bank Stock 196½, 198½. The Foreign Bonds are still very heavy. Spanish 3 per Cents., 22¼; Portuguese 4 per Cents. 17½, 18½; Mexican, 16¾, 17; Brazil 70½; Dutch 2½, 44. Railway Shares, firmer.

Three o'clock.—Consols for Account left off at 86.

We have been favoured with a private communication, dated Hamburg, Tuesday, in which a hope is expressed that peace with Denmark will be concluded before the expiration of another week. The blockade, however, had commenced for in-going ships. Vessels outward would be permitted to leave, it is stated, up to the 30th inst.—(Globe.)

A Cabinet Council was held at the Foreign Office today. Most of the ministers were present.—(Standard.)

Prince Castelcicala, the Neapolitan Minister, presented yesterday to Viscount Palmerston Count Ludolf, Neapolitan Minister at Rome, sent to this country on a special mission.—(Post.)

Viscount and Viscountess Palmerston entertained his Excellency M. de Beaumont, the new French Minister, the Earl and Countess of Shelburne, the Earl and Countess Granville, the Countess of Tankerville, Viscount and Viscountess Jocelyn, Lord Howden, Lady Holland, the Hon. Wm. Cowper, Mr. H. Greville, and a select party to dinner, on Wednesday.—(Herald.)

THE COLOGNE FESTIVAL.—Our correspondent writes as follow, under date of Aug. 15:—The King of Prussia not having arrived as early as was expected, yesterday the entertainments were very unimportant. They consisted of a review of the Burgher Guard, a concert by the Mannergesangverein, a procession of the societies formed with the view of completing the cathedral, and a ceremony in the cathedral, after which a discourse was delivered by the Archbishop on the unity of Germany. At seven in the evening the King arrived, having taken the small steamer which runs between Deutz and Cologne, landed at the same place as the Archduke John. The Administrator of the Empire, accompanied by M. de Gagern and a great number of members of the Frankfort Parliament, went to meet his Majesty. The two princes cordially embraced each other, and pronounced a few words, which produced great emotion amongst those who heard them. The procession then went to M. Von Wittzgenstein's, where the Archduke resides. There the King rested, and then proceeded to the Government House amidst enthusiastic acclamations. I hear that his Majesty's journey from Berlin was one continued Triumph, except at Dusseldorff, where a factious radical minority of the Town Council, at the instigation of Blum, one of the members of the extreme left at Frankfort, attempted to prevent the authorities from going to meet the King. The Radicals are furious at the Cologne festival, as they fear it will lead to a good understanding between Prussia and the powers at Frankfort. At the Government House, M. de Gagern delivered an address to the King in the name of the Parliament, in which great stress was of course laid on German unity. The King said, "I have German unity at heart, it is an inheritance from my mother." Whereupon M. de Gagern said, "We know your Majesty has favoured that idea." The King expressed the wish that the deputies should be individually presented to him. They formed a circle round his Majesty, who spoke as follows:—"Gentlemen, to be very good friends one must see one another face to face. I am therefore delighted at seeing you here. From my inmost heart I wish you success in your important mission. Be convinced that I will never forget how great is the work you are called upon to found; whilst I have the conviction that you will not forget that there are princes in Germany, and that I am one of those princes. Once more, gentlemen, with all my heart, I express the wish of seeing you blest and crowned with success in your great undertaking."—His Majesty's words were much applauded by the deputies. In the evening a serenade by torchlight was given to the King and Archduke in the square of the Hotel de Ville. They were at the balcony. On one of the Prussian flags in the procession was the word "Protection." One transparency bore the words "*Neither Prussia nor Austria*," the words of the Archduke John's famous toast in 1842. The King, accompanied by the Archduke and all the Princes, went to Bruhl to pass the night. Serenades were then given to the Archbishop Cologne and President Von Gagern. The serenade to the latter was interrupted by a heavy shower of rain. Such as remained heard a speech from M. de Gagern, in which he particularly dwelt on the character of German unity. Saving the disagreeable effect of the rain, which seems determined to last for some time to come, nothing could be more satisfactory than all the proceedings on the second day of the jubilee.—(Chronicle.)

CHARTIST PROCEEDINGS.—The Chartists in London were last night tolerably quiet, several meetings were to have taken place, but they were nearly all deferred in consequence of the arrests of the preceding night. At Ashton £50 reward have been offered for the discovery of the assassin of poor Bright, the policeman who was shot. In Manchester yesterday all was quiet; in Birmingham two Irishmen (tailors), named Regan and Jenny, were arrested and sent to jail.—(Daily News.)

EXAMINATION OF CHARTISTS THIS DAY.—At Bow-street Office to-day, the Chartists who were arrested on Wednesday night at two public-houses, in different parts of the town, were put to the bar before Mr. Henry. Eleven men who had been apprehended (as yesterday stated) in Orange-street, Red Lion Square, were first examined. Mr. Clarkson said that the eleven prisoners were found on Wednesday morning last at the "Orange Tree," and under circumstances that warranted their being taken; and he was afraid that there was a regular organised system, which would leave no doubt as to their treasonable designs. There was abundance of evidence to prove that they had formed a determination by arms to effect a change of the government; and the result would require that they should be sent before a jury, in order to try them upon the charge, some of them of practices amounting to treason. One of the persons, not in custody, was a class leader from the north, and he said that the men of the north were ready. They had met at a beer-shop called the Lord Denman on Tuesday, where they resolved to procure persons to come armed, and to assemble at the Orange Tree on Wednesday evening. Obviour reasons forbade him at present detailing all the particulars, but he would produce sufficient to send them for trial. The learned counsel then detailed the evidence, which he should prove by respectable witnesses. On one of the prisoners named Ritchie, were found two knives, and at his house were found powder and other combustible articles. Ritchie's part was to divide the men into four sections, prepared with means to set fire to different parts of the metropolis. Another set of the police officers had found another body of Chartists in Webber-street, likewise armed. One of their own body had betrayed them, and by his information they were apprehended. With respect to the 11 prisoners at the bar, he should show by one of themselves what were their designs, which were of a dangerous description. The witnesses were called: among them a man named Powell, who had been a member of the Chartist society, and who gave details of the proceedings of the prisoners, which fully bore out the statement of Mr. Clarkson. At the meeting on Tuesday, the chairman, who was not, this witness said, among the prisoners, told them that all was ready; they were to meet on Wednesday night, every man with his arms, for which they were to break open gunsmith's shops, or obtain them however they could. They were to set fire to houses, premises, railway trains, and gas-works, in fact, everything to produce disorder and destruction. This witness was much exhausted by his examination, which lasted a long time. The eleven prisoners were them ordered to stand aside, when 11 others who had been arrested in Webber-street, at a public-house, called the Angel, were put to the bar and examined. The evidence was nearly similar to the above; all the prisoners were identified by the police, and the statement of the arms, etc., found in their possion, given yesterday, was confirmed to its fullest extent. All the prisoners were remanded for further examination, and bail in every case refused. Warrants were also issued for several others belonging to the Chartist body.—(Sun.)

REFORM LEAGUE.—Last night a meeting was held at the Angel Inn, Lambeth, for the purpose of advancing the interests of the National Reform League, when Mr. J. Smith moved, "That the present position of the country requires that some prudent exertions should be immediately made to prevent agitation, and restore tranquillity to the nation and prosperity to the people."—Carried unanimously.—(Daily News.)

STATE OF IRELAND.—Our accounts from Dublin come down to yesterday. All continued tranquil. The trial of Mr. Martin as already known terminated in a verdict of *guilty*, but the verdict was accompanied by a recommendation to mercy. The prisoner was immediately sent back to Newgate, sentence being deferred. The Attorney-General then having had Mr. Duffy, editor of the *Nation*, put to the bar, proceeded to move that the trial of Mr. Duffy on the indictment found at the present commission be not proceeded with at present. He moved on the ground that since the indictment had been found, Mr. Smith O'Brien, who was known to have been openly engaged in treasonable practices against the crown, had been taken prisoner. Amongst the papers found on Mr. O'Brien subsequent to his arrest, was a letter written by Mr. Duffy of a highly treasonable nature. Full committals from the Lord-Lieutenant were yesterday lodged at Newgate for R. F. Ryan (an American sympathiser), Eugene Martin, James Lalor, and Timothy Sexton. Soon after the verdict against John Martin, his brother, Mr. James Martin, was committed to prison, charged by Mr. S. Waterhouse, foreman of the jury, with having entered his shop, and "for having challenged him to mortal combat.—(Chronicle.)

France.

PARIS, AUGUST 19, 1848.

LONDON JOURNALS OF YESTERDAY.

These papers have all come to hand in due course, and interesting extracts will be found below. The principal business in the House of Lords on Thursday was the Irish Fisheries Bill, which was read a second time after some discussion. Lord Brougham, in the early part of the evening, took occasion to bring before their Lordships the case of a gentleman of fortune, named Williams, who had been prosecuting his cook for robbery for giving away the broken meat to a beggar—an offence which he trusted all the noble lords present allowed their cooks to be guilty of every day. In the Commons a variety of business was gone through. Sir G. Grey, in reply to Mr. Maher, gave an explanation of the alleged misconduct of military officers in Ireland in threatening to "pistol" an engine-driver. Afterwards the bill for authorizing diplomatic relations with the Holy See was brought forward, and, after an animated debate, (which, we regret to say, the crowded state of our columns obliges us to defer until our next publication,) was read a second time by a majority of 125 to 46. Mr. Anstey, Mr. Urquhart, Sir R. H. Inglis, Mr. Law, Mr. Newdegate, and Mr. Goulburn, were the leading speakers against the bill, which was supported by Lord Palmerston, Mr. Moore, Lord John Russell, Mr. H. Drummond, Mr. J. O'Connell, Mr. W. Gladstone, and Lord Arundel. The House then adjourned. The sitting on Friday down to post-hour has also reached us. Lord Brougham was left speaking upon the affairs of Austria, into which his lordship declared that the French government had not the least right to interfere. No other business of interest had been gone into.

The leading articles of the morning journals of this day are not, generally speaking, of sufficient interest for extract. We must, however, notice briefly an article in the *Assemblée Nationale*, calling the attention of Gen. Cavaignac to the following passage in the journal called *Le Pere Duchêne?*—

"Were not the first brigands those who originally appropriated to themselves, to the detriment of their fellow men, all the riches of the earth, and who made laws in order to bequeath these riches to their descendants? The brigands of the present day are those who use all their efforts to perpetuate this revolting usurpation."

Th *Assemblée Nationale* is justly indignant at this language, and asks General Cavaignac what he thinks of it. It is quite right, in the absence of the vigilance which the law officers of the Republic are bound to exercise, to direct the attention of the chief of the Executive Government to abuses of the press, which aim at the destruction of the laws on which society is based; but the *Assemblée Nationale* insinuates that there is not a disposition in the Government to the just and salutary repression which these abuses demand, and here we think it is wrong. General Cavaignac ought, with his important duties, to be spared the labour of watching over the public press; but it must be quite sufficient to direct his attention to the apathy of the public functionaries whose real duty it is to look to these things for, him to insist upon a vigorous enforcement of the laws.

The *Reforme* has an article in which it declares that the partizans of Henry V. are intriguing to effect a counter revolution in his favour. Other journals, however, have stated that the attempts to shake the government, which are said to exist are the work of the partizans of the red republic, and that legitimacy is merely a cloak to conceal the ril intentions and make dupes.

The *National* has the followng in an article on an English journal, which has charged Lord Palmerston with inconsistency in his policy regarding Italy:—

"The reproach of inconsistency falls of itself before an attentive examination of the two very different phases which European policy has presented during six weeks. There remain, however, another censure which was to be expected from the lips of the tories; that of injuring the treaties of 1815, which are, it appears, the *bas ideal* of human prudence, the palladium of European equilibrium. To this events reply better than Lord Palmerston could have done. The public law of the holy alliance cannot be the public law of Europe reconstituted in all pats, or which, at least, is about to become so. These treatis, which are spoken of, were violated by every one before being solemnly destroyed by the Republic, which, if it virtally accepts some clauses of them, has in nowise believed tat this sacrifice made to the repose of Europe, should enage her liberty of action for ever. The day on which Franc spontaneously limited her frontiers, and interdicted every lea of ambition to herself, can it be believed that she meanto renounce for all other nations the right which she will always recognise in them, of freeing themselves as she has enfranchised herself? And is it believed that the treatise of 1815 could stop at the frontiers of Piedmont, if Austria, forgetting her pacific profession of faith, should refuse to conciliate th wants of the times, and the imperative necessity of circumstances, with the absolute rights which the treaties confer on them? Let these scarecrows, of which no one takes any account, cease to be held up before us. The treaties of 1815 imposed by force will not survive the force which create(them. It is the law of all conventions of that kind. It is not constitutional Austria which would undertake to maintain them in the European code at the point of its bayonets. Even now, in the pride of its triumphs, Austria does not think of so doing. Why should old toryism and young England flatter themselves with this abandoned dream?"

INDIA AND CHINA.—We have received Madras papers to July 8th, and from other parts of India to proportionate dates, and also Hong-Kong papers to the 23d June. The excitement occasioned by the late conspiracy had subsided at Lahore, and affairs had returned to their former tranquillity. It will be seen that, with respect to the demand of an armed vessel to be stationed off Canton, Lord Palmerston has given the British residents something of a rebuff. We subjoin a summary of the most interesting intelligence from these papers:—

The danger of the late plot being over, people as usual began to think the affair was greatly exaggerated. In fact, the attempt was of the most impracticable description. —The city of Lahore has been since in the enjoyment of perfect tranquillity, but the immediate neighbourhood has been slightly flustered by the seditious proceedings of one Maharajah Singh, a Gooroo or priest, who having managed to collect a force, variously estimated, but in all probability not exceeding 1500, hoisted the standard of rebellion. A detachment of Cavalry and Infantry was sent out for the purpose of apprehending his Reverence, but was obliged to return without accomplishing its mission. Delay was occasioned in crossing the Ravee by the absence of boats, which enabled the Gooroo to obtain scent of the movement, and so give his pursuers the slip. Great numbers of his followers were captured; two villages which had harboured him, destroyed; and the troops returned to the Capital. The Gooroo himself, though he has managed to escape hanging, is reported to have found a watery grave in the depths of the Chenab. From Calcutta the principal item of interest is the suspension of Mr. Grant, the Master in Equity of the Supreme Court, on account of his involvement in the transactions of the Union Bank. Mr. Grant was a leading Director of that nefarious Institution. The sudden death, under very suspicious circumstances, of the wife of a member of the Civil Service, the daughter of a high dignitary on the Madras Ecclesiastical Establishment; and the investigation of serious charges involving gross indecency against the Rev. Mr. James, Chaplain of the Black Town district, have provided abundant material for private scandal during the past month. The market at Calcutta, both export and import was very depressed.

CHINA.—The *China Mail* of June 23 contains accounts of disturbances in the interior, near Amoy (the ancient capital), in which the numbers killed are estimated variously at from 200 to 4000! At Canton no further disorders had interrupted the good understanding between the inhabitants and the English, but the latter have been rather taken aback by the following answer of Lord Palmerston to a demand for the presence of an armed force for their protection, in consequence of the dispute of last December, in which some Englishmen lost their lives, as formerly described at length. It is dated the Foreign-office, 24th February:—

"Gentlemen,—I am directed by Viscount Palmerston to acknowledge the receipt, through Sir John Davis, of the Memorial which you addressed to his Lordship on the 20th of December, respecting the lamentable calamity which had then recently occurred in the neighbourhood of Canton, and which involved the death of six British subjects by the hands of the Chinese inhabitants of some of the villages situate near that capital. Viscount Palmerston directs me to state to you in reply, that he deeply laments the melancholy event to which your Memorial relates, but that he does not see how that event could have been prevented by the presence of a steam vessel opposite the factories. As the communications between Sir John Davis and the Chinese Government on this matter were still going on at the date of the last advices received from China, Viscount Palmerston can say nothing to you in reply to that part of your Memorial which relates to the future; but his Lordship cannot refrain from expressing his regret that when, as it seems by your communication, the British residents were fully aware that they incurred considerable danger of insult and attack by entering Chinese villages, the leading members of the mercantile body did not use their natural influence with the young men attached to their establishments to induce them to desist, at least for a time, from excursions which were known to be attended with so much risk.—I am, gentlemen, your most obedient servant,

"H. U. ADDINGTON."

The market at Canton was active, and at prices considerably in advance of the two previous months.

BOURSE, AUGUST 19. *Half-past Three.*—The Market has been more buoyant to-day, and at the close prices were generally higher. Fives have advanced 75c., closing at 71fr. 75c., and Threes 4fr., the last price being 44fr. Bank of France Shares left off at 4617fr. 50c., being 2fr. 50c. lower than yesterday. Treasury Bonds were done at 23½ dis. New Loan closed at 71fr. 50c. The Railway Share Market has been also firmer. Rouen have advanced 3fr. 50c., closing at 436fr. 25c., with dividend of 8fr. 80c. detached; Avignon and Northern have advanced 2fr. 50c., each, closing 215fr. and 380fr. respectively; Nantes and Bordeaux, 1fr. 25c. each, the former closing at 334fr. 25c., and the latter at 396fr. 25c., with dividend of 3fr. detached. Other lines are unvaried.

His Excellency the Marquis of Normanby presented his credentials this morning to General Cavaignac, as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary on a special mission.

The Minister of Finance has published a decree, granting to those shareholders of the Paris and Lyons Railway as may engage to pay up the instalments to complete the 250fr. on each share the right to make the payment in Treasury Bonds issued by the Republic, on the same conditions as were granted to the subscribers to the New Loan. When the term which these bonds have to run shall be less than six months, the interest on them shall be accounted for to the holder at 5½ per cent., and when beyond that period 6 per cent.

The *Moniteur* contains a decree of the Executive Government, dated the 18th, setting forth the terms and conditions on which associations of workmen may enter into engagements with the state for the execution of public works.

We are happy to state that the wound of General Bedeau continues to go on favourably, and his health is so much better that he can sit up four or five hours daily.

M. Marrast, the President of the National Assembly, gave another grand *soirée* on Thursday.

The *National* says that the Club of Representatives of the Palais National has unanimously adopted M. Armand Marrast as its candidate for the Presidency for the next month. It has also resolved to vote that the Assembly shall adopt the organic laws before taking any vacation.

We read in the *Débats*:—"It is announced that this day some members of the National Assembly will demand authorisation to address to the Government interpellations on the subject of Foreign Affairs, and particularly respecting the events of Italy. It was said yesterday at the Assembly that government is quite disposed to accept the discussion; but it cannot come on until after that on the Committee of Investigation, which stands for Monday."

We read in the *Presse*:—"The Ambassador of Sardinia, M. de Brignoles Sale, has, it is said, announced to M. Bastide that the Sardinian minister has protested against the armistice, of which the text has been published. If this statement be true the fact is very grave, especially in conjunction with what is passing at Genoa, where the government every day assumes a more decided character of opposition against all that surrounds the king. It is no doubt this new complication which has given rise to the rumours which has been current, of the abdication of Charles Albert in favour of his son, the Duke of Savoy. But, however deplorable the situation of Charles Albert may be, and by whatever political and personal difficulties he may be surrounded, we do not believe that for a single instant he has entertained the idea ascribed to him. The Duke of Savoy is very popular in the army; Charles Albert on the contrary, by the fault of his generals more than his own, has lost in four days the popularity which his concessions to his people and his entry into Lombardy had procured him. It is not then impossible that new embarrassments and new misfortunes may make a reality of what is at present only an unfounded rumour, sent forth as a feeler by interests which it is not easy to make out amidst the confusion which prevails at this moment from one end of Italy to another." The *Constitutionnel* gives as positive the statement of the Sardinian Ambassador having protested against the Armistice. That journal says:—"We learn that at a consultation of Italian jurisconsults it has been declared that General Salasco exceeded his powers in signing the armistice, as he had of his own authority given up fortified places and compromised the government."

We read in the *Courrier Francais*:—"It may be remembered that we mentioned some time since that an Austrian envoy had passed through Paris on his way to London, and that it was the same who had previously visited the head-quarters of Charles Albert. We are now enabled to give some details of the negociations which are taking place. It appears certain that in spite of her successes Austria will give up Lombardy to retain possession of the Venetian territory, but on two conditions; the first being that Lombardy shall not be united to the Sardinian states, and the second that she will be no longer answerable for the Lombardian debt. Independently of these personal arrangements, Austria, remembering the neutrality which the King of Naples has preserved at so many risks and perils, stipulates in favour of his second son as King of Sicily, the independence of which country will be recognised. Such we are assured are the bases of the negotiations now pending, and they have been admitted by M. de Gagen, the representative of the Diet of Frankfort. As to Venetia it will not only form part of the Austrian monarchy, but also of the Germanic confederation; it will send deputies to the parliament at Vienna, and to the assembly at Frankfort. The German standard will be hoisted on the citadel of Venice, by the side of that of Austria."

It is stated in one of the journals that Mr. J. B. Dillon, one of the chiefs of the insurrectionary party in Ireland, has arrived at Havre.

"The *Représentant du Peuple*," says the *Droit*, "has been seized, on account of an article published in its number of yesterday."—We presume that the article which caused the seizure is a letter, real or invented, by an insurgent prisoner, charging the authorities with cruelties and injustice towards the persons in custody.

By a decree of the Executive Government, dated the 18th, the sequestration which had been placed on the Orleans and Centre Railways has been removed, and their management restored to the respective companies.

A second division of the insurgents doomed to transportation was sent off on Tuesday night, by the railroad to Havre, starting from the station at Asnières. It comprised 495, taken from the different forts, chiefly those nearest the station. They were bound two and two, and marched between a double rank of infantry, followed by detachments of cavalry; and troops were stationed from distance to distance along the road. As this departure had been previously announced, considerable crowds of the relations and friends of the prisoners, and of other persons brought by mere curiosity, assembled at the forts, and followed the convoy to the station, but without the slightest breach of order. The prisoners seemed to be calm and resigned, and each of the three parties into which they were separated arrived at the station without the least impediment. The first left Asnières at half-past twelve, the second at one, and the third in another half hour. They were guarded by the armed force all the way to Havre, and until they were fast on board the *Ulloa*. They were treated the whole of the way with perfect humanity, and Dr. Sanson, a physician, member of the committee, went with them, and will attend them to Brest. Three days before their departure M. Cormenin, President of the Committee, visited them, and undertook to convey their letters to their families and friends, who were thus enabled to come and take leave of them.

The insurgent prisoners who left Paris on Thursday night for Havre were embarked yesterday morning in the *Ulloa*, which left immediately afterwards for Cherbourg. Amongst them, says the *Journal du Hâvre*, is a man named Dacheux, 76 years of age, who has two crosses and four medals for different acts of patriotism and humanity. This journal adds that Dacheux has for some time past exhibited symptoms of insanity.

The *Piedmontese Gazette* of the 15th publishes a long list of subscribers to the new loan, which appears to be filling fast. The conscription is proceeding with alacrity. News from Bologna of the 14th states that the Austrians are retiring. Bologna is in a state of defence, with 20,000 men under arms. The batallion Zambeccari, that of the students of Rome, and that of Ferrara, have taken the three mountains St. Michela in Bosco, Paterna, and Osservanza, and fortified them with artillery. The Austrian prisoners consist of fifty privates, a captain, a lieutenant, and two bulans.—On the 15th the third division of the Piedmontese army marched into Turin, and was received with enthusiasm.

The *Pensiero Italiano* of Genoa of the 14th announces the arrival of Garibaldi with his column at Castelletto on the 10th, after a most fatiguing march of eight days. A rumour was current that the Austrians had crossed the Ticino, at Castelletto, to attack Garibaldi for having continued hostilities after the signing of the armistice. This paper is very violent against the Pope; we quote the following from its leader:—"We do not flatter ourselves that our words can reach the ears of him (the Pope) who has done everything to cast us back into the slavery of Babylon; of him who has neglected no artifice to present us as a holocaust to the Austrian idol. But should they reach him, we would boldly say:—'You are not the Vicar of God, but the vicar of the Austrian Emperor, and the humble servant of Metternich. Your faith is not civilisation, but barbarism; not peace, but the slaughter of our people. Words are not sufficient; deeds speak, and in you we have words and deeds. You fear the schism of the Austrian prelates, and heed not the maledictions of nations. Tarry awhile, and you will gather the fruit you deserve. . . . Oh, poor Italy! Where has the dominion of the Popes led you! . . . After this protest, what can we hope from the Prince of Rome? Nothing! What can we hope from our Pontiff? Nothing! People, learn! Here are the terrible effects of the temporal dominion of the Popes!'"

The *Cittadino Italiano* of Leghorn, of the 12th, gives the following as the composition of the new Tuscan ministry:—Gino Capponi, president without portfolio; Salvagnoli, interior; Leonida Landucci, finance; Mazzei, grace and justice; Colonel Chigi, war; Ricasoli, foreign affairs; Capei, public instruction. If this is confirmed, it is the most warlike ministry possible for Tuscany.

The Madrid journals of the 13th and 14th have arrived. The *Gazette* publishes a decree appointing M. Mon, Minister of Finance in the room of M. Orlando, resigned. M. Mon, it will be remembered, was at first reluctant to take the situation. His appointment had caused satisfaction in financial circles. Immediately on entering on his new duties, he demanded a meeting of capitalists to devise means of relieving the treasury. The retirement of M. Sartorius, Minister of the Interior, and of the Ministers of War and Justice, was spoken of; and if it should take place, it was considered probable that the newly constituted ministry would assemble the Cortes at an early period. The *Gazette* contains a list of the high officials, who are to be present at the *accouchement* of the Duchess de Montpensier, and it details some of the ceremonies to be observed on the occasion. Letters from Puerto Rico state that the Captain General sent 500 men and two pieces of artillery to the Danish Island of St. Thomas to assist in crushing an insurrection of the blacks. The *Clamor Publico* publishes a letter from Vich, stating that Cabrera has reappeared at Olos y Sambry at the head of a few followers.

THE AFFAIR OF MAY 15, AND THE 2nd INSURRECTION OF JUNE.

(CONTINUED.)

GENERAL CHANGARNIER.

11th July.

On being asked what the position of Paris was, the General answered:—The insurgents were greatly discouraged; but they are regaining courage, and seem inclined to recommence the struggle. A very active correspondence is established between the insurgents and the provinces. He added that he believed that a new insurrection would take place, and he pointed out measures calculated to crush it more promptly than had been done in June. He believed, he said, that the insurrection of 16th April would have been more formidable if he had not taken the measures he had. At a quarter past twelve on that day he went to Lamartine's to take his orders, and solicit directions for his early departure on an embassy to which he had been named. He was told that Lamartine had gone out. He saw a secretary, and began talking to him of the affairs of Holstein. "There can be no question of such affairs now," said the secretary; "Lamartine is perhaps killed." Madame Lamartine conjured him to go to assist her husband, and he went to the Hôtel de Ville. There were no arms, no ammunition. He spoke to Marrast, and received his communications. He transmitted his orders to Colonel Rey, whose zeal satisfied him. M. de Lamartine came, appeared disquieted, spoke of the divisions which existed in the Provisional Government, and complained of Louis Blanc and Ledru Rollin, himself considering them concerned in the movement. As he took no measures, the General did so, in concert with M. Marrast, whose attitude was very good. General Courtais had only commanded a picquet of 150 per legion. He thought that the general rappel ought to be beaten. M. Marrast wrote the order, in some respect under his direction, and sent it to the legions. On that order the rappel was beaten, and the National Guard turned out. Two days after he was authorised to call the few troops that were disposable into Paris. The Minister of Foreign Affairs subsequently gave him, he said, numerous proofs of the unlimited confidence which since 16th April he had placed in him.

M. MARIE,

Ex-member of the Provisional Government, 5 July, 1848.

M Marie deposed:—"When on 24th February the Provisional government was formed, it contained different elements—the Moderate Republic—the Red Republic, and the socialist element. Difficulties immediately arose. The Provisional government could not support itself by any armed force—it had only moral force. The people were masters of the government more than the government were masters of the people. The principal and most dangerous element was the socialist one. Flags and cries signalised it everywhere. On the 25th February a man setting aside all obstacles to reach us, said to me—'We want the organisation of labour—we will have it to-morrow.' I replied that that could not be done in a day. I called Louis Blanc, who spoke in the same sense that I did. The man insisted, and got into a passion. I, at length, said to him—'If you have a complete system, put it into operation to-morrow, and we shall see what will become of it.' He was very much irritated at that. I cite this as an example of the truth of my appreciation. These demands arose under other forms, and almost every day. We at length spoke of them seriously, and it was agreed to organise succour in order to prevent bloody collisions in the streets. The Commission du Luxembourg was created, and you know what followed—the speeches of Louis Blanc—the agitation among the workmen—the deceptions of all kinds which were employed. The only good which resulted was to show with the clearest evidence, the inanity of the proposed doctrines and measures.

"You know the demonstration of the National Guard, and the counter-demonstration it occasioned. The clubs of Paris were in a state of extreme exasperation and violence. It was desired to blow out the brains of some among us, or to throw us out of the window. Blanqui's Club was the most violent. Lacambre, one of Blanqui's friends, spoke on that day with real fury. However, when we descended to the Place

He is astonished the Commission hesitates about a matter on which the safety of the country depends. It was certain that Caussidière had been seen at the barricades of June, and leaguing with the insurgents. Caussidière was concerned in the affairs of April 16 and May 15, and was the very soul of every conspiracy. The delay of the elections was the primary cause of our misfortunes, and that he attributes to Ledru Rollin, who, he thinks, was instigated by Caussidière. There were meetings every night at Ledru Rollin's. The meeting in which he (Ledru Rollin) was proclaimed took place at the Prefecture of Police; Caussidière, Flocon and Grandmenil were present.

Sitting of July 18.—Witness is more then ever convinced that Caussidière is guilty, and, if he were not a representative, he would not hesitate to arrest him. There had been a meeting of 60 Montagnards on the quai and round the Prefecture the day before, and was to be another that day at 11 o'clock. These meeting are instigated by Caussidière, who had caused a sum of 500fr., to be distributed amongst them. He considered Caussidière's arrest a measure of public safety, and that the responsibility of the Commission at that moment was very great, with respect to Caussidière.

Sitting of July 19.—M. Trouvé-Chauvel requested that citizens Caffin and Lefevre should be summoned to depose to certain facts relative to Caussidière. He is of opinion that Caussidière had been a leading conspirator ever since Feb. 26; he had always been conspiring, sometimes in one way, sometimes in another.

DEPOSITION OF M. LOUIS BLANC.

On being asked what information he was able to give the committee as to the affairs of May and June, he replied that all that he knew relative to the affairs of the 15th May he had published in a small pamphlet which had been printed and distributed. In answer to the several questions put to him, he said: It was only on the evening of the 14th that I heard of the intended manifestation of the next day, and then only by vague rumours. Ever since the 16th April, I knew that manifestations might be easily turned from their ostensible object. About four o'clock in the afternoon of the 14th, I saw Barbès, who told me that he had heard of the intended manifestation of the next day. I replied that it would be difficult to restrain it, and that it would be better to prevent it. Barbès was of my opinion. I have never attended any club. Barbès on the contrary was president of one. He promised me to use all his efforts to stop the manifestation. This is all I know of what preceded it; as to what took place afterwards, I know no more that all the world knows. There was a meeting of seventeen or eighteen representatives at my house on the 14th; our business was to come to an understanding as to the composition of the committee on the Constitution. I do not know whether the intended manifestation was spoken of or not; it might have been, but the object of the meeting was what I have just stated. I do not know who informed me of the manifestation; I think it was some one in the street, for rumours about it were very general. Then was no meeting at my house on the morning of the 15th. I went as usal to take my breakfast at a café. There were several delegates from the departments present, who told me of their disappointments of the previous day. I did not leave the Chamber when it was invaded but with the permission of the President; I was solicited on all sides to do so. I first delivered a speech from the tribune, and then returned to my seat. The ushers came, and told me that loud cries were raised for me in the place de Bourgogne, and that the people threatened to break in; several of my collegues told me the same thing. I was very much embarrassed what to do. I addressed myself to the President, who gave me his authorization how to act. I addressed the people from a window of the apartment of the Questure. Armand Barbès and Albert were present. Thus my speech had no other object than to calm the people; I gave the substance of what I said in the pamphlet before alluded to. I returned into the Chamber, and was carried into the Salle des Pas Perdus. Two men mounted me in a chair; I again addressed the crowd in the same terms, and in every case in the same spirit. "Be quiet," I said, "the revolution of February has great strength; there is no doubt but that it will extend itself over the whole world, but it must not be calumniated." I returned to my place. In spite of myself I was carried to the upper part of the amphitheatre; I was exhausted. A glass of water was brought to me, and a workman said, "It is necessary that you should speak again, but you are unable to do so; write a few words, and I will go and read aloud what you have written." I had not had time to finish writing when the Assembly was declared to be dissolved. I had again repeated to the people the advice I had given them, to respect their own sovereignty.

The deposition of M. Levasseur was here read, which stated that the speech of Louis Blanc was rather of a nature to excite the people than to calm them. In answer to this, the deponent said—I deny that. I thought it would not be advisable to oppose too much the wishes of the people. I spoke of the right of labour and of the intervention in favour of Poland. I flattered the people in their wishes as far as they were legitimate, but my argument was always "If you desire that your wishes may be realized, allow the Assembly to deliberate freely." What I wrote or spoke in the Assembly was in conformity with this opinion. I have been informed that two witnesses have stated that I spoke differently; but I repeat that I only spoke of the propagandism of a universal republic, and of the strength and bearing of the revolution of February; it was in speaking of that revolution, that I said "It was not one of those movements which shook, but which overthrew." I concluded my speech with these words, "In the name of the sovereignty of the people, withdraw." As to the two witnesses who have deposed against me, I consider that the moral character of one (M. Mallude Richard) is suspicious; to which, a colleague, M. Michot, can testify. This Mallude Richard has been in the habit of introducing himself into the National Assembly by falsely assuming the quality of a Representative, and M. Lemaussis has been obliged to turn him out. With regard to the flag which I held in my hand, it was offered me, and I did not reject it, for it was necessary to have something to act on the minds of the people. I was carried into the salle des Conférences; I was almost in a fainting state; I there heard my name mentioned as well as that of Albert and Considérant, as intended to form part of the Provisional Government, but I had nothing to do with it. I did not recognise any of the delegates of the Luxembourg there. When I heard the people cry "*A l'Hôtel de Ville!*" I said that to go there would only cause bloodshed. I went out through the garden of the President, and was carried by the crowd to the Esplanade of the Invalides. I told them that they were commencing a civil war, but their reply was that the troops would not fire upon people unarmed. I was then put into a cabriolet by my brother, and fortunately the crowd did not follow me. The driver of the vehicle has stated that I expressed an intention of going to the Hôtel de Ville; if I did so, I have no recollection of it, but, at all events, it must have been from a good motive. I wished to prevent civil war. I was told, in the salle des Pas-Perdus, that Albert and Barbès had been carried to the Hôtel de Ville; I hesitated between a desire to go there and protect them, and the idea that I should have been powerless. I might, in the confusion of my thoughts, have spoken of the Hôtel de Ville, but I must repeat, for the sake of truth, that I had no intention of going there. The driver told me that, if I wished, he would drive me to the house of a friend in the Rue de l'École de Médecine. I consented, and from thence I went to M. Victor Masson's, a bookseller, where I got a change of linen. I then went to my own house.

On being told that he had been met by a magistrate on the Pont St. Michel going in the direction of the Hôtel-de-Ville, surrounded by two or three armed men, he replied: I was going with my brother to the Quai aux Fleurs to take a coach. We were met by two or three individuals, one of whom was armed; I do not know what they said to me. It is possible that they might have shaken hands with me, for that has frequently happened with persons I had no acquaintance with. With regard to the evidence of a witness who stated that he had seen me at the Hôtel-de-Ville I declare it to be an infamous falsehood; I will not call it an error, it is an infamous calumny. No one in Paris knew less than I did of the Ateliers Nationaux; indeed, Emile Thomas had, I know not why, become my enemy. The Ateliers Nationaux had been organized to combat the influence which it was supposed I had over the corporations of workmen through the delegates of the Luxembourg. I know that these delegates, at least such of them as I was acquainted with, took no part in the insurrection. I was in relation with the association of the ateliers at Clichy, and they took no part in it. If the Ateliers Nationaux, the organization of which I did not approve of, were concerned in the movement, I have nothing to do with it.

On the statement of M. Emile Thomas before M. Tréiat being shown to the deponent, his reply was: It is a frightful falsehood. I do not say that the statement was not made by M. E. Thomas, but the propositions implied by the statements are absolutely false. My reason for saying that the ateliers at Clichy took no part in the affair is that some of the workmen called on me and told me so. I went to those ateliers, on the 18th, on the subject of a demand which had been made to the Government by the Ateliers Nationaux for a credit. I had to give some advice as to an Acte de Société which was to be submitted to the Government. I never told the workmen not to be disunited, as they would become masters. I recommended them not to be disunited, on the principle of association. I breakfasted at the Café des Panoramas on the 15th May. Barbès was not present. It was a friendly meeting, in consequence of the departure of a relation who had received an appointment in Corsica. I have no recollection of joining hands with Albert and Barbès on the 15th May. I passed the evening of the 14th with Albert; we went to the theatre together, but there was not a word said about the manifestation of the following day. I was far from suspecting what would take place. I had no knowledge of the engineers of the Northern Railroad except at the Luxembourg. I do not know whether Mallude Richard was at the Assembly or not on the 15th May. M. Michot had told him that he was "*un homme taré.*"

M. DUPONT (de l'Eure),
Member of the Provisional Government.

I need not, I think, enter into any explanation on the events of 15th May and 18th June. The dissension stated to exist in the Provisional Government was rather a difference of opinion than a dissension, and was more on interior than foreign questions. The adjournment of the elections took place on account of real obstacles; perhaps some among us desired it from political motives, but I cannot say it was a means of conspiracy. I did not approve of the circulars, and deplored their effects. No member of the Government approved of the invasion of Belgium, and I think it would have been well to have dismissed M. Delécluze. The institution of a Commission of Labour was one of the pressing necessities of the times. On all important points the Provisional Government deliberated as at a bivouack. It did not court the population, but it was obliged to be extremely reserved. By the side of the great element called the Red Republic there were those of the Legitimists and the fallen dynasty, which still exist; but it was right to declare that the two latter parties excited no difficulties to the Provisional Government. I always thought that fusion in a Government was a bad system, but the members of the Provisional Government did not choose each other. I thought the Assembly wrong in ceding to a conciliatory idea of fusion in nominating the Executive Committee.

M. BIGNAN, senior.—July 7.

Witness heard his son speak of a sum of £14,000 sterling invested in England by M. Ledru Rollin; but he has himself no precise information to give on the subject, and did not expect that a simple conversation could oblige him to appear before the Committee of Inquiry.

M. BIGNAN, junior.—July 7.

M. Ledru Rollin paid 100,000fr. to Count Porte, which he owed him. He purchased a property in the Sarthe, and did not pay for it; but he passed bills, of 25,000fr. each, the first of which was not taken up. When the creditor found that the bill was dishonoured he got annoyed, and ruined the election of M. Ledru Rollin in the Sarthe. As to a sum of £14,000 sterling which M. Ledru Rollin, it is said, invested in England, it is not true that witness mentioned that fact as of his own knowledge, or that he named the banker who received the money. Witness happened to mention the matter to his father, aged 80 years, and the latter misunderstood him.

M. CRÉMIEUX, ex-Minister of Justice.—July 15.

In reply to the several questions put to him, M. Crémieux said:—I was as much surprised at the events of the 15th May as any member of the Committee could be. During the time of the Provisional Government, my relations with the Prefect of Police were not very frequent. The Prefect sometimes came to us; he spoke just in the same manner as he now speaks in the tribune. The impression I had of him was favourable; I considered him a man of good faith. I never had to reproach him, except for his not having arrested Blanqui, and for having released some dangerous prisoners. Since the meeting of the National Assembly, I have had no connection with M. Caussidière. I only saw him on the evening of the 16th May, at the Luxembourg. I ordered an examination into the affair of the 16th April. That event was regarded by the Government at one time lightly, and at another time seriously. The position in which they were placed was unparalleled in history. It was wished to avoid civil war in the capital, which, in my eyes, would have been the overthrow of the honest Republic which it had been sought to found. When a serious fear of a movement was entertained, my advice was to make concessions which would not reflect on the honour or the courage of the Provisional Government, which I regarded as the bulwark of the Republic. We were happy enough not to cause a single drop of blood to be shed. I am not aware that the Provisional Government bequeathed the collisions to the Assembly; but, even were that allegation true, the Provisional Government well knew that the Assembly was stronger than it. I maintain that the Provisional Government, taken in its ensemble, did every thing in its power. History would judge of its collective acts. I shall unreservedly take my share in the responsibility; but, as to individual acts, each member must bear his own. I did not abandon the examination into the affair of April 16. I had begun it, because I thought it might be connected with some organised plan. I confided the direction of it to the Procureur-General and to the Procureur of the Republic. Events, however, proceeded more rapidly than we did. I only granted to the prisoners at the bagnes half the pardons which had been granted in former years, and only did so from serious motives.

When asked to account for the suspension of M. Dubois, the Judge at Lille, M. Crémieux said:—M. Delécluze wrote to inform me of the measures taken against M. Dubois. I asked for explanations on the subject. During this time, the approbation of the Minister of the Interior was demanded relative to the conduct of the Commissary. On examining into the affair, I considered M. Dubois to be in the right; but, wishing to avoid a collision which, I was told, was certain at the time of the elections at Lille, I confirmed the suspension for some days, but the day after the electoral operations the *Moniteur* reinstated M. Dubois, and my correspondence will prove how anxious I was to support that magistrate. My letters to all the Procureurs-Généraux will also testify with what energy I watched over the magistracy, whom I regarded in those days of difficulty as necessary protectors. On the very day when the Provisional Government declared that the immoveability of the magistrates was inconsistent with republican principles, I declared what the bill for judicial organisation now declares, the right of revocation, and of removing magistrates in cases provided for by the law itself. I have never revoked a single permanent magistrate; I have energetically struggled against some suspensions made without my orders, and, if I have myself caused some, it was only such as I was compelled to do from political reasons.

M. FLOCON,
Late Minister of Agriculture and Commerce.—July 12.

When I arrived at the Assembly on May 15 I was completely ignorant of what was going on. Hearing a great noise, I went towards the Rue de Bourgogne, and found the whole place in a state of great agitation. On my return I met M. Clément Thomas, who told me that the Assembly was invaded. I entered, and placed myself between the rioters and some members they were threatening. I prevailed upon MM. Taschereau and Sénart to leave the hall; but remained myself till the end of the tumult. When I saw that there was nothing more to be done inside, I was going out when I met the Garde Mobile and National Guard coming in, and did not quit it again till I was called to attend the Executive Committee. My opinion is that the affair of May 15 was a surprise upon the people by a handful of wretches. I recognised among the crowd, which was less considerable than had been said, first some of Blanqui's men, who no doubt were well inclined to commit excesses, and there were others who no doubt came to prevent such excesses. I know not how far Raspail was inclined to go to effect a dissolution of the Assembly. I think he was not so disposed; but as to Blanqui he wished to go to the utmost point. As to Barbès he entertained none of these sentiments; but when he saw Blanqui at the tribune, he wished to render himself master of the situation, and prevent Blanqui from gaining it. Of the events of June 23, I know nothing; you are acquainted with what was the situation of the Executive Committee—you know that it had become necessary to dissolve the ateliers nationaux, and that was a cause of great embarrassment. An attempt was made to force the Executive Committee to retire. It was unwilling to do so in the face of danger. You know the vote come to by the National Assembly on the next day. I immediately gave in my resignation, assuring General Cavaignac at the same time that until the danger was passed I would be at his disposal, and he accepted my concurrence. In my conception of these events, the pretenders acted in them; the Bonapartists above all; that the ateliers nationaux presented them with a disposable army, as they did to all conspirators. We had heard of enlistings and of money given. On the next day the agitation changed its character; for, when once the elements are set in motion, all mastery over them is lost.

M. CHARRAS,
Representative, Under-Secretary at War.—July 15.

Deposed that on May 15 there were 10,000 troops of all arms in Paris. Up to the evening of the 14th no measures had been taken by M. Arago, who remained Minister of War *de facto*. On that evening it was decided that General Courtais should have the command of all the forces. At 10 the next morning MM. Arago, Garnier-Pagès, Marie, and another member of the Executive committee assembled in council. He (M. Charras) then was made acquainted with the appointment of General Courtais, and, being hurt by it, thought of sending in his resignation; but decided upon not doing so, as he felt there might be some danger in the course of the day, and resolved to take his share in it. He went to the Chamber, because he considered that to be the point of danger. He after went to the Luxembourg for orders, because the powers given to General Courtais took from him all means of acting by himself. On the way, he said, that if he was consulted he would recommend that the drums should not beat to arms in the neighbourhood of the Chamber, because it would only aggravate the danger and expose the members to be massacred. The troops had been marched from the Ecole Militaire to the Champs-Elysées, by order of General Fouché. General Tempoure received an order from M. Recurt to come to the Assembly and wait further directions. The effective force of the troops in Paris, on June 23, was at least 40,000 men, including the Garde Mobile. He knew nothing of a battalion being demanded in the morning of June 23 by the Executive Committee.

M. LAYEUX, Commissary of Police.

On Monday, April 3d, at half-past ten in the morning, the Commissaries of Police were assembled at the Prefecture. M. Caussidière addressed them to the following purport:—"In general the Commissaries of Police do not appear to comprehend the actual position of things; they are lukewarm and wanting in zeal and energy. They must show an active spirit if they wish to preserve their important functions. It had been sufficiently proved that the Government was unwilling to displace any one without an absolute necessity, although motives or pretexts had certainly not failed. The Commissaries of Police should understand themselves, and give the inhabitants of their quarters who were imbued with old opinions, whether Carlist, Henriquinquist, Philippist, regency, or others, to understand that the simple manifestation of these opinions might produce a re-action towards a past régime, and be the signal for an overwhelming manifestation; that 400,000 workmen were only waiting for the signal to raze Paris smooth with the earth; that they had no need of arms, for chemical matches would be sufficient for them. An insensate opposition by the Deputies from the provinces would be the signal for the destruction of Paris, which they would rather see swept away than yield; that the people suspended over the heads of those suspected of re-action the sword of Damocles, in the shape of a hatchet. The people wished for a Republic, but that it should be good and honest, treating the higher classes with due consideration, if they submitted with a good grace. That the Commissaries of Police should with firmness repress all disorders, in the name and for the good of the Republic; that, as yet, they had given no information to the Prefecture of Police; their reports were insignificant; it was not necessary for them merely to state that a piece of the pavement was out of order, or that certain inhabitants had not swept the street before their doors, but what was of real interest to the public welfare; that the clubs ought to be watched, and the principal incidents should be marked; that they should not be allowed to be opened until they had made the required declaration; that the Commissaries ought to report when they were opened and the days and hours of their sittings, and that regular reports should be made of the state of public opinion. In answer to other questions, this deponent stated that M. Caussidière said that the manifestation would be so strong that he and all who were opposed to it would be crushed. That he represented the danger in such a strong light that some of the Commissaries thought he meant to intimidate them. Being reminded that he had said that M. Caussidière did not appear to sympathise with the projects for the destruction of Paris, and asked whether he also coincided in opinion as to the resistance to be made to the provincial deputies? The deponent replied, according to what M. Caussidière said, he thought that there was nothing else to be done. His opinion, energetically expressed, was that the National Assembly must give way to the population of Paris. He said, "I wish it—we all wish it! It must be! We have at our backs 400,000 workmen who will rather that Paris should disappear than that they should retreat."

Document presented by the Minister of Justice.

"My dear Prefect, you promised that I should be released yesterday evening from the barracks d'Orsay. I pray you to intervene immediately, and to place me under the protection of the law. Ever yours, "SOBRIER.

"Tuesday morning."

(In the original, Sobrier uses the second person singular, in addressing the Prefect—a proof of great familiarity.)

Monsieur Barbès—Au Château de Vincennes—Vincennes.
Post-mark 11th June, 1848.

Mon cher Barbès,

3—21=3—15—21—18—1—7—5=20—13—21—20=5—19—20=16—18—5—20=16=15—24—18=12—1=14—21—9—20=4—5=19—1—13—5—4—9=1=4—9—13—1—14—3—8—5=12—5=6—5—21=5—3—12—1—20—5=18—1=16—1—18—20—15—21—20=1=12—1=6—15—9—19=10—1—9=12—1—16=1—18—15—12—5=4—5.

=3—1—21—18—18—9—4—9—5—18—5=16—1—18=5—3—18—9—20=7—21—5—18—9—14=19—5 18—1=1=12—1=3—8—1—2—18—5=16—15—20—9—5—18=1—12—8—15—20—5—12=1—5=22—9—12—12—5=5—20=12—5—19=1—2—20—18—5—19—16—1—18—20—15—21—20=3—5—19—20=13=15—9=17—21—9=13—5=3—8—1—18—7—5—4—5—20—15—9.

Salut et fraternité.
(Signature illisible.)

13 juin 1848.

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19

T	U	V	X	Y	Z.
20	21	22	23	24	25

"*Cu* courage, tout est prêt pour la nuit de samedi à dimanche; le feu éclatera partout à la fois; j'ai la parole de *Caurridière*, par écrit; *Guérin* sera à la *Chabre*; *Potier* à l'*Hôtel*-de-Ville, et les *abires* partout; c'est moi qui me charge de toi."

The letters of the alphabet correspond to the figures as above, but there are errors in the words in italics—*Cu*, *Caurridière*, *chabre*, and *abires*, which should be *Du*, *Caussidière*, *chambre*, and *autres*. Proper names are underlined twice. It will be seen that although the letter is dated 13th June, the post-mark is the 11th, and is that of the bureau of the Place de la Bourse. The following is a translation of the letter:—

"My dear Barbès! Courage! All is ready for Saturday night. The fire will break out every where at the same time. I have the promise of Caussidière in writing. Guérin will be at the Chamber, Potier at the Hotel de Ville, and the others every where. It is I who charge myself with you."

Copy of a Letter addressed to Blanqui the 14th June, 1848:

"Citizen Blanqui,—Be patient, the sun of liberty will again shine for us; the day of vengeance approaches. The blood of the members of the Executive Government (two of whom, L. B. and L., are more guilty than you) will serve to sharpen the sword which will be plunged into the hearts of the representatives of the National Assembly who are not sincere republicans. Let the day of vengeance approach—anarchy will triumph, the bourgeoisie will perish. You will leave the donjon of Vincennes, and will be restored to your friends, who want you to sacrifice, on the altar of the country, the aristocracy on the one hand, and the National Assembly on the other. They harrass us with bayonets—they close the clubs—well! we will triumph otherwise. Paris shall be given up to devastation, pillage, murder if necessary, to incendiarism, and, better still, we will blow up the National Assembly in open day. A conspiracy is being organised, and you shall be restored to liberty, or woe to the representatives! We have cartridges, balls, caissons, which have entered Paris. Yes, the legislative palace shall be blown up, but the day will not be known. The day on which, from the donjon of Vincennes, you will hear the terrible explosion, you will know that that day will be that of popular vengeance, the signal of a war of extermination. Before long the act will be accomplished. Salutation and fraternity.

"A Member of the Central Republican Club,
(Signed) "ERNEST BERTRAND."

Certified by the juge d'instruction.

(*To be continued.*)

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

Sitting of Aug. 21.

The President took the chair at half-past one.

The PRESIDENT.—M. Drouin de l'Huys wishes to speak on a question of order.

M. DROUIN DE L'HUYS.—When the thirty delegates of the national guard of Milan lately addressed a petition to the National Assembly, demanding the armed intervention of France, the matter was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. The report was now ready, and he had to ask, looking at the importance of the matter, that he be permitted to bring the matter forward as soon as the Assembly might deem fit.

M. J. FAVRE observed that it was the custom of the Assembly to have 24 hours afforded at least to the government before a discussion of such importance took place. He must therefore propose that the matter be postponed to the next day at the earliest.

M. BUCHEZ observed that the matter was of the greatest importance. The circle of revolution was sure to extend, and the position of Italy was sure to be intimately connected with the state of things throughout Europe. When, therefore, the discussion took place on the affairs of Italy, it was not to that country that it could be confined—it must be extended infinitely further than the hon. representative imagined—to Europe as she was at the present time, and to Europe for the future, and consequently he thought it was important that the government should immediately come forward and declare what was its precise object in the Italian question. Should no other person deem it necessary to address interpellations on the subject, he should do it himself.

The PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL.—The government is quite ready to reply relative to the affairs of Italy. If therefore the Assembly desire to go on at once with the report on the petition of the national guards of Milan, or to proceed to the interpellations just announced, no objection whatever will be made. I have only one word to say to the observations of M. Buchez, and that is to request him to clearly state the questions which he wishes to address to us, as it would be rather embarrassing to enter on the extended course of discussion which he has alluded to.

The Marquis DE LAROCHEJAQUELIN quite agreed with M. J. Favre that it would not be fair to take the government by surprise by fixing the discussion immediately. He should vote for postponing it to the next day.

M. DROUIN DE L'HUYS by no means intended to press the discussion for that day, if the views of the Assembly were opposed to it. He had merely wished to have the matter placed on the order of the day for an early sitting. He now desired to establish clearly in what manner the discussion should take place, whether, according to the more extended opinion of M. Buchez, or in reference to Italy itself. There were two questions in presence—the first merely confined to Italy, and the other far more more extensive, both as to time and space—one, in fact, of an immense range, connected with Europe both now and hereafter. The Assembly had, he thought, first to decide to which of these questions the discussion should apply.

Voices.—The report, the report!

The question being then put, the Assembly decided that the report should be read immediately.

The PRESIDENT.—Does the Assembly wish to have the discussion brought on afterwards?

Numerous Voices.—We shall see after the reading of the report.

M. DROUYN DE LHUIS then read the report, [illegible] stated that the committee of Foreign Affairs had maturely deliberated on the affairs mentioned in the petition from Milan. It considered that the late events imposed on France a duty in the face of Europe, and that was to aid in the liberation of Italy. The Provisional Government had formally announced that such should be its policy, and had sent an army to the foot of the Alps as an evidence of its intentions, and the present government had adopted the same programme. In consequence of such declarations on the part of government, and of the repeated testimonies given in that assembly in favour of the independence of Italy, the committee was of opinion that the petition was worthy of every attention, and recommended it to the serious consideration of the government. The committee on Foreign Affairs had the choice of two courses—one to call on the National Assembly to interfere to call for all diplomatic communications that could show what had been the course pursued by the government in the Italian question; and the second, to leave the government perfectly free to act as it might think fit. The majority of the committee had declared for the latter course, and in consequence he had to propose to refer the petition to the Minister of Foreign Affairs as a new pledge of the sympathy of France in favour of Italy. (Hear, hear.)

The PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL had a few minutes back declared that the government was quite ready to reply. Now that the report had been read, he had to demand from the Assembly to permit him to proceed at once to the explanations demanded. (Cries of Yes, yes! to-morrow, to-morrow!)

The PRESIDENT.—Does the Assembly wish to have the report discussed forthwith? (Cries of Yes, yes!)

The Assembly being consulted decided that it would hear at once the explanations of the government.

The PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL must remark that, though the government had not the slightest hesitation in replying at once on the question of Italy, yet still the subject was one of considerable delicacy to him personally, from his not being accustomed to speak frequently in the tribune, and from his not being much familiarised with diplomatic terms. When he had entered on his present position in the government, his first care was to examine most carefully the situation of the foreign relations of the country. Naturally Italy had been the object of the serious attention of the government, and the view which the National Assembly took of the question had been clearly expressed in the sitting of May 24, when an order of the day *motivé* showed how much it had at heart the enfranchisement of Italy. The maintenance of an honourable peace—a peace worthy of a country like France, that is to say, a peace which should not exclude such aid as the government might be called on to afford to nationalities, whose hour seemed to have arrived—such had appeared to him the principle adopted by the Assembly. (Adhesion.)

The government saw that great caution was required in its mode of acting in the question, as any premature or unadvised step would precipitate the country into war. Such had been his views before the late events, and, if possible, that opinion had been increased since then. He believed that the continuance of peace was necessary for the well-being of France, and he need scarcely say that, in certain situations, it required more real courage to maintain peace than to urge a country into the path of war. (Loud approbation.) The government had determined to follow pacific means for the settlement of the affairs of Italy; and the more so that the Lombardo-Venetian population had formally declared that they were determined to work out their own independence by their own exertions. The Piedmontese and Lombard army was already in full retreat, before any application was made to France for intervention. In fact, not only it had not been demanded, it had absolutely been refused. The government in that state of things entered into a negotiation with England, showing that the state not only of Italy but of Europe called for the common action of the two countries, with a view to a pacific mediation. That appeal had been fully responded to, as the government had expected. He should not then enter into any explanations as to the mediation now in progress to preserve the peace of Europe, as to do so would be attended with danger. The Assembly was sovereign, and it could undoubtedly order any communications to be made that it thought fit; but he considered it right to inform it that such a course, under present circumstances, would be, as he had just said, attended with danger. (Movement.) "In the history of this country," said the Honourable General, "I see many men earning a name for themselves by war, whilst on the other hand those who served their country by peace, finished their career obscurely, in the calm which they had themselves secured. For my part I have never had less respect for the one class than for the other. (Hear, hear.) And I think that the republican education will be farther advanced, when the sentiment of which I speak shall be more prevalent in the public mind. If by the line of conduct which I have adopted, I contribute to ensure to my country an honourable peace, a peace worthy of the republic, I conceive that in so doing I shall have rendered it the greatest service in my power: if, on the contrary, I shall not be able to carry out my views—if some day or other I should have to come here and demand from you to enter on the path of war, not only I should do it without apprehension, but I should, you may believe me, find it easy to resume the habits of my whole life. Be certain, gentlemen, that in such a case, it will be, I will not say agreeable, but certainly easy to again grasp the sword. (Hear, hear.) Until then I shall know how to resist, with an immovable firmness, all the inducements that may lead to acts contrary to the honour and prosperity of the Republic." (Loud Applause.)

M. JULES FAVRE declared that he felt considerable embarrassment in addressing the chamber after the noble sentiments which had just renewed the approbation of the Assembly. He begged to be believed that in doing so he had no intention whatever to exhibit any opposition to the government (murmurs and laughter). For six weeks everything had certainly been done by the Assembly to preserve order at home. His conduct would therefore be comprehended when he announced that he came there not to excite dissension, but to demand if the language of the Hon. President of the Council could be called satisfactory. The Committee on Foreign Affairs had believed itself called on to speak in such terms as to draw forth formal explanations from the government on the affairs of Italy. The position of that country affected the honour and the security of France (movement). The word of France had been pledged to assist Italy by armed force, if a demand was made to such an effect. There was a demand made and nothing was done of the nature promised. The Committee for Foreign Affairs was therefore of opinion that the conduct of the government required explanation—that committee, be it remarked, whose duty it was to observe a special surveillance over the conduct of the government on Foreign affairs. (Oh! Oh! Loud murmurs.)

The PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL said that he must deny the existence of any such surveillance. (Hear, hear.)

The PRESIDENT.—M. J. Favre was mistaken; the duty of the committee was to take into consideration all propositions and petitions brought forward relative to foreign affairs—nothing more. (Hear, hear.)

M. JULES FAVRE.—The Committees were established in order to occupy themselves with all the elements of the labours of the Assembly, but unless it could be said that the Assembly did not occupy itself with foreign affairs the committee on them, which emanated from that Assembly, must surely be allowed to take cognisance of such matters. When the discussion commenced he thought that questions would be asked, and that the government would not hesitate to reply. These questions had been put, but the President of the Council alone had replied in a certain manner, which appeared to satisfy the Assembly. For his part, he would say that he was not satisfied. (Laughter.) He was ready to render due homage to the chief of the government, but as a member of that Chamber he had a right to go to the bottom of the questions submitted to the examination of the Assembly. The policy of the present Ministry did not resemble that of the Provisional Government; France, while wishing to preserve peace, told the Italian nations that if an appeal were made to her sympathies it would be attended to. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Provisional Government said that there was an army at the foot of the Alps, which would cross them when the proper moment should arrive. The Austrians were again masters of Milan, what more was then [illegible] for? It had been said that the Italians ha re-jected [illegible] intention. He should like to have some light thrown on that subject, but there appeared to be a wish to prevent discussion. (Murmurs.) No one knew whether the conduct of the French Government had not rendered intervention impossible until a particular period; but in place of acting boldly, she had placed herself in the wake of England. (Violent interruption.) If his remark displeased let it not be attributed to him, for he had given utterance to the general idea of the people. (Renewed murmurs.) He repeated that a complete discussion was all he required; it would enlighten the country; it was for that reason, and not from a captious spirit that he had asked for the production of the documents.

The PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL said that the hon. gentleman's memory appeared to have failed him both with regard to the past and the present. What he (the President) had said was that the Assembly was sovereign, and should be obeyed. All the Government asked was not to be called on at present to speak.

Numerous Voices.—That was it.

The PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL.—According to what the hon. gentleman has just said, it would appear as if we refused a communication to the Assembly. It would be well that the difference between the relations of the Government with the Committees and with the Assembly should be clearly established. I do not think that the Committee should exercise any special surveillance over the Government, which like itself emanates from the Assembly. (Cries of "No, no.") The Committees examined petitions; that examination might require the Government to come before them, and give certain explanations, but they were given within certain limits, whereas, in presence of the Assembly, it was quite different; there was a deference due on the part of the Government. (Hear, hear.) He was particularly anxious to establish the fact that the Government did not refuse to present the documents in question to the Assembly, it only begged that they might not be called for. (Approbation.) The hon. Deputy had said that the Government appeared to follow in the wake of England. That was an accusation which he energetically rejected. The popular feeling had been also invoked. He could not, by any means, allow that the hon. gentleman was the organ which he represented himself to be. But even if that were the case, it would prove nothing, as it was the duty of the Government to correct popular feeling when misled, rather than to yield to it in its unwise requirements. (Hear, hear.) "For my part," said the hon. President, "I shall always consider it my duty to employ all the information which my position in the government places at my disposal to enlighten public feeling rather than yield without having opposed it. (Approbation.)

M. DE LAROCHEJACQUELIN said he had no pretension to claim in the name of the committee of foreign affairs a right which could not belong to it, since it was not appointed directly by the Assembly; he merely wished to give a few explanations. When the petition of the National Guard of Milan had been referred to them they were occupied with the consideration of the Italian question, and communications were demanded from the Government, which refused them.

A Voice.—They were demanded by the minority.

M. DE LAROCHEJACQUELIN.—By the majority.

M. BAROCHE.—That is a mistake.

M. DE LAROCHEJACQUELIN repeated that it was the majority, but it was true that the majority on one day might not be so on another. (Laughter, and cries of "Enough; the order of the day.") He was astonished that a question which regarded the honour of the country could be treated with such levity. (Murmurs.) He had ascended the tribune to tell the Assembly what it did not, but what it ought to know. The hon. gentleman in the midst of great noise continued to make some observations on the policy of France towards Italy. He should reserve his opinions, he said, as to the alliance of France and England on such a question, for he could not forget that England was the oppressor of Ireland. (Prolonged interruption.) There was, he said, a greater analogy between these questions than was generally imagined; if France tied her hands in Lombardy, they would also be tied when Ireland was in question, and that might perhaps be sooner than was expected. (Cries of "Enough, enough.")

M. SARRANS was about to give some explanations in the name of the majority of the committee of foreign affairs, and more particularly in reply to the remarks of M. Jules Favre, but was interrupted by the Chamber.

The Assembled then decided that the petition should be referred to the Minister of Foreign Affairs as recommended.

The next order of the day was the interpellations of M. Creton on the employment of the funds of the state by the government after the revolution of February.

M. CRETON reminded the Assembly that two months had elapsed since he demanded that an account should be rendered of the expenses of the Provisional Government, and he was much surprized at the delay which had taken place with regard to it. He now wished to ask the Minister of Finance whether or not he intended to present a detail of those expenses with proper documents in justification of them. He had always been of opinion that the funds of the state had not been usefully or even honourably employed. (Sensation.) His proposition was not merely financial, it had also a political bearing, and its result might guide the judgment of the Assembly as to many facts which had taken place. In a regular state of things, the Minister of Finance was the Controller-General of the Treasury, and was answerable for all payments which were made in an irregular manner. In times of revolution such could not be the case. His firm opinion was that it was the public treasury which had supplied the funds for the civil war. (Murmurs.) An enquiry had been ordered, and witnesses had been examined; but evidence might be discussed while figures became damning proofs; documents brought home charges in a manner that could not be contested. The Assembly required to know from what funds those birds of prey had been supported which had been sent to batten on the departments. (Cries of "Yes, yes, that is it," from the right, and loud exclamations from the left.)

Several members here rose together. M. Clément Thomas, after uttering something which it was impossible to catch, rushed forward to the foot of the tribune, gesticulating most violently, and addressing the Hon. Gentleman who stood above him. Loud cries of "Order! order!" burst forth from various parts of the Chamber, and M. Duclerc, with another member hurrying forward, seized M. Clément Thomas by the arm, and, after some persuasion, induced him to return to his place. He did so unwillingly and in a state of extraordinary excitement. The noise continued for some time after, to such a degree, that it was impossible to hear a word. At last,

The PRESIDENT, seizing an opportunity, said that there were a number of members of the Assembly who had been sent out as commissaries, and he must therefore call on the Hon. Gentleman to explain what he meant.

M. CRETON said he did not consider that what he had said required any explanation; they could not possibly apply to those gentlemen who had been sent to administer the duties of the departments, but merely to the delegates of the clubs. (Cries of "Ah! ah!" and prolonged agitation.) He did not allude to any grants of money but such as had been made for dishonourable purposes. He should, for instance, ask with what funds had those men been paid who were sent off by the railways to revolutionise Belgium and Savoy. (Agitation.) When he had first brought forward his proposition, the then Minister of Finance, M. Duclerc, had made no objection; he had merely asked within what delay he required the accounts to be delivered. M. Ledru-Rollin had himself declared that he wished the communication of them to be made. It had been said that it was indispensable to wait until the necessary documents had been returned from the Court of Accounts, but it certainly was not requisite to wait until 1850 for the accounts of 1848. That might do very well under a normal government—(interruption)—but, when, after a revolution, a provisional government had been formed, it was indispensable that all its expenses should be justified within the shortest possible delay. (Agitation.)

The PRESIDENT.—M. Ledru-Rollin demands to speak on a personal matter.—(Laughter.)

M. LEDRU-ROLLIN.—I had no intention of speaking on this occasion, for I supposed that all these attacks against us would be reserved for the discussion on the report of the inquiry, still I by no means decline replying. It is endeavoured to fling elements of dissention into a matter perfectly simple of itself.

A Voice.—Whose fault is that?—(Agitation.)

M. LEDRU-ROLLIN.—For my part I shall reply with that calm which befits a question of honour. We are accused of having, in a moment of revolution, spent the funds which lay in the public treasury. I cannot imagine where the hon. gentleman obtained his information, but he does not seem to be aware that, in ordinary times, payment of the public money can be made only within the limits of the budget, and in extraordinary times on the signature of the whole government. Except these two modes, there is no other; and beyond that all is calumny and ignorance. There was, it is said, secret service money? But can it be supposed that in a time of revolution it was not necessary to preserve order—that order which you value so lightly at present.—(Hear.)—Yet, notwithstanding the numerous demands at such a moment, the secret service money was lower than in 1832 and 1834, lower than the amount in the time of the monarchy. The funds in question were voted in 1847 for the present year, and then could any one have anticipated the necessity of creating a Garde Mobile or a Republican Guard, or the Guardians of Paris? Could the assistance required for the unemployed workmen have been anticipated? The Committee of Finance, continued the hon. deputy, had examined into the application of secret service money, and they had found that all the payments had been regularly justified, and yet in presence of such vouchers the hon. gentleman asserted that the money was not honourably employed. Did the honourable gentleman, he would ask, know the meaning of that word.—(Prolonged murmurs.) With regard to the charge of having paid men from the public treasury to go into the departments, he would tell the hon. gentleman that, while he was at his ease in the departments, Paris was full of men who had come from them, and who were making the most unreasonable demands. There were also in the capital a great number of workmen unemployed, Belgians, Piedmontese, and others, whom it was necessary to send back to their own country, and that could not be effected without supplying them with the necessary funds for their support. There might certainly have been money employed for purposes different from that for which it was originally voted; but, because that was the case, it did not follow that it was used in a dishonourable manner. The report of the Committee of Finance would fully bear out what he asserted, but he did not, however, seek to intrench himself behind that report, and to make use of it as a shield. His life was open to all, and his accounts to those who wished to inspect them; and if the hon. gentleman still persisted in saying that there had been a want of good faith, it must be because he resolved to shut his eyes to the truth.—(Hear.)

M. CRETON.—If the intention is to enter really on serious accounts, I cannot but express my astonishment at this display of excitement (loud interruption: "hear! hear!" from the right). The speaker who has just left the tribune has told you that the word dishonourable had been used—yes, and I maintain it! (great indignation on the extreme left.) What! you speak to nations of your friendship, and you pour forth on them armed hordes! (noise).

M. LEDRU-ROLLIN.—Where? where?

M. CRETON.—In Belgium, in Savoy! (prolonged interruption.)

A VOICE.—M. le President, you ought to obtain a hearing for the person in the tribune. (Here a loud altercation burst out between two representatives on the Left, and caused great agitation.)

The PRESIDENT must declare that such conduct was most improper—was not even decent—was unfit for any assembly!—(Hear, hear.)

M. CRETON.—The ease which persons enjoyed in the departments has been attended to; but I can declare that the men to whom I have alluded as having been sent into the departments, came to tell before-hand of the fate which was destined for the National Assembly.—(Movement.)

The PRESIDENT must call on the hon. gentleman to adhere more closely to the subject under discussion, which was to demand certain justificative documents.

M. CRETON terminated, in the midst of considerable agitation and noise, by calling for all the accounts relating to the expenses of the Provisional Government from February 24.—(The agitation then appeared to redouble.)

The PRESIDENT, with great force.—It is quite impossible to discuss any question in the midst of such a noise; for it is a battle we have, and not a debate. Such conduct is unworthy of the majority of the Assembly.—(Hear, hear.)

The MINISTER of FINANCE.—The subject before us relates to figures, and figures are positive things. The reproach which has been brought against the government is unfounded. It is on July 11 that the Committee of Finance called on me for justificative documents. We got them prepared, and that labour lasted 20 days. On Aug. 1 they were laid before the Committee, who declared itself satisfied. I might stop here, but I think it right to add a few words more. Vague disquietudes are spoken of as existing in the country; but in order to put an end to them, it is not suitable to say the government which existed after Feb. 24 was not a moral one—it was a thoroughly moral one, the acme of morality. (Loud laughter.) For our parts we remain in power only on condition of being treated with the same severity, but also with the same justice, as preceding governments. We consider it our duty to oppose the idea of throwing suspicion on the governments who have succeeded each other since Feb. 24. In consequence we demand that M. Creton's proposition be placed on the order of the day. I do this in order that it may be demonstrated clearly that the accounts were kept with the utmost exactitude. I wish now to make just one remark relative to a rumour which prevailed when I precedently withdrew from power. It was said that I withdrew because money was constantly demanded from me, which I refused to give. All that is entirely false—I withdrew from purely personal motives.

M. DUCLERC demanded also that the proposition should be placed on the order of the day. He declared that all the documents demanded had been laid before the Committee of Finance.

M. GOUIN, the President of the Committee of Finance, said that the report of the committee was almost ready, and would be presented in two or three days. He, therefore, demanded the adjournment of the discussion of the proposition of M. Creton.

M. CLEMENT THOMAS said that when he went towards the tribune, he was called to order, doubtless, from an idea that he was about to use some expressions of a provocatory character to the hon. gentleman, but such was not the case. On hearing an expression made use of, which he thought improper, he merely wished to say that the men who had been sent into the departments had not been employed to promote civil war, but to prevent it; and it was for that reason that he wished the honourable gentlemen to explain himself.

The PRESIDENT—It had now been proposed to adjourn the proposition of M. Creton until after the Committee of Finance terminated its report. I have, therefore, to ask whether any objection is made to that course?

No reply being given, it was adjourned accordingly.

The MINISTER of MARINE presented a bill for a credit of 14,000,000fr. for the colonies.

The MINISTER of FINANCE presented three bills—one for a credit of 60,000fr. to replace the tolls on the different bridges; another for 520,000fr. for the Greek-loan; and a third relative to a new organization of the Committee of the Sinking Fund.

These bills were ordered to be printed, distributed, and referred to the proper committees.

The PRESIDENT announced that he had received a demand for the authorization of the Chamber, to commence proceedings against one of its members. The demand would be examined the next day in the bureaux.

Several voices—Who, who?

The PRESIDENT—You will know to-morrow.

The MINISTER of the INTERIOR presented several bills of merely local interest.

The next order of the day was the adjourned discussion on the bill for enabling such persons as had suspended payment to settle amicably with their creditors.

M. DUPONT (de Bussac) presented a new article tending to replace that which had been rejected.

The MINISTER of FINANCE, in the name of the government, opposed the proposition.

M. FAVRE alluded to the different phases through which the measure had passed. On Saturday last, he said, he had consulted the Minister of Justice, who told him that the Council of Ministers had decided on supporting a proposition. (Laughter.)

The MINISTER of FINANCE said he spoke in the name of the Council of Ministers.

M. J. FAVRE.—It appeared, then, that the ministry had changed its ideas since Saturday, and that perhaps they had not now finally decided on it.

In consequence of the lateness of the hour, the development of the new article was then adjourned until the next day.—The Chamber rose at half-past six.

LE GERANT, J. A. GALIGNANI.

Printed by E. Briere, 55, Rue Ste. Anne

STRANGER'S DIARY.

TO-DAY—TUESDAY.

At the Louvre: Exhibition of Greek and Egyptian Museum; Marine Museum; Galleri s Standish and Spanish Gallery of Drawings passport; 10 to 4—Gallery of Modern Paintings at the Luxembourg, from 11 to 4 (passport)—Curiosities at the Bibliotheque Nationale, 11 to 3—Cabinet of Natural History, Zoology, and Minerals, at the Garden of Plants, 2 to 5—Cabinet of Medals and Coins, at the Hôtel des Monnaies, 12 to 3—Flower Market, Place de la Madeleine—Historical Galleries and Palace of Versailles, 11 to 4.

THEATRES.

THEATRE DE LA REPUBLIQUE (FRANÇAIS.) (7.)—Il ne faut Jurer de Rien—La Mère et la Fille.

THEATRE NATIONAL DE L'OPERA COMIQUE (7.)—Marie—Le Macon.

THEATRE HISTORIQUE (6.)—Marie Tudor.—Le Chandelier.

GYMNASE (6.)—Le Premier Coup de Canif—Histoire de Rire—Horace—La Marchand.

THEATRE MONTANSIER (PALAIS ROYAL) (6½)—Une Chaine Anglaise—Le Lion et le Rat—La Statue—La Sœur de Jocrisse.

VARIETES (6¾.) Un Petit de la Noblie—Oscar 25—Les Deux Anges—Vautrin.

PORTE ST. MARTIN (6¾.)—Les Libertins de Genève.

AMBIGU (7.)—Morne au Diable.

GAITE (5¾.)—Héloise et Abélard—Passage Vendôme—L'Ane Volé—Margot.

FOLIES DRAMATIQUES (5¾.)—Une Passion—Le Fils du Roulier—Les Deux Francs-Maçons—Un Logement à Pour Trois.

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THE FUNDS.

LONDON, Aug. 19. (*Closing Prices.*)

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FOREIGN FUNDS.—Brazilian, Fives 71; Danish, Threes 89¾; Peruvian, 31; Spanish, Twos —; Ditto, Passive 5¾; Ditto, Threes for Acc. 22¾; Dutch, (2½) 61; Fours 71.

BRITISH RAILWAYS (*Last Prices*).			
Aberdeen	–	Lond. Blackwall	–
Birm. Oxford	35¾	Lond. Brighton	98⅝
Bristol, Exeter.	–	Lond. S. West.	112⅝
Caledonian	23⅞	Lond. N. West.	220
Chest., Holyhead	–	Midland	97
Dublin, Belfast.	–	Do Birm. Derby	–
East. Counties	14⅛	Norfolk	–
E. Lincolnshire	–	North British.	–
Edinbur Glasg.	39½	Oxf. & Wolverh	–
G. S. & W. (Ire.)	–	Scottish Central	–
G. North of Eng.	–	Shrews. & Birm.	–
Great Western	82	Sou h Devon	–
Ditto ½ Shares	45¼	S. East Dover	23¾
Ditto Fifths	18	South Wales.	12⅝
Hull, Selby	–	Wil's Som. Wey.	–
Lanc. & Carlisle	–	York New Berw.	–
Lanc. & Yorksh.	–	York, N. Midland	–
Leeds, Bradford	–	York, Extens.	–

FOREIGN RAILWAYS (*Last Prices*)—Boulogne and Amiens 6⅝; Northern of France 5⅝.

PARIS, AUGUST 21.

	opened.	highest	lowest.	closed.
5 % cash....	71 75	71 75	71 –	71 50
end month	71 50	71 50	71 –	71 75
New Loan..	71 25	71 25	71 –	71 00
4 % cash....	43 50	43 75	43 50	43 50
end month.	43 50	43 75	43 50	43 75
4½ % cash.	– –	– –	– –	– –
4 % cash....	58 –	– –	– –	– –
Belgian, Fives	–	Spanish, Fives		–
—— 1840	78	—— Passive		–
—— 1842	78	—— Old defer.		–
—Four & Half	71¼	—— Threes		–
—Two & Half	–	Portuguese, Fives		–
Belgian Bank 635f.	–	Roman		64
Dutch, Fours	– –	Piedmont		–f. –
—Two & Half	–	Neapolitan		f. –c.
Algiers Bank	–f. –	Do. Rothschild		74 –
Ac.de la Ben. 1025f.	–	Caisse Hypot.		–f. –
Rent. de Paris	–f. –	Fr. gold		–f. –
Ob.V.de Paris	–f. –	B. Not 225f.		32½ –f.
4 Canaux 865f.	–	Sovs. 25f. 35		–f.
RAILROADS.		*For Account.*		*For Cash.*
St. Germain	.	–f. –c.		590f. –c.
Versailles (R. B.)	.	– –		120 –
—— (L. B.)	.	– –		100 –
Orleans	.	– –		660 –
Rouen	.	– –		436 25
Havre	.	– –		205 –
Vierzon	.	– –		262 50
Marseilles	.	– –		270 –
Rale	.	– –		85 –
Dieppe	.	– –		– –
Bordeaux	.	– –		396 25
Northern	.	370 –		378 75
Strasburg	.	350 –		348 75
Nantes	.	337 50		337 50
Lyons	.	350 –		342 50

COURSE OF EXCHANGE, Aug. 21.

		Thirty Days.	Ninety Days
Amsterdam	212	money	210⅝ b.s.m.
Cadiz	500	bills	– bills
Frankfort	210	money	209 money
Genoa	1⅛	sight	2⅛ bills
Hamburgh	187	money	186 bills
Leghorn	81⅝	bills	81 money
London	25f. 32½	sight	25f. 20 bills
Madrid	475	sight	– bills
Milan	85	sight	84 bills
Naples	403	sight	400 bills
St. Petersburg	—	—	277½ bills
Vienna	230	sight	222½ bills

FOREIGN FUNDS.—MADRID, Aug. 16, Threes 20.

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H. E. the Marquis of Normanby 1000fr.
Edward Nelson, Esq. – 50
C. H. Carnegy, Esq., late 5th Dragoons 75
Miss Cubitt – – – 20
Expended during the month, 1,834fr. 15c.
Number of persons relieved 193
Sent to England – – 46
Committee-rooms, D. MACCARTHY, M.D., Aug. 17. Secretary & Treasurer, pro tem.
SUBSCRIPTIONS received by Mr. Ollive; by the Members of the Committee individually; at the Committee-room, 23, rue de Ponthieu, every Tuesday and Friday, from 1 to 3; by the British Consul, at his Office; at the Office of Mr. Lawson, Solicitor, 10, rue Neuve de la Paix; by Messrs. De Rothschild; Luke Callaghan and Co.; Lafitte, Blount and Co.; Baillet and Co.; Widow T. Delisle and Co.; Ferrère Lafitte; Malachy Daly; Galignani and Co.; or at the Reading-Room, 224, rue Saint Honoré.—N.B. Mr. T. Shephard, Vestry Clerk, is the only person authorised to collect contributions by personal application.

ROB BOYVEAU-LAFFECTEUR, for curing in secret Darires, Syphilis, &c., at No. 42, rue Richer.

MALTA.

Protestant School & College, St. Julian's

The Vacation will end on 3d September. Terms for boys boarding in the School, from eight years of age up to eleven, £25 a-year; from eleven to seventeen, £35; for Theological Students in the College, £25; for others, £60. Non-resident Students may attend the classes in the School for £10 a-year, and in the College for £15. Pupils remaining during the long vacation (July and August) pay each £5 additional.

LONDON.

RUSBY'S Ship Tavern and Hotel.
Water-lane, Tower-street.
The above Establishment affords superior accommodation to Travellers on their way to the Continent, and from its immediate vicinity to the Custom-house, the Docks, Corn, Coal, and Sugar Markets, will be found extremely convenient to men of business.
N.B. Within three minutes' walk of the Blackwall Railway terminus, London-street, whence Omnibuses start to all parts of London every quarter of an hour.

HAVRE FOR NEW ORLEANS.

The splendid Ship, A. No. 4, WINDSOR CASTLE, 700 tons, Capt. PATTERSON, having been detained on the special demand of a great number of shippers, will sail on the 25th August positively. Goods to be received until the 24th only. She has excellent accommodations for Cabin passengers.
For Freight and Passage apply to C. COMBIER, American Agency, No. 40, rue Notre Dame des Victoires, near the Bourse, and at HAVRE, to W. SLADE.

HAVRE TO NEW YORK.

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The days of sailing from HAVRE are as follows:—

BAVARIA, Captain Anthony	Sept. 1.	January 1.	May 1.
ARGO, Captain Davis,	October 1.	February 1.	June 1.
SPLENDID, Captain Crawford	November 1.	March 1.	July 1.
DUCHESSE D'ORLEANS, Captain Richardson	December 1.	April 1.	August 1.

These splendid fast-sailing American Ships are of the first class, and the accommodations for passengers are of a very superior order.
For Freight and Passage apply at PARIS, to MM. Greene and Co., 26, Place St. Georges; HAVRE, to MM. J. E. Greene and Co., for the BAVARIA, ARGO, and SPLENDID; to MM. Quesnel frères and Co., for the DUCHESSE D'ORLEANS; and at MAYENCE, to MM. Washington Finlay and Co., Emigrant Agent for the frontier.

OFFICE, 9, rue de la Paix.

PARIS TO LONDON, VIA CALAIS, BOULOGNE, AND HAVRE.



FARES GREATLY REDUCED.

The GENERAL STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY'S Steam-Ships, having elegant accommodation, will leave

CALAIS FOR LONDON.—Chief Cabin, 12 shil.; Fore Cabin, 8sh
Thursday, Aug. 24, 7 morn—Saturday, Aug. 26, 12 night—Saturday, 31, 4 morn
Agent at CALAIS, Mr. A. Spiers—Brokers, M. C. de Rheims and M. G. F. Spiers.
BOULOGNE FOR LONDON.—Chief Cabin, 12 sh; Fore Cabin, 8s
Saturday, Aug. 26, 12 night
Agent at BOULOGNE, Mr. Delatre—Broker, Mr. Devismes.
HAVRE FOR LONDON.—Chief Cabin, 20sh.; Fore Cabin, 15sh.
Wednesday, Aug. 23, 5 afternoon—Sunday, Aug. 27, 9 morn—Wednesday 30, 12 noon
Agent at HAVRE, Mr. Albrecht; ROUEN, Mr. Turner, 13, Quai de la Bourse.
DIEPPE FOR BRIGHTON.—
Wednesday, Aug. 23, 4 morn—Thursday, Aug. 24, 7½ morn—Friday, Aug. 25, 8½ do
OSTEND FOR LONDON, at Reduced Fares.
Wednesday, Aug. 23, 9 night
Passengers leaving Cologne on those mornings by the first trains reach London the next morning.—Agent at OSTEND, Mr. R. St. Amour—Broker, Mr. J. Herrewyn; BRUSSELS, Mr. Middleton.
ANTWERP for LONDON, every SUNDAY at 11 morning.—Agent at ANTWERP, Mr. Brequigny; at BRUSSELS, Mr. Middleton, 62, Montagne de la Cour
ROTTERDAM for LONDON, WEDNESDAY and SATURDAY morning, with her Majesty's Mails.—Agents at ROTTERDAM, Mr. W. Smith and Mr. P. Van L
HAMBURG for LONDON—Agent at HAMBURG, Mr. Delaval.
Wednesday, Aug. 23, 8 morning
MAYENCE and the RHINE, via ROTTERDAM, for LONDON,
Every MONDAY and THURSDAY.—Agents: The Offices of the Dusseldorf Steam Company for the Lower and Middle Rhine.
Information as to departures of Trains and Steamers given at the Company's Offices in PARIS, Mr. SPIERS, 9, rue de la Paix.—Passengers booked throughout

The government saw that great caution was required in its mode of acting in the question, as any premature or unadvised step would precipitate the country into war. Such had been his views before the late events, and, if possible, that opinion had been increased since then. He believed that the continuance of peace was necessary for the well-being of France, and he need scarcely say that, in certain situations, it required more real courage to maintain peace than to urge a country into the path of war. (Loud approbation.) The government had determined to follow pacific means for the settlement of the affairs of Italy; and the more so that the Lombardo-Venetian population had formally declared that they were determined to work out their own independence by their own exertions. The Piedmontese and Lombard army was already in full retreat, before any application was made to France for intervention. In fact, not only it had not been demanded, it had absolutely been refused. The government in that state of things entered into a negotiation with England, showing that the state not only of Italy but of Europe called for the common action of the two countries, with a view to a pacific mediation. That appeal had been fully responded to, as the government had expected. He should not then enter into any explanations as to the mediation now in progress to preserve the peace of Europe, as to do so would be attended with danger. The Assembly was sovereign, and it could undoubtedly order any communications to be made that it thought fit; but he considered it right to inform it that such a course, under present circumstances, would be, as he had just said, attended with danger. (Movement.) "In the history of this country," said the Honourable General, "I see many men earning a name for themselves by war, whilst on the other hand those who served their country by peace, finished their career obscurely, in the calm which they had themselves secured. For my part I have never had less respect for the one class than for the other. (Hear, hear.) And I think that the republican education will be farther advanced, when the sentiment of which I speak shall be more prevalent in the public mind. If by the line of conduct which I have adopted, I contribute to ensure to my country an honourable peace, a peace worthy of the republic, I conceive that in so doing I shall have rendered it the greatest service in my power: if, on the contrary, I shall not be able to carry out my views—if some day or other I should have to come here and demand from you to enter on the path of war, not only I should do it without apprehension, but I should, you may believe me, find it easy to resume the habits of my whole life. Be certain, gentlemen, that in such a case, it will be, I will not say agreeable, but certainly easy to again grasp the sword. (Hear, hear.) Until then I shall know how to resist, with an immovable firmness, all the inducements that may lead to acts contrary to the honour and prosperity of the Republic." (Loud Applause.)

M. JULES FAVRE declared that he felt considerable embarrassment in addressing the chamber after the noble sentiments which had just renewed the approbation of the Assembly. He begged to be believed that in doing so he had no intention whatever to exhibit any opposition to the government (murmurs and laughter). For six weeks everything had certainly been done by the Assembly to preserve order at home. His conduct would therefore be comprehended when he announced that he came there not to excite dissension, but to demand if the language of the Hon. President of the Council could be called satisfactory. The Committee on Foreign Affairs had believed itself called on to speak in such terms as to draw forth formal explanations from the government on the affairs of Italy. The position of that country affected the honour and the security of France (movement). The word of France had been pledged to assist Italy by armed force, if a demand was made to such an effect. There was a demand made and nothing was done of the nature promised. The Committee for Foreign Affairs was therefore of opinion that the conduct of the government required explanation—that committee, be it remarked, whose duty it was to observe a special surveillance over the conduct of the government on Foreign affairs. (Oh! Oh! Loud murmurs.)

The PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL said that he must deny the existence of any such surveillance. (Hear, hear.)

The PRESIDENT.—M. J. Favre was mistaken; the duty of the committee was to take into consideration all propositions and petitions brought forward relative to foreign affairs—nothing more. (Hear, hear.)

M. JULES FAVRE.—The Committees were established in order to occupy themselves with all the elements of the labours of the Assembly, but unless it could be said that the Assembly did not occupy itself with foreign affairs the committee on them, which emanated from that Assembly, must surely be allowed to take cognisance of such matters. When the discussion commenced he thought that questions would be asked, and that the government would not hesitate to reply. These questions had been put, but the President of the Council alone had replied in a certain manner, which appeared to satisfy the Assembly. For his part, he would say that he was not satisfied. (Laughter.) He was ready to render due homage to the chief of the government, but as a member of that Chamber he had a right to go to the bottom of the questions submitted to the examination of the Assembly. The policy of the present Ministry did not resemble that of the Provisional Government; France, while wishing to preserve peace, told the Italian nations that if an appeal were made to her sympathies it would be attended to. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Provisional Government said that there was an army at the foot of the Alps, which would cross them when the proper moment should arrive. The Austrians were again masters of Milan, what more was then waited for? It had been said that the Italians ha rejected intervention. He should like to have some light thrown on that subject, but there appeared to be a wish to prevent discussion. (Murmurs.) No one knew whether the conduct of the French Government had not rendered intervention impossible until a particular period; but in place of acting boldly, she had placed herself in the wake of England. (Violent interruption.) If his remark displeased let it not be attributed to him, for he had given utterance to the general idea of the people. (Renewed murmurs.) He repeated that a complete discussion was all he required; it would enlighten the country; it was for that reason, and not from a captious spirit that he had asked for the production of the documents.

The PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL said that the hon. gentleman's memory appeared to have failed him both with regard to the past and the present. What he (the President) had said was that the Assembly was sovereign, and should be obeyed. All the Government asked was not to be called on at present to speak.

Numerous Voices.—That was it.

The PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL.—According to what the hon. gentleman has just said, it would appear as if we refused a communication to the Assembly. It would be well that the difference between the relations of the Government with the Committees and with the Assembly should be clearly established. I do not think that the Committee should exercise any special surveillance over the Government, which like itself emanates from the Assembly. (Cries of "No, no.") The Committees examined petitions; that examination might require the Government to come before them, and give certain explanations, but they were given within certain limits, whereas, in presence of the Assembly, it was quite different; there was a deference due on the part of the Government. (Hear, hear.) He was particularly anxious to establish the fact that the Government did not refuse to present the documents in question to the Assembly, it only begged that they might not be called for. (Approbation.) The hon. Deputy had said that the Government appeared to follow in the wake of England. That was an accusation which he energetically rejected. The popular feeling had been also invoked. He could not, by any means, allow that the hon. gentleman was the organ which he represented himself to be. But even if that were the case, it would prove nothing, as it was the duty of the Government to correct popular feeling when misled, rather than to yield to it in its unwise requirements. (Hear, hear.) "For my part," said the hon. President, "I shall always consider it my duty to employ all the information which my position in the government places at my disposal to enlighten public feeling rather than yield without having opposed it. (Approbation.)

M. DE LAROCHEJACQUELIN said he had no pretension to claim in the name of the committee of foreign affairs a right which could not belong to it, since it was not appointed directly by the Assembly; he merely wished to give a few explanations. When the petition of the National Guard of Milan had been referred to them they were occupied with the consideration of the Italian question, and communications were demanded from the Government, which refused them.

A Voice.—They were demanded by the minority.

M. DE LAROCHEJACQUELIN.—By the majority.

M. BAROCHE.—That is a mistake.

M. DE LAROCHEJACQUELIN repeated that it was the majority, but it was true that the majority on one day might not be so on another. (Laughter, and cries of "Enough; the order of the day.") He was astonished that a question which regarded the honour of the country could be treated with such levity. (Murmurs.) He had ascended the tribune to tell the Assembly what it did not, but what it ought to know. The hon. gentleman in the midst of great noise continued to make some observations on the policy of France towards Italy. He should reserve his opinions, he said, as to the alliance of France and England on such a question, for he could not forget that England was the oppressor of Ireland. (Prolonged interruption.) There was, he said, a greater analogy between these questions than was generally imagined; if France tied her hands in Lombardy, they would also be tied when Ireland was in question, and that might perhaps be sooner than was expected. (Cries of "Enough, enough.")

M. SARRANS was about to give some explanations in the name of the majority of the committee of foreign affairs, and more particularly in reply to the remarks of M. Jules Favre, but was interrupted by the Chamber.

The Assembled then decided that the petition should be referred to the Minister of Foreign Affairs as recommended.

The next order of the day was the interpellations of M. Creton on the employment of the funds of the state by the government after the revolution of February.

M. CRETON reminded the Assembly that two months had elapsed since he demanded that an account should be rendered of the expenses of the Provisional Government, and he was much surprized at the delay which had taken place with regard to it. He now wished to ask the Minister of Finance whether or not he intended to present a detail of those expenses with proper documents in justification of them. He had always been of opinion that the funds of the state had not been usefully or even honourably employed. (Sensation.) His proposition was not merely financial, it had also a political bearing, and its result might guide the judgment of the Assembly as to many facts which had taken place. In a regular state of things, the Minister of Finance was the Controller-General of the Treasury, and was answerable for all payments which were made in an irregular manner. In times of revolution such could not be the case. His firm opinion was that it was the public treasury which had supplied the funds for the civil war. (Murmurs.) An enquiry had been ordered, and witnesses had been examined; but evidence might be discussed while figures became damning proofs; documents brought home charges in a manner that could not be contested. The Assembly required to know from what funds those birds of prey had been supported which had been sent to batten on the departments. (Cries of "Yes, yes, that is it," from the right, and loud exclamations from the left.)

Several members here rose together. M. Clément Thomas, after uttering something which it was impossible to catch, rushed forward to the foot of the tribune, gesticulating most violently, and addressing the Hon. Gentleman who stood above him. Loud cries of "Order! order!" burst forth from various parts of the Chamber, and M. Duclerc, with another member hurrying forward, seized M. Clément Thomas by the arm, and, after some persuasion, induced him to return to his place. He did so unwillingly and in a state of extraordinary excitement. The noise continued for some time after, to such a degree, that it was impossible to hear a word. At last,

The PRESIDENT, seizing an opportunity, said that there were a number of members of the Assembly who had been sent out as commissaries, and he must therefore call on the Hon. Gentleman to explain what he meant.

M. CRETON said he did not consider that what he had said required any explanation; they could not possibly apply to those gentlemen who had been sent to administer the duties of the departments, but merely to the delegates of the clubs. (Cries of "Ah! ah!" and prolonged agitation.) He did not allude to any grants of money but such as had been made for dishonourable purposes. He should, for instance, ask with what funds had those men been paid who were sent off by the railways to revolutionise Belgium and Savoy. (Agitation.) When he had first brought forward his proposition, the then Minister of Finance, M. Duclerc, had made no objection; he had merely asked within what delay he required the accounts to be delivered. M. Ledru-Rollin had himself declared that he wished the communication of them to be made. It had been said that it was indispensable to wait until the necessary documents had been returned from the Court of Accounts, but it certainly was not requisite to wait until 1850 for the accounts of 1848. That might do very well under a normal government—(interruption)—but, when, after a revolution, a provisional government had been formed, it was indispensable that all its expenses should be justified within the shortest possible delay. (Agitation.)

The PRESIDENT.—M. Ledru-Rollin demands to speak on a personal matter.—(Laughter.)

M. LEDRU-ROLLIN.—I had no intention of speaking on this occasion, for I supposed that all these attacks against us would be reserved for the discussion on the report of the inquiry, still I by no means decline replying. It is endeavoured to fling elements of dissention into a matter perfectly simple of itself.

A Voice.—Whose fault is that?—(Agitation.)

M. LEDRU-ROLLIN.—For my part I shall reply with that calm which befits a question of honour. We are accused of having, in a moment of revolution, spent the funds which lay in the public treasury. I cannot imagine where the hon. gentleman obtained his information, but he does not seem to be aware that, in ordinary times, payment of the public money can be made only within the limits of the budget, and in extraordinary times on the signature of the whole government. Except these two modes, there is no other; and beyond that all is calumny and ignorance. There was, it is said, secret service money? But can it be supposed that in a time of revolution it was not necessary to preserve order—that order which you value so lightly at present.—(Hear.)—Yet, notwithstanding the numerous demands at such a moment, the secret service money was lower than in 1832 and 1834, lower than the amount in the time of the monarchy. The funds in question were voted in 1847 for the present year, and then could any one have anticipated the necessity of creating a Garde Mobile or a Republican Guard, or the Guardians of Paris? Could the assistance required for the unemployed workmen have been anticipated? The Committee of Finance, continued the hon. deputy, had examined into the application of secret service money, and they had found that all the payments had been regularly justified, and yet in presence of such vouchers the hon. gentleman asserted that the money was not honourably employed. Did the honourable gentleman, he would ask, know the meaning of that word.—(Prolonged murmurs.) With regard to the charge of having paid men from the public treasury to go into the departments, he would tell the hon. gentleman that, while he was at his ease in the departments, Paris was full of men who had come from them, and who were making the most unreasonable demands. There were also in the capital a great number of workmen unemployed, Belgians, Piedmontese, and others, whom it was necessary to send back to their own country, and that could not be effected without supplying them with the necessary funds for their support. There might certainly have been money employed for purposes different from that for which it was originally voted; but, because that was the case, it did not follow that it was used in a dishonourable manner. The report of the Committee of Finance would fully bear out what he asserted, but he did not, however, seek to intrench himself behind that report, and to make use of it as a shield. His life was open to all, and his accounts to those who wished to inspect them; and if the hon. gentleman still persisted in saying that there had been a want of good faith, it must be because he resolved to shut his eyes to the truth.—(Hear.)

M. CRETON.—If the intention is to enter really on serious accounts, I cannot but express my astonishment at this display of excitement (loud interruption: "hear! hear!" from the right). The speaker who has just left the tribune has told you that the word dishonourable had been used—yes, and I maintain it! (great indignation on the extreme left.) What! you speak to nations of your friendship, and you pour forth on them armed hordes! (noise).

M. LEDRU-ROLLIN.—Where? where?

M. CRETON.—In Belgium, in Savoy! (prolonged interruption.)

A VOICE.—M. le President, you ought to obtain a hearing for the person in the tribune. (Here a loud altercation burst out between two representatives on the Left, and caused great agitation.)

The PRESIDENT must declare that such conduct was most improper—was not even decent—was unfit for any assembly!—(Hear, hear.)

M. CRETON.—The ease which persons enjoyed in the departments has been attended to; but I can declare that the men to whom I have alluded as having been sent into the departments, came to tell before-hand of the fate which was destined for the National Assembly.—(Movement.)

The PRESIDENT must call on the hon. gentleman to adhere more closely to the subject under discussion, which was to demand certain justificative documents.

M. CRETON terminated, in the midst of considerable agitation and noise, by calling for all the accounts relating to the expenses of the Provisional Government from February 24.—(The agitation then appeared to redouble.)

The PRESIDENT, with great force.—It is quite impossible to discuss any question in the midst of such a noise; for it is a battle we have, and not a debate. Such conduct is unworthy of the majority of the Assembly.—(Hear, hear.)

The MINISTER of FINANCE.—The subject before us relates to figures, and figures are positive things. The reproach which has been brought against the government is unfounded. It is on July 11 that the Committee of Finance called on me for justificative documents. We got them prepared, and that labour lasted 20 days. On Aug. 1 they were laid before the Committee, who declared itself satisfied. I might stop here, but I think it right to add a few words more. Vague disquietudes are spoken of as existing in the country; but in order to put an end to them, it is not suitable to say the government which existed after Feb. 24 was not a moral one—it was a thoroughly moral one, the acme of morality. (Loud laughter.) For our parts we remain in power only on condition of being treated with the same severity, but also with the same justice, as preceding governments. We consider it our duty to oppose the idea of throwing suspicion on the governments who have succeeded each other since Feb. 24. In consequence we demand that M. Creton's proposition be placed on the order of the day. I do this in order that it may be demonstrated clearly that the accounts were kept with the utmost exactitude. I wish now to make just one remark relative to a rumour which prevailed when I precedently withdrew from power. It was said that I withdrew because money was constantly demanded from me, which I refused to give. All that is entirely false—I withdrew from purely personal motives.

M. DUCLERC demanded also that the proposition should be placed on the order of the day. He declared that all the documents demanded had been laid before the Committee of Finance.

M. GOUIN, the President of the Committee of Finance, said that the report of the committee was almost ready, and would be presented in two or three days. He, therefore, demanded the adjournment of the discussion of the proposition of M. Creton.

M. CLEMENT THOMAS said that when he went towards the tribune, he was called to order, doubtless, from an idea that he was about to use some expressions of a provocatory character to the hon. gentleman, but such was not the case. On hearing an expression made use of, which he thought improper, he merely wished to say that the men who had been sent into the departments had not been employed to promote civil war, but to prevent it; and it was for that reason that he wished the honourable gentleman to explain himself.

The PRESIDENT—It had now been proposed to adjourn the proposition of M. Creton until after the Committee of Finance terminated its report. I have, therefore, to ask whether any objection is made to that course?

No reply being given, it was adjourned accordingly.

The MINISTER of MARINE presented a bill for a credit of 14,000,000fr. for the colonies.

The MINISTER of FINANCE presented three bills—one for a credit of 60,000fr. to replace the tolls on the different bridges; another for 520,000fr. for the Greek-loan; and a third relative to a new organization of the Committee of the Sinking Fund.

These bills were ordered to be printed, distributed, and referred to the proper committees.

The PRESIDENT announced that he had received a demand for the authorization of the Chamber, to commence proceedings against one of its members. The demand would be examined the next day in the bureaux.

Several voices—Who, who?

The PRESIDENT—You will know to-morrow.

The MINISTER of the INTERIOR presented several bills of merely local interest.

The next order of the day was the adjourned discussion on the bill for enabling such persons as had suspended payment to settle amicably with their creditors.

M. DUPONT (de Bussac) presented a new article tending to replace that which had been rejected.

The MINISTER of FINANCE, in the name of the government, opposed the proposition.

M. FAVRE alluded to the different phases through which the measure had passed. On Saturday last, he said, he had consulted the Minister of Justice, who told him that the Council of Ministers had decided on supporting a proposition. (Laughter.)

The MINISTER of FINANCE said he spoke in the name of the Council of Ministers.

M. J. FAVRE.—It appeared, then, that the ministry had changed its ideas since Saturday, and that perhaps they had not now finally decided on it.

In consequence of the lateness of the hour, the development of the new article was then adjourned until the next day.—The Chamber rose at half-past six.

LE GERANT, J. A. GALIGNANI.

Printed by E. Brière, 55, Rue Ste. Anne

STRANGER'S DIARY.

TO-DAY—TUESDAY.

At the Louvre: Exhibition of Greek and Egyptian Museum; Marine Museum; Galleries of Standish and Spanish; Gallery of Drawings passport: 10 to 4—Gallery of Modern Paintings at the Luxembourg, from 11 to 4 (passport)—Curiosities at the Bibliotheque Nationale, 11 to 4—Cabinet of Natural History, Zoology and Minerals, at the Garden of Plants, 2 to 5—Cabinet of Medals and Coins, at the Hôtel des Monnaies, 12 to 3—Flower Market, Place de la Madeleine—Historical Galleries and Palace of Versailles, 11 to 4.

THEATRES.

THEATRE DE LA REPUBLIQUE (FRANÇAIS.) (7.)—Il ne faut Jurer de Rien—La Mère et la Fille.

THEATRE NATIONAL DE L'OPÉRA COMIQUE (7.)—Marie—Le Macon.

THEATRE HISTORIQUE (6.)—Marie Tudor.—Le Chandelier.

GYMNASE (6.)—Le Premier Coup de Canif—Histoire de Rire—Horace—La Marchand.

THEATRE MONTANSIER (PALAIS ROYAL) (6½)—Une Chaine Anglaise—Le Lion et le Rat—La Statue—La Sœur de Jocrisse.

VARIETES (6¾.) Un Petit de la Mobile—Oscar 2e—Les Deux Auges—Vautrin.

PORTE ST. MARTIN (6¾.)—Les Libertins de Genève.

AMBIGU (7.)—Morne au Diable.

GAITE (5¾.)—Héloise et Abelard—Passage Vendôme—L'Ane Volé—Margot.

FOLIES DRAMATIQUES (5¾.)—Une Passion—Le Fils du Roulier—Les Deux Francs-Maçons—Un Logement à Pour Trois.

CHALET (Spring Theatre in the Champs-Elysées, Entrance 1fr. and 1fr. 50c.

JARDIN D'HIVER.—Entrance 1fr.

JARDIN MABILLE.—Soirées de Music and Dancing.—Admittance: Sunday and Thursdays 1fr. 50c Tuesdays & Saturdays, 3fr

THE FUNDS.

LONDON, Aug. 19. (*Closing Prices.*)

ENGLISH FUNDS.—Three per Cents Red. Ann. 86⅝; Ditto, Consols 87; Ditto, for Account 86⅞; New Three and a Quarter 86⅝; Bank Stock 198; India Stock 260; Ditto, Bonds 22 pm.; Ann. (Jan. 1860) 8⅝ Ditto, New Ditto, —; Ditto (Oct. 1855) 9⅜; Exchequer Bills 2d. 35 pm.

FOREIGN FUNDS.—Brazilian, Fives 71; Danish, Threes —; Dutch, 2½ 54; Portuguese, Fives —; Ditto, Passive 2¾; Spanish, Threes for Acc. 25¾; Ditto, 5 per Cents 71.

BRITISH RAILWAYS (*Last Prices*).

Aberdeen	–	Lond. Blackwall	–
Birm. Oxford	23⅛	Lond. Brighton	78⅝
Bristol, Exeter	–	Lond. S. West.	112⅜
Caledonian	23⅜	Lond. S. West.	39
Chest. Holyhead	–	Midland	97
Dublin, Belfast	–	Do. Birm. Derby	–
East. Counties	14⅛	Norfolk	–
E. Lincolnshire	–	North British	–
Edinbur Glasg.	39⅛	Oxf. & Wolverh	–
G. S. & W. (Ire.)	–	Scottish Central	–
G. North of Eng.	–	Shrews. & Birm.	–
Great Western	82	Sou h Devon	–
Ditto ½ Shares	45⅛	S. East Dover	23⅝
Ditto Fifths	18	South Wales	42⅝
Hull, Selby	–	Will's Som. Wey.	–
Lanc. & Carlisle	–	York New Berw.	–
Lanc. & Yorksh.	–	York, N. Midland	–
Leeds, Bradford	–	York, Extens.	–

FOREIGN RAILWAYS (*Last Prices*).—Boulogne and Amiens 6⅝; Northern of France 5⅝.

PARIS, AUGUST 21.

	opened.	highest	lowest.	closed.
5 % cash	71 75	71 75	71 –	71 50
end month	71 50	71 50	71 –	71 75
New Loan	71 25	71 25	71 –	71 25
3 % cash	43 50	43 75	43 50	43 50
end month	43 50	43 75	43 50	43 75
4 ½ % cash	–	–	–	–
4 % cash	58 –	–	–	–
Belgian, Fives	–	Spanish, Fives		–
—— 1840	78	—— Passive		–
—— 1842	78	—— Old defer		–
—Four & Half	71¼	—— Threes		–
—Two & Half	–	Portuguese, Fives		–
Belgian Bank 635f	–	Roman		61
Dutch Fours	–	Piedmont		–f. –
—— Two & Half	–	Sardinian		f. –
Algiers Bank	70	Do. Rothschild		74 –
Acde la Ban. 1625f.	–	Caisse Hypot.		–f. –
Rent. de Paris	–f.	Fr. gold		– f.
Ob. V. de Paris	–f.	B. Not 25f		32½ –f
4 Canaux 865f.	–	Sovs. 25f.		35 –f.
RAILROADS.		For Account.		For Cash.
St. Germain		–f.	–c.	590f. –f.
Versailles (R. B.)		–	–	120 –
—— (L. G.)		–	–	100 –
Orleans		–	–	660 –
Rouen		–	–	436 25
Havre		–	–	205 –
Vierzon		–	–	262 50
Marseilles		–	–	320 –
Rails		–	–	85 –
Dieppe		–	–	– –
Bordeaux		–	–	396 25
Northern		370	–	378 75
Strasburg		350	–	348 75
Nantes		332 50		332 50
Lyons		360	–	362 50

COURSE OF EXCHANGE, AUG. 21.

	Thirty Days.		Sixty Days	
Amsterdam	212	money	210⅝	8 p.m.
Cadiz	500	bills		bills
Frankfort	210	money	209	money
Genoa	1⅛	sight	2⅛	bills
Hamburgh	197	money	196	bills
Leghorn	81⅛	bills	81	money
London	25f. 32½	sight	25f. 20	bills
Madrid	475	sight	–	bills
Milan	85	sight	84	bills
Naples	405	sight	400	bills
St. Petersburg	—	—	277½	bills
Vienna	230	sight	222⅝	bills

FOREIGN FUNDS.—MADRID, Aug. 16, Threes 29.

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The Rev Thos. Hale, D.D. Chairman for July.

Subscriptions received during the month:—

H. E. the Marquis of Normanby	1000fr.
Edward Nelson, Esq.	50
C. H. Carnegy, Esq., late 5th Dragoons	25
Miss Cubitt	20

Expended during the month, 1,834fr. 15c.

Number of persons relieved 193

Sent to England 46

Committee-rooms, D. MACCARTHY, M.D., Aug. 17. Secretary & Treasurer, pro tem.

SUBSCRIPTIONS received by Dr. Olliffe; by the Members of the Committee individually; at the Committee-room, 23, rue de Ponthieu, every Tuesday and Friday, from 1 to 3; by the British Consul, at his Office; at the Office of Mr. Lawson, Solicitor, 10, rue Rationale; by Messrs. De Rothschild; Lake Callaghan and Co.; Laffitte, Blount and Co.; Mallet and Co.; Widow T. Delisle and Co.; Ferrère Laffitte; Malachy Daly; Galignani and Co.; or at the Reading-Room, 248, rue Saint Honoré.—N.B. Mr. T. Shepherd, Vestry Clerk, is the only person authorised to collect contributions by personal application.

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Wednesday, Aug. 23, 9 morning

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not go through it again for anything; the *Herald* asserts that it is fairly knocked up; the *Post* only wishes that every Member may be subjected for once in his life to the same torture, and then they will know what it is; the *Daily News* has heard of the Inquisition, but doubts if it was ever so bad as the House of Commons; and the *Advertiser* questions seriously if a night cabman's existence is not a much happier one than a reporter's. We feel for these poor fellows, who work when we are comfortably in bed, in order to provide us with a paper the first thing in the morning, and hope that, with the help of a good holiday, they will soon recover from the fatigues and the injuries of this enervating Session. If ever men deserved pensions of their country, the Parliamentary reporters of this year certainly merit that poor distinction, for no heroes can possibly have fought harder for one. Lord John should, if he wishes to show the least sympathy for patient toil and suffering talent, give them each £200 a-year; only we fear there is very little hope for them unless they are related to one of the 1,000 Greys, or happen to know the butler of the Duke of Bedford, or can prove they have done nothing, and are fit for nothing; in which case, if there is a Lord or a Viscount amongst them, he will probably be sent as an Ambassador somewhere, at a handsome salary. This is all the best man can expect under a Whig Government—Nobility first—Ability last.

Parliamentary Motion.—Mr. —— to move for "a return of all the useless, idle, impertinent, and ridiculous speeches made during the present session of Parliament, with the names of the speakers affixed." Should this return be granted, it is supposed that the document will be the most voluminous upon record.

Jenny Lind's Hospital.—The seraphic Jenny has given—the receipts of her concert—the sum of £1,776 15s. to the Committee of the Brompton Hospital, for the extension of the building. If the Committee do not call the hospital after Jenny Lind's entire name, they cannot refuse to denominate the new part of the building "The Nightingale's Wing."

Instinct in Grouse.—Accounts from the Moors mention a curious phenomenon which has this year been observed among the grouse. The birds are seen everywhere continually clapping their wings. It has been suggested that they have been attacked with a disease of the nature of St. Vitus's Dance; but the more probable opinion is, that by the singular movement they are expressing their joy at the unusual lateness of the Parliamentary Session.—(Observer.)

Twenty-eight of the engineers and engine-fitters recently employed in the factory at Woolwich Dockyard, left that place on Thursday last, to solicit employment on the London and North-western Railway; and, on producing a certificate of their previous employment, were imediately engaged, in preference to hundreds of other engineers applying from all parts of the country.—(Spectater.)

The engine-drivers who have left the North-western Railway make an offer to refer the matters in difference to Mr. Bury of the Great Northern, Mr. Gooch of the Great Western, and Mr. Madison of the North-western Railway, or to any three disinterested and competent men chosen from the locomotive departments of the railways of the country.—(Spectator.)

The Accident on the North Western Railway.—The following are the particulars of this accident, which took place on Thursday. The scene of the disaster was at a place called Ashton Bank, about five miles north of the Wolverton station, and five miles south of the Blisworth junction. The trains to which the accident occurred were the Peterborough branch mail, which leaves Peterborough at 42 45 a. m., and the York mail, leaving Rugby at 4 40 a. m. The Peterborough mail traverses the branch line alone, and, entering the main line at Blisworth, comes on to Wolverton, where it is overtaken and brought on to London by the York mail. There are seldom more than ten minutes between these trains, and sometimes less. Yesterday the Peterborough mail, consisting of an engine and tender, a luggage van, one second-class carriage, one first-class carriage, and a Post-office van, left Peterborough at the usual hour, and proceeded without any interruption over the Blisworth junction on to the main line, until it reached the point of the railway above indicated. In passing up the Ashton embankment the eccentric strop of one of the engines (there are two on each locomotive) broke, and the driver, discovering the accident, immediately brought his train to a stand-still, for the purpose of remedying the defect. While he was thus engaged the guard of the train was sent back to stay the progress of the York mail, and, as there was a rather thick mist prevailing at the time, he took with him some fog signals for the purpose of placing them upon the rails. Before he had proceeded many paces, however, the train was heard approaching; all his efforts to arrest the attention of the driver or guard failed, until they had approached within two hundred yards of the obstruction, and, as a matter of course, the unfortunate collision took place almost instantaneously. The effect of the collision on the Peterborough train was terrific—the first object opposing itself to the engine of the York train was the Post-office van. This was shivered into a thousand pieces, the roof being cut off and carried to a considerable distance, while the letter-bags and their contents were strewn about the line in every direction. The remains of the van struck the first class carriage immediately before it, and crushed the first compartment perfectly flat. The other carriages were very seriously injured, and the engine and tender were driven far away up the line by the force of the concussion. There were only two passengers in this train, besides the driver and stoker and Post-office guard. These had all alighted when the collision took place, the noise of the approaching train having forewarned them of their danger. They consequently escaped personal injury. The guard of the train, it will be recollected, had gone back with fog signals. The effect of the collision upon the York train was, most happily, far less serious than might have been anticipated. In fact, when it is stated that the engine and tender by which it was propelled were thrown off the rails directly across the down line, the comparatively slight injury sustained by the passengers appears perfectly marvellous. The driver and stoker on discovering their danger threw themselves off the engine just before the collision occurred, and sustained no serious hurt. The guard, on seeing that a collision was inevitable, threw himself down on the coke in the tender, and escaped with only a few bruises. There were two luggage vans immediately behind the tender in this train; these, as well as two second class carriages, which came next, were thrown off the rails, and all the carriages in the train were more or less injured. The passengers, of whom there were a great many, were, without a single exception, very much bruised and hurt, and more than one gentleman was rendered insensible by the concussion. The second guard, a man named Collins, who was riding in a break van at the rear of the train, was very much cut about the head and face, and it is feared he has sustained concussion of the brain. As soon as the first alarm occasioned by the accident had subsided, messengers were sent on to Wolverton for assistance, and about four o'clock (the collision having taken place as near as possible at a quarter past two) an engine arrived bringing one carriage, in which were several of the company's officers. The line being completely blocked up both on the up and down rails, a large body of men were obtained, and set to work in

[illegible] the defendant after this period. He would rather they should hear it from the girl herself the heartlessness and cruelty of the conduct of the defendant when he had attained his object.

Mary Anne Cox, a pretty young woman (the victim), was then examined. She deposed as follows:—I know the defendant, George How. I first met the defendant at a ball at the Saracen's Head and danced with him. This was seven or eight years ago; and I did not see him again until the beginning of September, 1846. I met the defendant in the street. I am 27 years of age, and the defendant is about 30. When I saw him he got off his horse, and came to me, and said he was happy to see me, as he had not seen me so long, and he wished me to meet him on the following evening, but I rather refused him, and we parted. He came by my mother's house on the following evening, and I went out to speak to him. I did not tell my mother. I made an appointment to meet the defendant at the house of Mrs. Payboby on the following Wednesday evening, and I and the defendant went out for a walk together. The defendant professed love for me on several occasions, and I met him once or twice a-week in the evening, and we used to walk out together; and for some time he behaved "very gentlemanly." I did not tell my mother of these meetings, but she knew of them from other people. The defendant seduced me in March, 1847. We were out walking together when it happened. He forced me down a lane. I resisted as far as I could, and when I upbraided him with his cruelty he said that if I was quiet he would make me his wife. From this time our intimacy continued until about six weeks before I was confined. A short time before I was confined, I was talking to the defendant about my condition, and he asked me if I could not take something, to which I replied, "George, you surely don't want me to kill your child?" The defendant made no other reply than that *his pony was waiting* and he must go. I was confined with a girl on 16th February, 1848, and the child is still alive. The defendant has never contributed one farthing to the support of the child.

convicts and liberated criminals who had permissions; in addition to these there was a floating population of about 1,000 others. The number was greatly increased by those who came from Rouen, Havre, and other towns. M. Allard found but few among the prisoners.—Q. To what regime are the prisoners in the hospitals subject?—A. I addressed a circular to the directors of the hospitals to the effect that the insurgents admitted into those establishments should be subjected to the same examination as the others. The doctors refused to accede to this order, on the ground that such a proceeding would have an injurious effect on the health of the wounded. I laid the matter before the President of the Council of Ministers, and he replied, in presence of the other ministers, that as it was a question of humanity there was no alternative. To reconcile my official duties with the desire expressed by the commission, I will write to the President of the Council, and propose to enforce the execution of my circular.—Q. What explanations can you give respecting the meeting at the Pantheon on June 22? It took place openly.—A. Have you received my reports? On June 21, there was a great meeting on the Place de l'Hotel de Ville. I asked for three battalions for the next day, and they were granted. I knew that another meeting was to be held in the evening of the 22d at the Pantheon, and I went to the Executive Commission, at eleven o'clock in the morning, to inform them of it. At that moment M. Recurt wished to retire, but he was detained. I declared the state of things to be very serious, and said I would take all necessary measures of police, but that troops were indispensable. My agents were insulted and beaten. No troops came. My agents informed me of the meeting next day, at six in the morning, and I wrote to the Executive Commission, requesting them to prepare troops by five o'clock. My agents were punctual in their attendance, and their first report came to hand at half-past seven, from which I learned that no troops had appeared. My agents were beaten again. The gathering consisted of 1,200 or 1,500 men. I wrote to complain of the absence of troops. The rebellion soon burst out on all sides, especially round the Prefecture, which they wanted to take. I had but a small force. They wanted to withdraw my commandant, but I resisted, and he remained.—Q. What do you think of the conduct of the Republican Guard?—A. There were some desertions, but not many. As a body they behaved well.—Q. Why do some of the old Republican Guards still receive pay and wear the uniform?—A. They were paid up to June 20, by superior order. The uniform is worn illegally, and I will compel them to leave it off. As to their ammunition, they procured it themselves. Balls were made by them at the Prefecture of Police as long as the Montagnards remained there, viz., *till May* 15.—Q Was there a mould at the Prefecture?—A. Yes, but they took it away. The balls were of a very deadly kind.—Q. What do you know about the orders for bread given to the insurgents?—A. Many arrangements of the sort were made. They proceeded from the organisation of the insurgents, which is now under investigation.—Q. Can you inform us how far the examination of prisoners has advanced?—A. We have made 6,700 arrests, and shall certainly reach 10,000. The examination does not proceed so fast as it might, owing to the confusion of authorities and contradictory orders.—Q. How does the disarming get on?—A. There is no regularity; everybody wants to be master. We are under a state of siege, and they proceed sometimes vigorously, at others feebly.—Q. There is some talk of a petition which the National Guard intend presenting to the Assembly in favour of a general re-organisation, in which case the choice would fall on other officers. What do you think?—A. I can say nothing positive on that head.

Q. You stated that you informed the Executive Commission of the state of affairs?—A. There were no troops sent to the place of the meeting on that day or the next.—Q. That must have surprised you? Were orders given and not executed?—A. I can only say that no troops came.—Q. Did not the government direct you to arrest the chiefs?—A. Soon after I entered office I issued a warrant against one Jaime, a sub-director of the national workshops, and a dramatist. One of my agents went to arrest him at the national workshops. Lalanne was opposed to it; he came back with the agent to the Prefecture, and was very pressing. I consented to leave the decision for the Executive Commission, and the warrant was withdrawn. At a later period I told the Executive Commission that the national workshops were a hotbed of sedition, and were aided by the clubs, especially the Society of the Rights of Man. I gave in a copy of the statutes of this society. Towards the end of May or the beginning of June I proposed the arrest of the more influential members of the society, especially the chiefs of sections. The Executive Commission did not consent. It was decided to arrest 56 delegates of the national workshops to prevent the movement, but I did not receive the order till noon on the 23d. (The witness here put in the original letter of the Minister of the Interior.)—Q. How is it that as yet we see no influential persons mentioned?—A. By looking at the conspiracies of May and June together, the chiefs will appear.—Q. Among the delegates just mentioned were there any delegates of the Luxembourg?—A. Yes, many; if you had reports of Louis Blanc's speeches at the Luxembourg, you would have the key to many things, for they are not even in the *Moniteur*.

Sitting of July 4th.—The witness said that great measures ought to be taken without delay for the relief of trade and manufactures. He considered the prospects of the future to be alarming, and had worse apprehensions now than after May 15th. They were exasperated rather in despair, their threats were most violent, and their projects most atrocious. They would not have recourse to street fighting and barricades, but to murdering of women and children, fire and pillage. Their infamous projects were especially directed against the first, second, and tenth arrondissements. M. Trouvé-Chauvel then went on to state that among 130 prisoners arrested for the conspiracy of May 15th, there were 45 partisans of Barbès, 36 of Henry V., 58 Bonapartists, and 1 partisan of the Regency. He concluded by reading a letter from M. Martoret, a captain belonging to the ninth legion, to the effect that the writer had been prevented from arresting some insurgents by two representatives.

Sitting of July 6th.—The witness said, that in the papers of a man named Villain they had found the complete organization of the Society of the Rights of Man, which had fourteen branches in the department of the Seine. The number of members is 20,000. The chiefs of the National Workshops and of the Society of the Rights of Man were the directors and the organizers of riots and disturbances. On May 28th, at seven in the evening, he wrote to the Minister of the Interior, requesting his sanction for the arrest of the principal heads of that society, whose names he gave. Notwithstanding all he could say, permission was refused him, not only by the minister, but by the whole executive. He is convinced that if he had been allowed to arrest these persons the insurrection would have been prevented; and if he had received the troops he asked for on the evening of the 22d, or by six in the morning of the 23d, he could still have arrested the chiefs of that society at the Pantheon, and probably the fifty-six of the national workshops, whose arrest the executive had recommended.

Sitting of July 7th.—The witness put in the procès-verbal of a man named Bonon, who states that he saw Caussidière behind the barricades on June 23d. If M. Caussidière were arrested it would be known what took place at the prefecture two or three nights before April 16th. There was a meeting in which it was resolved not to let the National Assembly meet, and to name a dictator. The choice of a dictator was made, but he did not come to the rendezvous; his heart seems to have failed him at the last moment, so the affair was adjourned.

Q. Have you not complained of Commandant Hardy being taken from you?—A. He has been removed against my wish, and I deeply regret it. The witness then stated that 100,000 muskets had been recovered, and then put in a copy of the list of candidates determined on by Louis Blanc and the National Workshops, and which was distributed in profusion before the elections.

Sitting of July 12.—There was great danger in keeping the prisoners so near Paris, and the investigation ought to advance more rapidly. "We are not at the end of our troubles," said M. Trouvé-Chauvel, "unless energetic means are used." He thought all future arrests should be made by the police, and not irregularly as heretofore. People were astonished that Caussidière was still at liberty, and, were he not a representative, he himself should have arrested him.

COMMITTEE OF INVESTIGATION.

DÉPOSITION OF M. TROUVÉ-CHAUVEL, June 28.

M. Trouvé-Chauvel had no sooner become Prefect of Police, than he had reason to believe the national workshops were the source of all disorders; they were under the management of the Minister of Public Works, and he had nothing to do with them further than the preservation of the public peace was concerned. He was of opinion that the object of the insurrection of June was the complete overthrow of society. Massacre and fire were the means, and pillage the result. He is convinced that no other influence contributed to that anarchical movement. The money lavished came from the national workshops; on this point he was at variance with the Executive Power, who thought that the manifestations which took place were instigated by various pretenders. He said that there are not in Paris more than 2,000 persons who have suffered punishment for crime, even including returned convicts; whereas he believes there were between forty and fifty thousand insurgents. He is of opinion that the events of May 15, June 23, and April 16, are closely connected. He has no doubt that M. Caussidière was concerned in the affairs of June and May. When he (M. Trouvé-Chauvel) took possession of the Prefecture, M. Caussidière asked his permission to sleep at the Prefecture. He particularly wanted a closet behind the bureau; a doctor attended him; his knee was swelled, but he could walk; he did not stay the night at the Prefecture. M. Trouvé-Chauvel concluded his deposition of this day with an account of the number and condition of the prisoners.

Sitting of July 3.—The President: Was Kersausie arrested and released?—Witness: If he was, it must have been by other agents than those of the Prefecture. He is a chief for action, for execution.—Q. What do you think of Esquiros?—A. He has more talent than Kersausie.—Q. How many returned convicts were there in Paris on June 23 and following days? You said not more than between 1,500 and 2,000.—A. M. Allard, whom I have again consulted, confirms my statement that there were 1,500 returned

tended only to admit those who fought in February. As to Sobrier he was charged to form clubs, to arm and organise them in such a way that, by acting in concert with the troops of Caussidière, they should constitute a veritable power, especially as citizens Louis Blanc and Albert, who soon fell in with these ideas, were certain, on their parts, by means of their functions at the Luxembourg, to possess great influence over the workmen, and they undertook to organise the masses. By this combination the persons I have named were to make themselves masters of the Republic, and shake off the yoke of the other members of the Provisional Government. It was further agreed that Sobrier should separate from Caussidière; that to hide their intentions they should appear to be on bad terms; that Sobrier should establish a journal with Cahaigne to propagate their ideas in the working class; and finally it was resolved that either by seizures, by armings, or purchase, the greatest quantity of arms and ammunition possible should be procured. All these projects were executed the more easily from the fact that Caussidière, (who knew very well that his resignation would not be accepted,) was, as Prefect of Police, to close his eyes on all the abuses which might be committed.

I was maintained in my rank of first captain of the Garde Urbaine to about the end of March. In this interval, I signalise the following circumstances:—On the 25th February last, Caussidière being in want of money, and having in vain demanded some from citizen Garnier-Pagès, proposed to me to go to the house of citizen Rothschild, and levy an extraordinary tax of 500fr. on him. I consented on account of my position, but I had no need to do the thing, because citizen Lechevallier, who was again sent to citizen Garnier-Pagès, obtained some money and the promise of more.

About eight days after the revolution of February, I was called into the salon of Caussidière to take coffee. Sobrier, Blanqui, Barbès, Mercier, and Tiphaine were there, having dined together. The plans, which I have detailed above, were the subject of conversation, and appeared to be generally agreed to. But as distrust began to be felt of de la Hodde, it was agreed that the meeting, instead of being held at the Prefecture of Police, should be held at the Luxembourg, in the apartments of Albert. I was frequently ill, and was replaced in the task of constituting the garde urbaine, by a man named Morisset, who was initiated into all the above schemes. Meetings were held in the salon of Albert at the Luxembourg almost every day, from ten o'clock to midnight, and I was present sometimes, by the invitation of Caussidière and de la Hodde, who came to see me at the barracks des Petits Pères, and asked me if the state of my health enabled me to go.

One day, I received an invitation to go to the Prefecture of Police. I went there, and found a convocation for ten o'clock at the Luxembourg. I arrived a little after the hour appointed. De la Hodde was in a corner, and Caussidière, Mercier, his brother-in-law, Tiphaine, Sobrier, Monnier, Albert, Pille, Grandmenil, who presided at the sittings at Albert's, and some other persons whose names I cannot remember, were present. After my arrival, Caussidière produced a voluminous bundle of papers, and with the documents before him, accused de la Hodde of having denounced us all under the fallen government. He called on him to kill himself, either by a four-barrelled pistol, which he had brought with him, or by poison which was placed on the table. He rather appeared animated by the fear of new revelations on the part of de la Hodde than by the desire of avenging himself for his old revelations; for de la Hodde, perfectly *au courant* to the schemes conceived in the first days, had cried: "Ah! it is that, is it! You shall pay me!" De la Hodde having refused to commit suicide, it was proposed to kill him, and the persons present began pushing him about; but Albert said he would not allow a murder to be committed in his room; and Monnier and I, on our part, demanded his pardon. Our remonstrances and those of de la Hodde were listened to, but a proposition was made to make him kill himself in a cab. De la Hodde still resisted, promising to keep silence. At length he was taken to the Prefecture of Police, where Caussidière caused him to be detained in prison. I do not know what has since become of him.

I formally ascribe the attempt made on the 15th May, to overthrow the government, to the combinations signalised above, and to the conspiracy of which the Prefecture of Police and the Luxembourg were the centre; and Caussidière, Albert, Sobrier, Cahaigne, Mercier, Blanqui, and Barbès were the principal chiefs.

Some days before the end of March, I received an anonymous letter, in which I was warned that I should be arrested if I did not leave France immediately. I went to the Prefecture to ask Caussidière if it were he who had caused me to be written to. He answered in the negative, but he warned me that I was suspected by my comrades, and that, to prevent any collision, I should do well to go way. He offered me a mission in Belgium to revolutionise the country, and to endeavour to establish the Republic by means of the *corps francs*, already existing, which I was to join at Seclin, and by means of voluntary enrolments, which were to be received at the Prefecture of Police. We were to find vehicles and ammunition near the frontiers of Belgium, and those who were to take part in the expedition were to have a passport and a gratuitous passage on the railway. Ceding to his observations, I went. Between Lille and Mouscron, we found three carriages full of arms, which we were supposed to pillage. However the contents of a vehicle which were useless to us were left untouched. Each of us thus had a musket, and about sixty or eighty ball-cartridges. The state of my health did not allow me to enter Belgium with the column which fought at Risquons-Tout with the Belgian troops. On the expedition turning out a failure, I was thrown with others into a waggon, and brought back to Paris. I remained one day in bed owing to my suffering state; the next day Caussidière, having learned that I had not taken part in the action of Risquons-Tout, caused me to be arrested by two police agents.

On arriving at the depot, I wrote to him to explain the causes of my inaction. He replied verbally that he would call on me. I waited three days in vain. I suffered a good deal, and was exasperated at the injustice done me. The fourth day I wrote him another letter, in which I threatened to reveal the facts which I knew about him, if he did not set me at liberty, and I told the person who took it that Caussidière would cause me to be released, and I was in fact released the some evening. I ascribe Caussidière readiness to satisfy my demand to the fact that I could have denounced forgeries committed by him, the existence of which could have easily been proved by me, for the documents in which they were done were in the hands of a person who frequently came to see me, but whose name I know not, though I know that these forgeries were done in complicity with a man named Meignotin, at present a Gardien de Paris, and who in several occasions when drunk loudly talked of the matter.

Moreover, I know Caussidière well enough to be aware that before the revolution of February he was absolutely without resources, and that he lived by reprehensible means. Still, about a year before this revolution, he was employed by the journal the *Réforme*, as a collector of subscriptions in the provinces, and he easily earned his living; at least his expenses were always greater on his return from his journeys. Our previous relations led to those which existed between us since the revolution of February. Unfortunately, when I was obliged to make a journey to Germany, I, with the advice of my wife, burned all the letters which I received both from him and other persons. I thought then that I should never return to France, on account of the dangers of the expedition in which I took part.

After having been set at liberty, as stated above, an agent was sent to arrest me again; but I resisted, and threatened to blow out the brains of any one who should attempt to take me. The agent, being frightened, withdrew; but he returned in the evening with words of conciliation. He begged of me to follow him to the Prefecture; but I did not consent to do so until after taking my pistols. I had a conference near the Morgue with M. Allard, who told me that Caussidière absolutely insisted that I should go away. He succeeded in conquering my resistance. I left for an expedition against the Grand Duchy of Baden. After having fought with a column against the Hessian troops for about fifteen days in the Black Forest, I returned to France by Bâle. I went to Strasburg; but, despairing of being able to stay there, I joined the Polish column, and accompanied it to Eisleben, where we were made prisoners, and taken to Magdeburg. I there learned by the French journals the events of 15th May, and the fall of M. Caussidière; and I solicited and obtained from the government the authorisation to return to France.

Another deposition of 3d August.

On being recommended for his own interest to state all that he knew with respect to the insurrection of June, Chenu deposed as follows:—

I was wrong in not being sincere in my declaration, but, in consequence of the indulgence you hold out to me, I will tell all the truth. When I returned from Germany, I soon learned that the same party which failed on the 15th May thought of a definite collision, the object of which should be to place the government in the hands of the workmen—that is the people—and to annihilate the bourgeoisie. I was not kept quite well informed with respect to the plot, owing to the state of suspicion in which I was. I only learned something from the gossips who exist in all parties, and consequently my information is necessarily incomplete. What I affirm is, that the insurrection had for chiefs—Louis Blanc, as representing the workmen; Caussidière, as representing the part of the population which he had armed; socialism and communism, represented by the presidents of all the clubs, among whom was Pottier, President of the Club des Montagnards of Belleville, whose influence was very great: and finally, the editors of the journal *Père Duchêne*, and the committee of the banquet of 25c. It was at first proposed to postpone the attack to the day of the banquet; but the impatience of the most zealous on the one hand, and the dissolution of the ateliers nationaux on the other, caused the day of insurrection to be advanced. On the 21st June all the presidents of clubs and the principal chiefs met in a café near the Ecole de Medecine. Caussidière, who had been at a club, was present. I have every reason to believe that the plan of the insurrection was settled that very evening by the different chiefs. But long before all the documents necessary for constructing barricades in Paris had been obtained either from the ministry of war, through the friends of a person named Favreau, or from the Prefecture of Police. The plan for the occupation of Paris drawn up at the Prefecture of Police under the direction of M. Delessert, which was in accordance with the ideas of Marshal Bugeaud, specially served to design the favourable spots for barricades, both for attack and defence.

Grandmenil, who in all circumstances acted in concert with Caussidière, and who often gave him advice, had laboured at this plan. For all the Faubourg du Temple, moreover, the successor of Pottier as President of the Club des Montagnards of Belleville, had drawn up a plan not only of the barricades of those quarters, but of the means of communication between them. A man, named Pierre Leroux (not the representative), straw-plaiter, did the same for the Faubourg St. Martin. A tailor, named Barbast, living No. 1, Rue Notre Dame de Nazareth, was the intermediary between the different insurgent chiefs. As to arms, a great quantity had been procured since the month of February. The Montagnards had cast a great quantity of balls at the Prefecture, at an apothecary's in the Rue Ramboteau, and at a wine-shop-keeper's, named Tormel, Rue de Poitou, at the Marais. During the insurrection, the ammunition was increased by three barrels of gunpowder seized at Belleville, by that manufactured by the druggists, and by the balls seized at the houses of captains of companies.

The principal plan was to go directly on the Hotel de Ville. The columns charged with the attack were to be afterwards protected by barricades, of which the situation was marked out in advance. The brigadiers and chefs d'escouades of the ateliers nationaux convoked on the previous evening at the Pantheon, were to confine themselves to bringing up their workmen with their flags, to form these columns. But the formation of the barricades of the Porte St. Denis and the Porte St. Martin, before the passage of the columns, thwarted this plan, and probably caused the schemes of the insurgents to fail, the faubourgs being cut off from the central point, the Hotel de Ville."

Deposition of 4th August.

I knew citizen Flocon very intimately before the revolution of February. In the offices of the *Réforme* I, in conjunction with Albert, was charged to draw up the list of those who were to take part in the struggle which every one saw to be near. I also knew, at the same period, but less intimately, citizen Ledru-Rollin, and I met citizen Louis Blanc at the Redoute, rue Grenelle St. Honoré. I was consequently able to associate with those persons after the revolution of February. In addition to the meetings at the Prefecture and the Luxembourg of which I have spoken, others were held at Citizen Ledru-Rollin's. Caussidière, Grandmenil, Louis Blanc, Albert, Flocon, Lamartine, François Arago, and Etienne Arago, were present at those meetings. The object proposed was to struggle against the other members of the Provisional Government, and possess themselves exclusively of the government; but between the faction headed by Caussidière, Louis Blanc, and Albert, and that headed by Ledru-Rollin, Flocon, and François Arago, there was one which prevented me from believing that they both sought a common object, though both endeavoured to strengthen themselves by the authority of the name of Lamartine. I was informed of what passed by Albert, with whom I was intimate before the revolution of February.

The nephew of Grandmenil, who is a chemist, gave the receipts for making cotton powder, and incendiary bombs. One day, at the Prefecture of Police, an order was given to him, and money with it, for manufacturing such things, as it was already intended to set fire to Paris in case of resistance. Places were also sought out for the making and repairing of arms.

The demonstration of May had no success, owing partly to Blanqui's club having joined it near the Théatre de la Gaité, whilst the procession started from the Place de la Bastille; partly to the want of harmony between Barbès and Blanqui, and between the latter and Caussidière. This devision arose from the revelations of the *Revue Rétrospective*, with respect to which Blanqui, in their opinion, had not cleared himself. The consequence was that the demonstration did not take place in arms, and that the intervention of Blanqui's club at the head of the column gave a different impulsion to that which had been settled.

Deposition of 5th August.

On 22d June last, Brousse, ex-Captain, and Sallère, ex-sergeant-major of the Montagnards, both delegates of the club of the Faubourg St. Marcel, went to the Place de la Bastille, where a great number of the conspirators were already assembled. They settled the arrangements for the next day, and warned Nicolai, ex-officer of the republican guard, and the men who had been dismissed from it, and who were under his orders, to hold themselves in readiness. These men received their pay either from Grandménil, who must have got it from the committee for the relief of the wounded of February, or from M. Trouvé-Chauvel, from whom sums were extorted under threats of joining the émeute, or assemblages at the Portes St. Denis and St. Martin.

To prevent any confusion in what goes before, I will observe that the republican guard, after its dissolution, joined the montagnards, who had previously been dissolved. Neither had a legal existence, but were united by a community of schemes and interests.

To proceed: Brousse and Sallère announced on the 22d, on the Place du Panthéon, that the movement of the Faubourg St. Marcel was to be combined with that of the Faubourg St. Antoine, that Caussidière would place himself at the head of the insurrection, and that he aspired to be the future President of the Republic. The same evening Grandménil fixed another meeting for the next morning, the 23d, at the café at the corner of the Place Dauphine, which I believe to be the café Montansier. Instructions were given to march only on the orders of Caussidière. On the evening of the 22d, a meeting of the principal chiefs of the coming insurrection took place in a café in the Rue de Grenelle St. Honoré (this café must have been the estaminet Belge); and it was decided that Caussidière should take the command of the insurrection on the left bank of the Seine, and citizen Lagrange on the right bank. It was decided at Grandmenil's with Brousse, Jouanne, Captain of the 11th legion of the national guard, and Lhéritier (de l'Ain) that the workmen should be led to believe that the bourgeoisie were fighting for the Regency, and also that they should be told that an extraordinary tax for the advantage of the workmen should be levied on the principal capitalists. It was thus hoped to exasperate the insurgents, and to present them a patriotic and lucrative object.

During the struggle great efforts were made to spread false news as to the progress of the insurrection. The emissaries of the chiefs announced that Caussidière, at the head of the Montagnards and the Republican Guard, had possessed himself of the Hôtel-de-Ville, and had with him eight pieces of cannon; that Lagrange, at the head of 30,000 insurgents, was about to attack the National Assembly; and that in all parts the insurrection was successful. By these rumours the insurgents were encouraged to resistance, and I do not doubt that the struggle was continued much longer than it would have been if the combatants had known the veritable situation of things. When two discharges of cannon were heard at short intervals, they said—"There is the cannon of Caussidière roaring against that of the aristocrats!"

The cries generally heard during the insurrection were: "Long live the Democratic and Social Republic!" "We will have a little Napoleon!" "Barbès must be pleased!" &c.

As to the facts which concern me personally, I admit that, in order to prevent every hostile demonstration on the part of those who knew my former life, I took the resolution of pretending to take an active part in the insurrection. Still if I could have arrived at the Mairie, I should have fought with the greatest energy for the cause of order. Unfortunately no sooner had I descended into the street with my musket, than I was surrounded by the insurgents and constrained to join them. Ceding to this violence, I was anxious that my presence among the insurgents should dissipate the suspicions entertained against me, on account of which I had long cruelly suffered; but I affirm that I gave no order, fired no shot, but merely showed myself on a barricade.

Neither will nor ought to extend my revelations with respect to the persons who were on the side of the insurgents. Most of them are fathers of families, were led away by false rumours, and will certainly, for the future, be devoted to the cause of order. I have only seen Barbast and Mignotie, and before them I boasted of my co-operation in the insurrection in the hope that it would free me from suspicion, and save me from the vengeance with which I was threatened.

M. PORTALIS, Procureur-General.—July 11.

Before the elections there was much uneasiness felt by the government. Would they be favourable to the republic? Would reactionists bring about a civil war? If all the departments in the south were to return legitimists what would be done? The object of the movements of April was to delay the elections. The unanimous advice given was to return Republicans. The troops were not allowed to come into Paris. The government were unanimous not to delay the elections; it was resolved to abide by the judgment of the country. During all these suppositions violence was never spoken of; it was only talked of annulling or adjourning the Legitimist or Orleanist elections. Barbès himself, who was present at these deliberations, had no other idea, and never announced the acts of violence into which he afterwards led. On the 15th May, I had no idea that things would be carried so far, but as to Louis Blanc, I believed in his connivance, particularly when I saw him carried in triumph. The examinations which I made convinced me that Caussidière and Louis Blanc were in the secret. The Palais de Justice was kept in a deplorable manner. The agents of the police inspired no confidence, and I was frequently interrogated by them in the rudest way, without any respect for my quality as Procureur-General. Having been informed that Louis Blanc had been seen in the Place de l'Hotel de Ville, I considered it my duty to demand an authorisation for taking proceedings against him. As to Ledru-Rollin, I had lost sight of him since the elections. I only saw him at the Arc de Triomphe, when I spoke to him of Caussidière as a dangerous man, as the Dictator of Paris, and Louis Blanc as the Administrator. Ledru-Rollin was not of my opinion. I was not present at a meeting at the Hotel of the Minister of the Interior when the question of throwing the Assembly was agitated. There were frequent friendly meetings, at which were present Jules Favre, Barbès, Carteret, Elias Regnault, and Ledru-Rollin. I never saw either Blanqui or Sobrier there. It was said that 20,000fr. had been offered to a man, named Schmidt, to interfere in the elections. He was a journeyman shoemaker. I saw the man, and he denied that money had been offered to him, but he said that he had spoken of securing 6fr. or 7fr. a-day to a workmen who wished to be a chief of a section. A man, named Jarolay, a watchmaker, told me of a plan to pillage Paris, which had been found by the National Guards at the house of a man named Robert. Jarolay could give particulars.

M. LEDRU-ROLLIN,

Member of the Provisional Government.—July 5.

The affair of May 15 was of a diversified character; I can only consider it generally. I think that most of the men who invaded the Assembly had no object but to present a petition, and read it at the bar. They wanted to show their strength, and probably were ignorant of the preceding day, which forbade it. The measures of police were insufficient, I must confess. At the moment of the invasion I went to the gate with M. Lamartine, and did my utmost to keep out the crowd. I was informed that a considerable crowd threatened the other door in the Rue de Bourgogne, which was not so well defended as that where I was. I hastened there, addressed the insurgents, and obliged them to retire; but they entered at the hall. Blanqui and Raspail were undoubtedly determined to enter the Assembly. Barbès appeared to have excited himself by degrees; he had been told there were 300,000 men in the manifestation; it was the people, the sovereign people. Barbès saw no further. The people was always his idol. Then came Blanqui, a very dangerous character, of whom I have always said that he has gall and bile instead of blood in his heart. Hubert pronounced the dissolution, and I think Blanqui agreed with him on that point.

As for myself, I have been grossly calumniated. I knew nothing of these projects. My conduct during the sitting is known to every body. I was asked to become president, but I refused, and my determined resistance to the solicitations that beset me is no secret. I went down into the court, where I was surrounded by men who wanted to take me to the Hôtel de Ville. I declared that they should not carry me there alive. I even took a pistol to blow my brains out, if they attempted to force me.

When the hall was cleared, I got on horseback with M. de Lamartine, even without my hat. Attempts were made to stop me by statements that there was fighting in that part of Paris. It would have been happiness for me to die for the Republic. I arrived, and took measures for arrestating the factious, who were deliberating very quietly. Caussidière had given me his word, and I believed him sincere. I had seen Sobrier twice, and had no mistrust of him. I was surprised, however, to learn that he had received arms from the Prefecture of Police. Sobrier was presented to me one day. I knew him no more than many men of the same stamp. I kept apart and belonged to no society public or secret, having always made it a principle to conspire only in the face of the world. Sobrier came to the Ministry of the Interior, and complained of being watched by my order. He said it was very wrong not to place confidence in him, that he had all possible respect for the Assembly, and would even, if necessary, assassinate Blanqui, who was hostile to it.

The national workshops caused the Government most uneasiness. About May 20, it was determined to suppress them, and every measure human prudence could suggest was taken, but all the orders were not strictly executed. It was decided for instance that no more hands should be admitted into them. Two mayors of Paris, however, inscribed fresh names; and their dismission was determined on. You are aware of the deputation sent by the delegates to the Executive Commission, and also of M. Marie's answer. It was then we gave order to arrest Pujol, and fifty-six delegates. The order was not executed, and the Prefect of Police answered that he had not their addresses.

As to the events of June 23, the executive commission has been accused of want of foresight. I repel the accusation, and declare that all measures of precaution had been taken. Our orders were positive, but were not executed. We had determined, for instance, that the garrison of Paris and the Banlieue should be increased to 60,000 men, including the Garde Mobile, the Republican Guard, and the Gardiens de Paris. As some objections were made, we reduced this number, first to 55,000, then to 50,000, and at last to 45,000 men. General Cavaignac said he could not leave the rest of the country unprotected. It was ultimately decided to have 20,000 men for Paris, and 5,000 for Versailles, St. Denis, etc., in all 25,000 effective men. Besides these, M. de Lamartine proposed to bring up 20,000 men from the army of the Alps, which was acceded to.

I recollect that Lamartine was so anxious about the effective of the troops that he often asked how far our orders had been executed. It will one day be necessary to ascertain whether there were really 25,000 men in Paris in June. For my part I can scarcely believe it, as on 23d June the scarcity of troops was complained of in every quarter.

We differed materially as to the means of defence to be adopted on the 23d June. There were two systems proposed: General Cavaignac wanted the army under his direction; he would then collect it in masses and advance them on the points attacked. The commission, on the other hand, thought it most advisable to attack each barricade as soon as made, or only begun. They persisted in their opinion, and at last gave way with regret, leaving the rest of the operations to General Cavaignac. They then retired to the palace of the President, where they might arrange with him. About half-past three General Cavaignac went to see how things stood, and was only to be absent an hour at most. He did not return till nine in the evening, and I cannot describe the torments I experienced in that interval. All the mayors of Paris sent for reinforcements; they complained that no troops arrived: the national guard cried treason, whilst I was left alone at the President's in the most unspeakable anguish. In the absence of my colleagues, I took on myself to write to the prefects to send up to the capital whatever forces they had within reach. I sent orders to Admiral Casy to procure troops immediately from Brest and Cherbourg. On General Cavaignac's return I allow that I showed great irritation. From what I have said, I conclude there could not be more than 8,000 or 10,000 men engaged in Paris on the first day of the insurrection. At all events, it is certain that when I asked General Cavaignac, about two o'clock in the morning, how many troops there were in Paris, he told me he did not know. I was for resuming the attack at daybreak, and sending two battalions to General Damesme, but General Cavaignac did not coincide with me. The firing began about three o'clock in the morning.

The accusations made against us on account of the absence of troops were such, that an officer came to tell us they accused the commission of treason, and said we ought to be shot. Circumstances seemed so serious to me that I deemed cannon necessary. I ordered some to be fetched from Vincennes, and the cavalry started for them at eleven at night. By what fatality did they not arrive till ten next morning? It is difficult to understand why eleven hours were necessary for the journey to Vincennes and back. General Cavaignac said, "The honour of the army required me to persevere in my system; for I should blow out my brains if a single company of mine were disarmed. Let the national guard attack the barricades; if they are beaten, I would rather retire to the plain of St. Denis, and give battle to the insurgents."

Q. To what cause do you attribute the supposed absence of the 20,000 men, on which the commission thought they could rely?—A. I do not know. I lived under the conviction that these 20,000 men were in Paris.—Q. What is your opinion as to the situation of Paris and the attitude of that portion of its inhabitants who took part in the insurrection?—A. I think that if prompt measures are not taken, the struggle will be renewed. We must revive credit, labour, trade. I held this same opinion in the Provisional Government, where I was in the minority. Garnier-Pagès has been an obstacle; he thought the finances of the Republic were to be administered as in ordinary times.

M. Ledru-Rollin then went into certain financial details, and instanced the measures adopted by the French Republic in 1790 and 1791. It was then necessary, he said, to create 1,700,000,000fr. of paper-money. He next alluded to the territorial bills, which amounted to no less than 2,700,000,000 francs. The necessities of the occasion, with respect to the augmented value of the precious metals, require a similar measure, but on a still larger scale. In his opinion paper-money is the only thing that can save the Republic.

Colonel PAULIN.—July 5.

Madame Ledru-Rollin did not hesitate to say that her husband had taken precautions, and had sent funds to England. A friend of the witness, Colonel Garnier, told him that to his knowledge M. Ledru-Rollin had sent £14,000 sterling to England, and that a M. Bignan, a horse-dealer at Neuilly-sur-Marne, but who had an apartment at 17, Rue de Grammont, and came to Paris every Friday, had acted as the intermediary. This witness stated that a commissary of the chiourmes at Brest had received an order from M. Ledru-Rollin to release one of the most dangerous of the forçats in the bagne at Brest; that functionary at first refused, and threatened to resign his situation. He afterwards received a second and more formal order, and was compelled to obey.

General CAVAIGNAC.—July 11.

The General stated that the statement made by the Minister of War was correct that there were in Paris and the environs nearly 30,000 men. The system of defence adopted by the General was founded on the conviction of the danger arising from a dissemination of the troops—the experience gained in July, 1830, and February, 1848, having demonstrated the necessity of not engaging the troops in the streets, but of collecting them in sufficiently strong bodies, to force the insurgents to yield to numbers. In such cases he observed the least check given to the army was mortal. Notwithstanding the most distinct orders, a battalion ventured into the Place des Voges, and placed itself in such a dangerous position, that the Minister was obliged to make a severe reproof, in spite of the incontestible bravery of the commander and the soldiers of the battalion. "On the 23d," added General Cavaignac, "I was still Minister of War, and at liberty to take the chance of being killed. I went to the Faubourg du Temple, which was then threatened. General Lamoricière was with me." In answer to a question from the President, General Cavaignac replied that the engineers at Arras were not called in till the last days of the conflict, and the orders he gave were executed without resistance or delay.

M. JULES FAVRE—July 11.

I know nothing of the events of May 15th, only that I frequently spoke to M. de Lamartine on the subject of the police, which I thought badly conducted. I engaged him to have a daily report made to him; but he said he had confidence in M. Caussidière, and would answer for him. On February 26th I was called upon to fill a secondary post in the Ministry of the Interior. The Prefect of Police was, or ought to have been, under my orders; but in reality his was a completely independent authority. I accepted this post only on condition that M. Caussidière should not continue to be Prefect of Police. This condition was not fulfilled, and I confess I was wrong in remaining in the government. His system consisted in causing a descent upon the streets whenever his views met with opposition. I have never doubted this. On March 17th, I thought the movement spontaneous, and admired the imposing spectacle we had before us. On this occasion M. Ledru-Rollin made an entirely conciliating speech, and talked of bringing the army back to Paris. On the next day I learnt, beyond all doubt, that all this had been prepared by the Prefect of Police, and that in the night the ateliers were visited, and the workmen instigated. The intention might have been good, as it was doubted that the National Guard was not sufficiently republican. It was the same in April, when I thought that they were going to *cerser* (shed blood). On April 16th the movement, was less numerous than in March, on account of the men who directed it, and whose intentions were evident. This was known to me a week before, and I learnt that some of the members of the government were to be disposed of, for there existed among them differences of opinion and antipathies which I need not explain. As I was bound to take measures, I sent for M. Carteret, and questioned him about this movement. We were both convinced that the Prefecture of Police would do nothing. Then it was that MM. Laodrin, Portalis, and myself warned the government. I ten times tendered

my resignation. I never attended any nocturnal secret meetings at the Ministry of the interior. This idea may have arisen from my having sometimes visited M. Ledru Rollin in the evening, when the labours of the day were over. M. Carteret and I saw him in the evening of April 16th; he declared that he had nothing to do with the movement, but feared that he himself would be the victim of it. I admit that the government may have committed faults, but I never saw in M. Ledru Rollin any thing else than a lively preoccupation as to the fate of the Republic. With regard to Louis Blanc and Albert it was quite different. I always believed them to be conspiring. Carteret and I applied for the arrest of Blanqui. The warrant was signed, but afterwards withdrawn. On the Sunday at one o'clock the drums beat to arms. I found Louis Blanc and Albert at the Ministry. The first seemed to be greatly alarmed. Ledru Rollin said that it was he who ordered the drums to be beat. I afterwards received a note from Ledru Rollin, dated at the Hotel de Ville, saying that all was quiet and that the people were dispersing. Having learnt that certain proclamations had been posted up, I reproached Caussidière, and demanded his dismissal. He turned it into a joke. Ledru Rollin, generous, may have been imprudent, but never culpable. He considered Caussidière totally unfit for the Prefecture of Police under a regular and settled government, but necessary in times of revolution. He flattered himself that he could guide him, while Caussidière, on the other hand, said: "Oh! as to Ledru Rollin I can blow him up whenever I please!" The absurd language of an ingrate after the services in money matters rendered to Caussidière by Ledru Rollin, and the nomination of Caussidière to the Prefecture of Police. He came in the night of the 15th: I was resolved upon his overthrow. He spoke 20 minutes and left us all in a state of incertitude. It was proposed that he should be arrested, but Messrs. Arago and Marie alone voted for it. I have no hesitation in confessing that I drew up some of the circulars which have made so much noise. I drew up the first, which was, however, altered and made much stronger by M. Ledru Rollin. They were to be secret. The words so much criticised, *pouvoirs illimités*, were but the exact version of the verbal instructions originally given to the commissaries. For example, M. Emmanuel Arago pretended that he had full power, even to raze Lyons. The commissaries were named without any discernment; the first persons that came were taken. The object of the first circular was to limit their powers, at the same time intimating the necessity of making them afterwards more extensive. This first circular produced but little sensation, and it was not till after the steps taken by the National Guards that it was computed as a crime. The second produced still less sensation. It turned upon the elections. The commissaries were to interfere in them by delivering their doctrines. I still consider that that was necessary, since republicans are required for founding a republic. The bulletins were an imitation of what was practised at the Convention. The bulletin No. 16 appeared on a Saturday; it rained hard, and yet crowds stopped to read it. Every one condemned it as infamous. I was confounded, and ran to the post to stop its departure, if in time. M. Ledru Rollin had evidently been taken by surprise. M. Elias Regnault was to draw up these bulletins, but being prevented by a family misfortune, he could not do this, and it was written by George Sand, who was recommended for the purpose by M. Etienne Arago. She had in the morning brought to the ministry three drafts written in different shades, and chance willed that that should be chosen which was likely to produce the greatest scandal in the political world.

M. BOZON.—July 8.

On the 23d June, I mounted guard, and as there was no assemblage, I went to look at the barricade in the Faubourg St. Antoine. Between one and two o'clock I saw M. Caussidière near the church of Saint Paul. M. Hollet was with me, and we turned back to satisfy ourselves that it was him. The barricade had been commenced, and was then about a yard in height. One of the men at the barricade went up to Caussidière, took him by the hand, and entered into conversation with him. I afterwards saw M. Colin, to whom I mentioned that I had seen M. Caussidière. I know that gentleman, and could not be mistaken as to his identity. I saw him standing before the barricade which was then erecting, and he used no efforts to prevent it.

(To be continued.)

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

Sitting of Aug. 19.

The chair was taken at a quarter-past one by M. Lacrosse, one of the Vice-Presidents.

The order of the day was the monthly election of a President of the Assembly.

The following was the result of the ballot:—

Number of voters	708	
Absolute majority	355	
M. Marrast obtained	611	
M. Bac	54	
M. Lacrosse	26	
M. Ledru-Rollin	6	(Laughter.)
M. Dufaure	4	
M. de Lamartine	2	(Renewed laughter.)

The PRESIDENT.—In consequence, M. Marrast, having obtained the majority of votes, is hereby declared to be duly elected President of the Assembly.

The PRESIDENT.—M. Louis Blanc has demanded permission to speak on a personal matter. (Movement of attention.)

M. LOUIS BLANC, amidst the deepest silence, ascended the tribune, and said:—I come here to point out to all honest men one of the most scandalous of abuses! (Hear, hear.) Last evening the *Patrie* published a part of the documents which were yesterday delivered to the members of the Assembly, with respect to the affair of May 15. The *Patrie* gave very faithfully all the documents which appeared to tell against me: thus it gave the depositions which speak of a meeting having taken place at my house of various persons, to decide what course they were to adopt for the assault on the Assembly the next day. Everything that could raise prejudice against me the *Patrie* has most carefully published; but it has as sedulously avoided publishing other documents which showed that the meeting spoken of was composed exclusively of representatives, who assembled merely to discuss what ought to be their political conduct in the course of events which were likely to take place during the session—and which, I may remark *en passant*, preclude all idea of our aiming at the dissolution of the Assembly. (Agitation.) Several depositions also declare that, in the sitting of May 15, I descended from my place in the Chamber, and addressed the invaders of the Assembly; others narrate for what object I went out, after having obtained the permission of the President to do so. Not one word of these depositions has the *Patrie* given! Now, I proclaim this to be odious—(movement)—this I declare to be infamous—(great agitation). Such reticences I maintain to be downright calumnies, and such calumnies are, I assert, a moral assassination committed by the aid of what is the most odious and most vile in existence—namely, forgery! (Loud assent on the Left; great agitation for some time.) Honest men have not waited for the revolution of February to arrive, in order to protest against the anticipated publication of an act of indictment—at all times such a course has been declared unfair, for it is, beyond a doubt, sovereignly immoral to thus publish an *ex parte* statement. When once the public has formed its opinion, every one knows how difficult it is to remove an impression imparted, and therefore, in the name of justice, in the name of public morality, in the name of public honesty, I call on the Assembly to render it illegal henceforward for journals to publish acts of indictment before the opening of the proceedings to which they refer. (Cries of "Oh! oh!" Great agitation on all sides of the House.) I have prepared a proposition to suit the case. (Continued agitation.)

Voices on the Left—Yes, yes! Read it, read it.

Other Voices—But the documents of an investigation are not an act of indictment!

Others from the various parts of the Chamber—You must follow the regulations of the Chamber—Hand in your proposition.

The PRESIDENT—Citizen Louis Blanc had given me notice that he intends to claim the right of urgency, admitted by Art. 60 of the regulations. (Interruption.)

Numerous voices—He has said nothing about that.

The PRESIDENT—Allow me to complete what I was saying. The article referred to permits a member to claim urgency for a personal matter, and allows the discussion of any proposition, for such a purpose, in 24 hours after the demand is made. In consequence, I propose to you, if he persists in his demand, (M. Louis Blanc, who was still in the tribune, made an affirmative sign,) I propose to you to place the discussion of his proposition on the order of the day for the next sitting.

M. BAUNE—I am unwilling to interrupt the proceedings of the Assembly, but I seize on this opportunity to protest in the strongest manner against the infamous calumny that has been directed in the document against me. I here publicly direct attention to the circumstance to which I allude, and shall at the proper moment take legal proceedings, in fitting time and place, against the author of that calumny. (Agitation.) (1.)

Great agitation arose here: M. Turck appeared in the tribune. Cries of "Speak, speak!" were heard.

M. TURCK appeared undecided: at last he came forward—He could declare, he said, that he was fully prepared to support what he had asserted in his deposition. (Agitation.)

The PRESIDENT (to M. Louis Blanc, who had given way to the last two speakers, and who remained on the steps of the tribune)—Do you persist in your proposition?

M. LOUIS BLANC nodded his head, and handed in the proposition on paper.

The PRESIDENT—The discussion, then, must take place on Monday *d'urgence*. (Cries of "No, no.")

M. DESLONGRAIS thought the views of the hon. president on Article 60 were not altogether correct. That Article referred to propositions emanating from the government only. Articles 47 and 50, on the contrary, stated that the proposition of a representative ought to be proceeded to within three days. It certainly could not be said that the proposition of M. Louis Blanc came from a member of the government.

The PRESIDENT.—The matter shall be placed on the order of the day for Monday, and the Assembly will decide if the case demands urgency. The Assembly has decided that immediately after the distribution of the documents it would fix an early day for the discussion of the report.—(Agitation.)

A MEMBER.—The second and third parts of the documents are not to be distributed before to-morrow and Monday. Hence the discussion cannot begin before Thursday.

The matter then dropped.

The order of the day was the adjourned discussion on the bill for enabling such persons as had suspended payment to settle amicably with their creditors.

M. DUPIN said, that as member of the committee on legislation, he wished to observe that the propositions on the present bill had been the subject of a long and serious examination. Not less than five plans had been successively brought forward—*uno avulso, non deficit alter.* "In the last sitting," continued the hon. representative, "you refused the priority to the proposition of the committee on legislation. It is by mistake that the Reporter demanded to have M. Rondeau's proposition referred to the committee—it is for the Assembly itself to choose between the two plans now laid before it."

After a short conversation, the Assembly decided that the discussion should take place, not on M. Rondeau's proposition, but on that of MM. J. Favre and Dupont (de Bussac).

The articles were then brought forward, being in fact nothing else than the plan adopted by the Committee of Commerce with certain modifications introduced by the Committee of Legislation.

Art. 1 declares that "every person who has suspended payment since Feb. 24, 1848, can, on a demand made to the Tribunal de Commerce and an exposure of his balance-sheet, obtain a delay of one month, declared obligatory on all the creditors mentioned in his schedule. The Tribunal will then appoint an assignee to concert with the creditors, and shall choose from amongst these latter one or several assignees charged to aid, in concert with the debtor, in arranging between them and the person who has failed."

An amendment, proposing six months delay in place of one, was proposed but rejected. The article was then adopted.

"Art. 2. The debtor shall continue the administration of his affairs with the assignees. The credits resulting from the new operations shall be paid in preference."

Objections were made to allowing the persons who might have suspended payment to recommend any new business; and after two doubtful trials by asais et levé, on the first paragraph of the article, a division was proceeded to, the result of which was as follows:—

For the first paragraph	. . .	335
Against it	. . .	302
Majority	. . .	—33

In consequence, the first paragraph was agreed to.

Some discussion took place on the second paragraph, which was rejected. The article so curtailed was then adopted in its ensemble.

"Art. 3 gives full power to the assignees to call for all books, papers, bills, &c., everything in fact that can throw light on the exact position of the person who has suspended payment. They can also, if they think fit, demand to have the delay granted suspended."—Adopted.

"Art. 4. In order to verify the credits, the assignees shall convoke, by advertisements in the public journals, and by notice at their residences, all the creditors to attend, and on a day appointed the assignees shall proceed to the verification, and shall hear the observations of any creditor, or the person legally representing him, against any part of such verification. When the credits are contested, the proceedings shall be, according to Arts. 498, 499, and 500, of the Commercial Code. After the verification, on the day appointed for a new convocation, the debtor shall make his offers of arrangement to his creditors, who can object and refuse if they think fit."

M. RONDEAU proposed as an amendment, that "minutes shall be taken of the verifications made by the assignees, which shall bear their signature."

This was adopted.

M. DURAND (de Romorantin) proposed that "each creditor, in a week at most after his credit has been verified, shall be bound to affirm to the assignee appointed by the court, that the said credit is a *bona fide* one."

This was agreed to, and the article was then put to the vote.

A first trial was declared to be doubtful.

Several Voices—But there is no doubt about it—the rejection is as clear as the day!

The PRESIDENT—I have to declare that from the form of the Chamber, the President's bureau is the only place from which it is possible to come to an accurate judgment as to the number of votes given for or against any proposition.

The article was then again put to the vote, and very evidently rejected. (Agitation.)

Several Members were heard to exclaim—So there is to be no verification, no affirmation of the credits, and, above all, no amicable arrangement! Why not at once have rejected the first article and the whole bill!

The discussion on the other five articles was adjourned to Monday (this day).

It being then six o'clock, the sitting was brought to a close.

(1.) M. Baune alludes here apparently to a deposition of M. Turck, thus conceived:—

"On the 23d and 24th, a representative told me that the present state of things could not be brought to an end, if four or five hundred members of the Assembly were not put to death. Robespierre, Marat, St. Just, added he, were gentle in principle. In 1789 all these men demanded the abolition of the pain of death, but they afterwards changed their way of thinking, and if we wish to succeed, we ought to begin where they left off. For my part, I have resolution enough to support my opinions, and you may, if you please, state to any one what I have just said.

"Question—Who was that representative?

"Answer—I would willingly not state his name; but since the question has been put to me, I have to declare that it is M. Baune."—ED. of MESSENGER.

LE GERANT, J. A. GALIGNANI.

Printed by E. Briere, 55, Rue Ste. Anne.

STRANGER'S DIARY.

TO-DAY—MONDAY.

Gallery of Modern Paintings at the Luxembourg, 11 to 4 (passport)—Cabinets of Natural History, Zoology, Mineralogy, and Comparative Anatomy, 11 to 2, at the Garden of Plants (apply with passport at the Bureau de l'Administration)—Cabinet of Medals and Coins, at Hôtel des Monnaies, 12 to 2 (passport)—Historical Galleries and Palace of Versailles, 11 to 4.

For Exhibitions, &c., open every day see Tuesday's MESSENGER.

** To obtain Tickets, where required, and other information, see Galignani's PARIS GUIDE on a new plan, JUST PUBLISHED

THEATRES.

THEATRE DE LA NATION (FRENCH OPERA.) (8.)—The first act of Le Comte Ory—Giselda

TOPATRE DE LA REPUBLIQUE (FRANÇAIS.) (6½.)—Le Vrai Club des Femmes—Les Portraits—Les Frat. de la Guerre.

THEATRE NATIONAL DE L'OPERA COMIQUE (7.)—La Dame Blanche—Les Rendez-vous.

THEATRE HISTORIQUE (5½.)—Monsieur le—Marie Tudor

GYMNASE (6.)—Le Premier Coup de Canif—Histoire de Rire—Statue—Horace.

VAUDEVILLE (6½.)—Le Baromètre—Le Club Le Serpent de la Paroisse—Le Protégé

THEATRE MONTANSIER (PALAIS ROYAL) (6½.)—Une Chaine Anglaise—Le Lion et le Rat—La Statue—Les Tableaux—Le Démon.

VARIETES (6½.) Un Petit de la Mobile—Les Coquettes—Les Deux Anges Gardiens.

PORTE ST. MARTIN (6½.)—Les Libertins de Londres.

AMBIGU (7.)—Morne au Diable.

GAITE (5½.)—Héloise et Abailard—Passage Vendôme—L'Ane Vole—Théâtromanie.

FOLIES DRAMATIQUES (5½.)—Une Passion—L. Fils du Roulier—Les Deux Francs-Maçons—Un Logement à Pour Trois.

CHALET (Spring Theatre in the Champs-Elysées).—Entrance 10c. and 15c. 50c.

JARDIN D'HIVER.—Entrance 10c.

THE FUNDS.

LONDON, Aug. 19. (*Closing Prices.*)

ENGLISH FUNDS.—Three per Cents Red. Ann. 94½; Ditto, Consols 95; Ditto, for Account 94¾; New Three and a Quarter 86¾; Bank Stock 198; India Stock 240; Ditto, Bonds 23 pm.; Ann. (Jan. 1860) 8¾; Ditto, New Ditto, —; Ditto, (Oct. 1855) 9¾; Exchequer bills 2d., 5s pm.

FOREIGN FUNDS.—Brazilian, Fives 71; Dutch, Threes 69½; Peruvian, 3½; Spanish, Fives —; Ditto, Passive 3½; Spanish, Threes for Acc. 22¾; Dutch, (2½) 44; Fours 71.

BRITISH RAILWAYS (*Last Prices*).

Aberdeen	—	Lond. Blackwall	—
Birm. Oxford	23¾	Lond. Brighton	78¾
Bristol, Exeter	—	Lond. S. West.	112¾
Caledonian	23¾	Lond. S. West.	39
Chest. Holyhead	—	Midland	97
Dublin, Belfast	—	Do. Birm. Derby	—
East. Counties	14¾	Norfolk	—
E. Lincolnshire	—	North British	—
Edinburgh Glasg.	39¾	Orf. & Wolverh.	—
G. S. & W. (Ire.)	—	Scottish Central	—
G. North of Eng.	—	Shrews. & Birm.	—
Great Western	82	Sou h Devon	—
Ditto ½ Shares	45¾	S. East Dover	23¾
Ditto Fifths	18	South Wales	17¾
Hull, Selby	—	Wilts. Som. Wey.	—
Lanc. & Carlisle	—	York, New, Berry	—
Lanc. & York sh.	—	York, N. Midland	—
Leeds, Bradford	—	York, Extension	—

FOREIGN RAILWAYS (*Last Prices.*)—Boulogne and Amiens 6¾; Northern of France 5¾.

COURSE OF EXCHANGE. Amsterdam three months, 12 2. Ditto, at sight, 12; Rotterdam, short, 12 2¾; Antwerp, three months, 25 37½; Brussels, do —; Hamburg, do. 13 10; Paris, short, 25 35; Ditto, three months, —; Marseilles, do. 25 80; Bordeaux, do. —; Frankfort, do. 121½; Vienna, do. 11 20; Trieste, do. 11 20; Madrid, do. 45¼; Cadiz, do. 48¼; Leghorn, do. 51 50; Genoa, do. —; Naples do. 37½; Palermo, do. —; Messina do. —; Lisbon, sixty days' date, 51¾; Oporto, do. 51¾; Rio Janeiro, sixty days' sight, —; Foreign Gold in bars, £3 17s. 9d. New Dollars 4s. 10¼d. Silver in bars, standard, 4s. 11¼d.

IRELAND, DUBLIN, Aug. 17.

Three per Cents. 96; 3½ per Cent. 85¾; Debentures —; Bank Stock 189.

PARIS, AUGUST 19.

	opened.	highest	lowest.	closed.
5 % cash	71 —	71 75	70 75	71 75
end month	70 75	71 50	70 75	71 50
New Loan	71 —	71 50	71 —	71 50
4½ % cash	43 25	44 —	43 25	44 —
end month	43 50	44 —	43 50	44 —
4½ % cash	— —	— —	— —	— —
4½ % cash	— —	— —	— —	— —
Belgian, Fives	—	Spanish, Fives	—	
—— 1840	70¾	—— Passive	—	
—— 1842	70¾	—— Old defer	—	
—— Four & Half	71 —	—— Threes	—	
—— Two & Half	—	Portuguese, Fives	—	
Belgian Bank 6350	—	Roman	93	
Dutch, Fours	— —	Piedmont	—f. —	
—— Two & Half	—	Neapolitan	—f. —c.	
Algiers Bank	—f. —	Do. Rothschild	78. —	
Acc. de la Ban.	1617f.50	Caisse Hypot.	1225f.	
Gent. de Paris	—f.	Fr. gold	135f. —	
Ob. V. de Paris	1090f —	5. Not	25f. 32½	—f
Canaux	870f. —	Sovs.	25f. 35	—f.

RAILROADS.		For Account.	For Cash.
St. Germain		—f. —c.	—f. —c.
Versailles (R. G.)		— —	117 50
—— (L. R.)		— —	103 50
Orleans		— —	680 —
Rouen		— —	436 25
Havre		— —	300 25
Vierzon		262 50	261 25
Marseilles		— —	213 —
Rale		— —	86 25
Creusot		— —	— —
Boulogne		— —	— —
Dieppe		— —	175 —
Bordeaux		— —	300 25
Northern		380 —	380 —
Strasburg		350 —	350 —
Nantes		332 50	331 25
Lyons		300 —	300 —

COURSE OF EXCHANGE, Aug. 19.

	Thirty Days.	Ninety Days
Amsterdam	211¼ money	210 p. & m.
Cadiz	490 bills	— bills
Frankfort	210 money	209 money
Genoa	1¼ sight	2¼ bills
Hamburgh	197 money	196 bills
Leghorn	51¾ bills	51 money
London	25f. 32½ sight	25f. 20 bills
Madrid	475 sight	— bills
Milan	35 sight	84 bills
Naples	495 sight	— bills
St. Petersburg	— —	277½ bills
Vienna	237½ sight	235 bills

FOREIGN FUNDS.—MADRID, Aug. 14. Threes 20¼.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

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REGENT'S PARK, LONDON.

To Capitalists.—Secure and Profitable Investment.

Mr. LEITCHILD has received instructions to submit to public COMPETITION at Garraway's, on Tuesday, September 5, at 1 for 1 (unless previously disposed of by private contract, of which due notice will be given), that favourite and unique exhibition, the DIORAMA, Regent's-park, London. This exhibition, which is situate in one of the most beautiful parts of the metropolis, was established in the year 1823, and has for 25 years commanded the universal admiration and support of the public. Invented by the talented M. Daguerre, who has acquired a European celebrity by the pictures he has painted for this exhibition, and the wonderful effects of light and shade which he for the first time produced, the Diorama has under his management, and the able assistance of his coadjutors, Messrs. Bouton, Bonneux, Diosse, and other distinguished painters, continued to be one of the most successful and best frequented exhibitions in the metropolis. Every one will remember the extraordinary sensation produced in successive years by the celebrated pictures of Canterbury Cathedral, the Valley of Sarnen, Holyrood Chapel, the Village of Unterseen, the Church of Santa Croce at Florence, the Village of Alagna Overwhelmed by an Avalanche, the Shrine of the Nativity, and the Church of Notre Dame, not to mention many others. The pictures now exhibiting, viz., the interior of St Mark's Church at Venice, and Mount Ætna (both painted by M. Diosse, under the superintendence of M. Daguerre), have received not only the unqualified approbation of our first-rate artists, but have also been equally admired by the public at large, and at no period has the exhibition been honoured with a greater share of distinguished patronage and support than at the present time. The buildings of the Diorama are most substantial, several thousand pounds having been expended in its erection and fitting-up, and it is now in excellent repair. The property comprises the erection of the Diorama, which is entered from Park-square east, through a portico into an entrance-hall, with pay-office, and private room communicating with the upper vestibule; the noble public saloon or audience room, which is tastefully decorated and judiciously arranged; the spacious picture or exhibition-room, with the workshops, machine-rooms, &c. several rooms on the basement, and provision has been made for four excellent large rooms on the second and third floors should they be required. At the rear of the Diorama, communicating with Albany-mews, are two vacant plots of ground, which may be applied to many valuable purposes. The whole property is held under a lease of which 74 years were unexpired at Midsummer, 1848, at a ground rent of £300 per annum; and Mr. Leitchild is now instructed to sell the lease, fixtures, and machinery, the two pictures now exhibiting, and the most valuable portion of the pictures, about 12 in number, which have been exhibited in former years, no similar exhibition has yet been established in any of the large towns of England, in Dublin, or the United States of America, and it is almost needless therefore to observe that to any gentleman of capital and enterprise who may be desirous of increasing his fortune, the present affords an opportunity not often to be met with.—Descriptive particulars, with a plan of the property, are now being prepared, and will be ready in a few days, and may be had at the office of Messrs. Winter, Williams, and Co., Solicitors, 19, Bedford-row; Messrs. Smart and Buller, Solicitors, 56, Lincoln's-inn-fields; or Mr. Leitchild, land and timber-offices, No. 62, Moorgate-street, London.

For NEW YORK from HAVRE.

The new and magnificent American Steam-Ship UNITED STATES, 2000 tons, WM. G. HACKSTAFF Commander, will sail from HAVRE for NEW YORK touching at COWES, on the second day of September next, at noon. Price of Passage, including Steward's fee, Eight Hundred and Fifty Francs. Freight, 1st class, 30 dols.; 2d class, 20 dol.—For Freight and Passage, having unrivalled accommodations, apply in PARIS, to LANE LAMSON & Co., 4, rue de la Victoire; to A. G. SMITH & Co., 22, rue de Bordeaux, HAVRE. The UNITED STATES has no accommodations for second class or steerage passengers.

FOR NEW ORLEANS.

The superb Bremen Ship VICTORIA, Captain MARTENS, will sail from HAVRE for said destination on 15th September ensuing.

This Ship is of the first class, 1000 tons burthen, has elegant accommodations, is a fast sailer, and is by treaty entitled to the same privileges in the United States as Vessels of that nation.

For full particulars address—PARIS, C. COMBIER, American Agency, 40, rue Notre Dame des Victoires—HAVRE, Jos. LEMAITRE and Co.

THE COMMERCIAL STEAM-COMPANY.



LONDON AND BOULOGNE

The CITY of BOULOGNE, Captain W. Tuns, will start from and to London Bridge Wharf, weather permitting,

From BOULOGNE	From LONDON
Thursday, August 24, 6 morning	Sunday, August 27, 10 morning
Wednesday, August 30, 11 night	

The Vessel carries Merchandise as well as Passengers.

Fares—Saloon 12 shillings; Fore Cabin, 8shillings; Children, half-price. Four-wheeled Carriages, £3—Two-wheeled Carriages, £1 10s.—Horses, £2—Dogs, 5sh. Messenger or Courier with Despatches, £2 2s. ex. fare.

Passengers are not required to pay any Fees in addition to their Fares to the Stewards on board the Packets of this Company.

For particulars of Freight and Merchandise apply to Mr. James Whisson, at the Office of the Commercial Steam Company, 17, Fish-street Hill; Chaplin's Universal Office Regent Circus, London; or to W. G. W. Morris, 22, rue de Paon, BOULOGNE, and at De Bernardy's ENGLISH OFFICE, 13, Boulevard de la Madeleine, PARIS.

PARIS TO LONDON in 12 hours.

VIA DIEPPE AND BRIGHTON.

The Public and Travellers are informed that the Railway between PARIS and DIEPPE being now opened, Passengers are booked throughout at very reduced rates, and that the General Steam Navigation Company's fast and elegant Steamers will run as follows:—

FROM DIEPPE TO BRIGHTON.

Wednesday, August 23, 6 morning	Thursday, August 24, 7½ morning
Thursday, August 24, 7½ morning	Friday, August 25, 8½ morning
Friday, August 25, 8½ morning	Sunday, August 27, 11½ night

Further particulars and information as to departures of Trains and Steamers given by M. SPIERS, at the Company's Office in Paris, No. 9, rue de la Paix.

Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company.

The Company's Vessels start as follows, with her Majesty's Mails, Passengers and Cargo for the undermentioned ports

OUTWARD ROUTES.

From the SOUTHAMPTON DOCKS.

SPAIN and PORTUGAL.—Vigo, Oporto, Lisbon, Cadiz, and Gibraltar, on the 7th, 17th, and 27th of every month, at 2 p.m. (when either of these dates fall on a Sunday, the Vessels start on the following day).

MEDITERRANEAN.—Malta 20th and 27th of every month.

ALEXANDRIA, 20th of the month.

CONSTANTINOPLE, on the 27th.

INDIA and CHINA (Via Egypt).—Aden, Bombay, Ceylon, Madras, Calcutta, Penang, Singapore, and Hong Kong, on the 20th of every month.

The length of passage to India by the overland route is, to Madras 45, to Calcutta 48, and to Hong Kong 56 days.

ITALY.—Genoa, Leghorn, and Civita-Vecchia from the Southampton Docks, at 2 p.m. on the 29th of every month.

HOMEWARD ROUTES.

From CALCUTTA for England, 10th of every month.
From MADRAS, four days after leaving Calcutta.
From CEYLON, nine days after leaving Calcutta.
From ADEN, on or about the 29th of every month.
From ALEXANDRIA, on or about the 11th.
From MALTA, on or about the 16th and 26th.
From CONSTANTINOPLE, on or about the 19th.
From SMYRNA, on or about the 21st.
From GIBRALTAR, on or about the 6th, 16th, & 26th.
From LISBON, on the 9th, 19th, and 29th.
From CIVITA-VECCHIA, on or about the 14th.
From LEGHORN, on or about the 15th.
From GENOA, on or about the 16th.

** For plans of the vessels, rates of passage-money, and to secure passages and ship cargo, please apply at the Company's Offices, No. 122, Leadenhall-street, LONDON, and No. 57, High-street, SOUTHAMPTON.

The AUSTRIAN LLOYD'S  Steam Navigation Company's

VESSELS WILL BE DISPATCHED FROM TRIESTE

IN THE MONTHS OF AUGUST, SEPTEMBER, AND OCTOBER 1848

To Greece,
Every alternate Tuesday.
To Lutraki, touching at Corfu, Patras, Vostizza—from Lutraki overland across the Isthmus of Corinth to Calamaki, and from thence by Athens to Syra.
Convenient means are established for quick conveyance across the Isthmus of Corinth.
Sept. 5, 19. Oct. 3, 17.

To the Levant,
Every alternate Tuesday.
Via Corfu and Syra to Athens, Nauplia, Alexandria, Scio-Cesmé, Smyrna, Syria, 29th August, 26th Sept., and 24th October. (Rhodes, Cyprus, and Beyrout), Metelin, Cape-Baba, Tenedos, Dardanelles, Gallipoli, Salonica, Constantinople, Sinope, Samsun, Trebisond, Varna, Tultia, Galatz and Ibraila.
August 29. Sept. 12, 26. Oct. 10, 24.

To Dalmatia,
To Cattaro, touching at Lussin-piccolo, Zara, Sebenico, Spalato, Lesina, Curzola, Ragusa, and Cattaro,
EVERY MONDAY.

The Voyages to VENICE, ANCONA, and BRINDISI have been discontinued for the present.

To Istria.
Every Wednesday and Saturday to Pola, touching at Pirano, Umago, Cittanova, Parenzo, and Rovigno, extending the voyage on Saturday to Fiume.

The direct voyage to ALEXANDRIA is for the present discontinued, but it will be re-established shortly, of which due notice will be given.

NOTICE.—Arrivals from Greece and the Ionian Isles are admitted at Trieste to free pratique. Those from the Levant are accompanied by Health Officers, and the quarantine is performed during the voyage, so that passengers are now at liberty to proceed on shore, immediately on arrival at Trieste, provided the Vessel has a clean Bill of Health.

Every information relative to Freight and Passage may be learned on application at the Austrian Lloyd's Agents in LONDON 127, Leadenhall-street; and at PARIS, at the Office Universel de Renseignements, 27, Place de la Bourse.

aged 52—At St. Chloe-green, near Stroud, Mr. J. Weston, aged 20—Aged 81, Mrs. Elizabeth Conyer Searle, relict of the late R. Searle, Esq., of Minehead, Somersetshire—At Inverness, Mrs. Walker, widow of Dr. Walker, Bengal Medical Service—At Carshalton, Surrey, Newnham, son of R. Ansell, aged 25—At Crewkerne, Somersetshire, aged 44, E. S. Bernard, Esq.—At Somers-place, Hyde-park, Mrs. M. Hope, aged 78.

SHIP NEWS (from *Lloyd's Lists*, Aug. 18 and 19.)

ARRIVED—At FALMOUTH, August 17 Attic, Wright, from Kertch —GLOUCESTER, 17 Patroclus, Wooten, from Odessa—RIO JANEIRO, June 19. Eugenie, Pemberham, from Bordeaux.

SAILED—From FALMOUTH, August 16 Firefly, Benhennet, for Venice—BRISTOL, 17. Gammaris, Rees, for Trieste—LIVERPOOL, 17. Sheraton Grange, Bulmer, for Odessa; Watchward, Downing, for Trieste.

EAST INDIA SHIPPING.

ARRIVED, Aug. 18. At Deal, Duke of Northumberland, Freeman, from Calcutta.

SAILED Aug. 17. From Deal, Emerald Isle, Downie, for Calcutta; Land o'Cakes, Grant, for China.

THE MARKETS.—LONDON, FRIDAY, AUG. 18.

SUGAR.—Less demand for West India Barbadoes fine yellow 42s, good 40s to 41s 6d, good mid 39s to 39s 6d, mid 38s to 38s 6d. Trinidad—good mid yellow 38s to 38s 6d, mid 37s to 37s 6d, low greyish 35s to 36s 6d. Jamaica 36s 6d. Sales of the week amount to 1736 hhds and trs.

MAURITIUS—Market dull. Good yellow 39s to 39s 6d, good mid 38s to 38s 6d, mid 37s 6d, good mid and good brown 34s to 35s, low grey 36s 6d.

EAST INDIA.—White Bengal wanted. Fine White Benares 44s, good 42s to 43s 6d, good mid 41s to 41s 6d, mid 40s to 40s 6d, good soft yellow 39s to 39s 6d, mid 38s 6d, damp and washed 37s 6d to 38s 6d, low yellow like Mauritius 34s 6d to 37s, mid 33s to 34s 6d, washed 34s to 35s 6d, low brown 28s to 29s, mid 30s 6d Madras —mid and good damp soft yellow 33s to 34s, low 32s to 33s 6d, low and mid damp fuzzy brown 30s to 31s, good 32s to 32s 6d, washed 30s to 31s, fine soft yellow like Mauritius 39s good 39s to 40s 6d, and good mid 37s 6d per cwt. Penang—low damp foxy brown 28s, good 34s, low damp grey 32s to 33s, mid 34s 6d, good 35s to 35s 6d, washed 34s. Java—mid soft greyish yellow 38s to 40s 6d, good 39s, damp 37s 6d to 38s, washed 35s 6d to 37s, good soft brown 37s 6d to 39s. Demand for China good—low soft yellow 34s, washed 34s 6d.

TOBACCO—Market firm for slave made. Havannah yellow fine quality 20s 6d, yellow 18s for low quality. Porto Rico—mid heavy yellow 30s to 30s 6d, good 40s 6d to 41s 6d, mid grey soft heavy 34s 6d, low 36s per cwt.

MOLASSES—West India firm at 16s to 20s. Bengal fine—16s 6d to 17s per cwt.

COFFEE—Fine low and inferior sorts of Jamaica demand limited. Jamaica—mid bold colory 43s to 45s, low mid 43s to 46s, fine and fine fine ord 32s to 42s, ord and good ord 28s to 32s 6d, fine ord fobey 33s, fine and fine fine ord pale bold 34s to 38s. Native Ceylon dull, at 22s to 30s 6d for good ord to fine ord bold, good ord colory 29s to 29s 6d, reat ord 30s. Plantation Ceylon dull—good mid and good bold coury 51s to 55s, mid 48s to 52s, fine fine ord and low mid 37s 6d to 40s, fine ord 34s to 37s, fine fine ord bold yellowish 38s. Mocha firm, but demand less brisk. For Foreign Market dull—fine fine ord Costa Rica 32s 6d, and good ord Rio at 28s 6d per cwt.

COCOA—West India inquired for, but supply scanty. Trinidad—good bright red 43s 6d to 44s, one lot 49s, mid 40s 6d to 41s, good mid 42s to 42s 6d, mid dark red 44s, good mid grey 41s, ord dark greyish red 40s.

TEA—Market heavy. Common sound Congous 8d to 8½d, good common 8d to 8½d, mid 10d to 11d, good mid and good 11d to 1s 1½d, fine 1s 2d to 1s 10d. Scented Orange Pekoes 1s to 1s 8d for mid and fine. Plain Orange Pekoes 7d to 10d. Plain Capers 8d to 9d in cattles. 6d to 7d chis. scented do 11d to 1s 4d. Souchongs 8d to 9d for common. 1s 1d to 1s 6d for mid and good, and fine 1s 6d to 2s 8d. Uvd Twankay 2½d to 3d, common and fair 3d to 9d. Fine to Hyson kind 10d to 1s 1½d. Common Hyson 1s 1d to 1s 8d, good 1s 7d to 2s 6d, and fine 2s 2d to 3s 9d. Common Young Hyson 7d to 1s, good and fine 1s 2d to 2s 8d. Common Canton made Imperial 10d to 1s, mid and good 1s 1d to 1s 10d, fine 2s 2d to 3s 3d. Common Canton Gunpowder 1s to 1s 2d, mid and good 1s 6d to 2s 11d, and fine 3s 6d to 4s 8d.

CINNAMON—No change, and prices unaltered.

MACE—Market quiet.

CLOVES—Common qualities in steady request for export. Other kinds unaltered.

CASSIA LIGNEA—Market quiet.

PEPPER—Market dull. Common Sumatra 2d to 2¼d, and earthy Penang 2d per lb. Home trade sorts steady. Malabar—fair half-heavy brown 2¼d, rather greyish 2¾d to 2¼d, first class damaged and packed 2¼d. Sumatra bought in at 2¾d for fair clean sifted but little stalky.

PIMENTO—Market inactive, at 2¾d for good mid.

NUTMEGS—More inquiry after Dutch Limed for export, at 2s 11d to 3s for good bold. Brown Nuts steady. Penang taken in at 2s 6d for mid small.

GINGER—Jamaica in request. Mid dull 65s to 68s, good mid white 97s to 110s, mid 90s to 92s, mid rather dull 79s to 85s, and sugar dmged 61s per cwt. East India sorts for consumption are scarce. Export sorts steady.

RICE—A large business done in Rice. Bengal—ord broken small 9s. Low mid white dusty 11s, mid 12s 6d to 13s, good mid and good 13s to 14s, fine bold pearly tiffie broken 14s, a few lots 15s 6d, first class dmged 11s 6d to 14s. Madras—good mid yellow barley grain sold at 10s 6d, good taken in at 11s 6d, first class dmged sold at 9s to 10s, low pinkey white 10s 6d, mid 10s 6d to 11s, good 11s 6d, two lots 12s, first class dmged 10s 6d to 11s, good cargo 9s 6d. Ceylon sold small broken barley grain 10s to 10s 6d, good 10s 6d. Arracan—low broken 7s 6d, dmged 7s, low barley grain mixed 10s, mid 10s 6d to 11s, good white barley grain 11s 6d to 12s, first class dmged as 6d to 9s 6d. Cleaned Patna dealt in to a fair extent at 14s for good quality. In London dressed Carolina nothing doing, and market quiet.

SAGO—Pearl Sago me. steady sale, at 29s for fine small grey, good small grey little speckled 28s 6d, a few tors 29s, ounge. 25s 6d to 27s, and very low 24 6d. Sago Flour quiet at 24s 6d to 25s. Farina dull at 25s to 26s. French 16s 6d for good. Tapioca in request. Arrowroot in request—fine St Vincent 9d, mid and good 5d to 7d. Bermuda—6d to 14½d for good.

FRUIT—In Currants little business done. Some fine Zante in small lots brought 38s, Patras 39s, and Gulph 35s to 36s. Valencia Raisins in request, but good qualities very scarce, and fetch 45s to 46s. Sultana Raisins 32s to 50s. Cheese steady—brls 49s, and casks 42s.

COCHINEAL—Market dull. Honduras silvers—mid 2s 9d to 2s 10d, and good 2s 11d. Mexican silvers taken in at 2s 8d to 2s 9d for fair quality. Teneriffe Silvery Blacks for export—good mid 2s 9d to 2s 10d.

SALTPETRE—Demand trifling for Rough. Bengal 24s 6d to 26s 6d for low to fine grey, low damp grey 16¾lbs refraction 25s, good grey damp fair crystal 43s taken in at 26s, mid 63lbs 25s 6d, and 64¾lbs 25s to 25s 6d per cwt. Madras—good small and damp white crystal 63lbs refraction 25s 6d to 25s, mid dingy grey 74lbs 24s 6d, unrefracted 24s to 24s 6d, and washed 22s 6d to 23s 6d. English Refined quiet, but makers firm at 28s 6d for large, and 29s for small casks.

NITRATE of SODA—A fair amount of business done, at £13 to £13 10s, according to quantity and payments. English Soda nominal at £8 17s 6d to £9 per ton.

ASHES—Canada Pot and Pearl have met quiet sale—first sort Pearl 32s, and first sort Pot 27s 6d per cwt.

SPIRITS—Holders of Jamaica Rum ask full rates, but demand small for all sorts for exportation. Low and mid 3s 4d to 3s 7d for 38 to 32 per cent. overproof, better sort 3s 9d to 3s 9d, and good to fine 3s to 3s overproof 3s 10d to 4s 6d. East India met slow sale—holders ask 1s 5¾d to 1s 7d for fine brown. Leeward Island 1s 7d to 1s 8¾d. Brandy—Holders firm. Bemperors little wanted—2s 6d to 2s to the value of 25 to 35 overproof. Brandy firm, and in good demand. For Geneva market firm, at 1s 11d to 2s, and fine at 2s 6d to 2s 6d.

COTTON—Market quiet. The sales of the week are 1270 bales Surat at 2¾d to 3¼d for mid to fair, 310 Madras at 3¼d to 4d for mid to good, prime Timnivelly, and 200 American at 4¾ to 5¼d for mid. At Liverpool only a small extent of business done, market dull, and prices a shade in favour of the buyers. From the manufacturing districts accounts are more satisfactory, a good business has been done in most descriptions of Yarns and Goods, and prices in many cases have slightly advanced. The following are the latest quotations—Sea Island 12d to 16d—Stained 6d to 9½d—Upland Georgia 4¾d to 5d—Mobile 4¾d to 5¼d—New Orleans 4¾d to 6d—Bowed Georgia 4¾d to 5d—Mobile 4¾d to 5¼d—New Orleans 4¾d to 6d—Pernambuco 6d to 7d—Egyptian 7d to 8d—Surat 3½d to 3¾d —Madras 3¼d—Bengal 3¾d.

HEMP—Very little business done in Baltic Hemp, and market dull. Petersburg clean £31 to £41 10s. Outshot and half-clean quite nominal. For arrival some parcels have sold at £31, and free on board £26 to £26 10s. Small lots of Rhine on the spot sell to the trade at £32 10s. Manilla scarce—fine would fetch £37 to £38. Sisal kinds wanted. In Flax holders firm. Jute is scarce, and in good demand—low and mid worth £16 to £17 10s, and good and fine £18 to £20. Coir sold to a moderate extent—sound 3½ inches £22, country dmged 4 to 3 inches £20 5s to £22 5s, 2¼ inches £24 15s.

TALLOW—A good extent of business done. P. Y. C. on the spot 44s 3d to 44s. For delivery in the last three months 43s 6d to 43s 9d, 44s for separate months, and 44s 6d to 45s for January and February next year.

OILS—In Olive a better sale—Gallipoli £44 10s to £45, Spanish and Sicily £42 10s to £43, and Barbary and Levant £41 per ton. For Palm more inquiry 30s to 31s 3d for good and fine, but chiefly at 30s 6d. Cocoa Nut quite neglected, and market dull. Ceylon—29s to 44s, Cochin 46s to 47s, and Sydney 29s 6d to 30s. Linseed firm at 27s 6d to 28s 6d. Rapeseed quiet brown 34s 6d, and pale 35s 6d per cwt. Southern Whale Oil in good demand, and prices firm, low and mid £23 to £24 10s, and single and double crapan £24 15s to £25 10s. Seal Oil quiet—pale in small lots £28 15s, tinged £25, and yellow £24. In Cod Oil little done—£38 15s to £34 maintained. Sperm Oil dull—For Colonial £69 10s to £70, and fine British Oil and Headmatter £71 to £72 per ton.

TAR—Market brisk. Swedish 16s 6d to 17s 6d Archangel 17s 6d to 18s for small lots. English Coal quiet. Pitch steady, at 7s for Archangel.

METALS—Iron market quiet. Scotch Pigs No. 1 45s to 45s 6d, mixed 44s to 44s 6d cash. Bar in Wales sold to a moderate extent at £5 15s, and in London £6 15s to £7. Rails £6 at the works. Foreign Iron Bruer—Swedish £11 15s to £11. Spelter dull, at £16 15s to £16 10s spot. Steel and prices nominal. Copper very flat—British Tin dealt in to a fair extent at full prices. Foreign sells slowly at 73s 6d for Straits, and 80s for Banca. British Lead dull, at £16 to £16 5s for Pigs. Spanish £15 for good quality. Quicksilver 3s 6d.

TURPENTINE—For Rough market steady at 7s 6d to 7s 9d per barrel. For Spirits demand brisk. English drawn in puncheons 37s 6d, and American 34s, casks included. Market for Rosin quiet, at 3s for American.

BRIMSTONE—A fair extent of business done. Fair seconds at £4 17s 6d to £5, and good £5 per ton.

GUANO—Demand trifling. Peruvian £9 to £9 15s—Ichaboe £8—Egyptian £—Po lession Island £5 to £7—Saldanha Bay £6.

HAY, STRAW, &c. per load of 36 trusses—Hay, new, £2 to £3 6s, old £3 10s to £4 10s—Clover, new, £2 10s to £3 15s; old, £4 to £5 5s—Straw, old, £1 to £1 6s.

All France.

PARIS, AUGUST 21, 1848.

Our Parliamentary report to-day, though long, will well repay attentive perusal. The Diplomatic intercourse with Rome Bill led to an interesting discussion, and the remarks of Lord Brougham on Austria and France will be read probably with more interest than admiration, by many of the Parisian public. The object of such Philippics, at such a moment, is certainly the reverse of obvious. The reply of the Marquis of Lansdowne, in vindication of the French Government, from the uncalled for attack of the learned Ex-Chancellor, produced, we learn by our correspondence, a feeling of general satisfaction. In consequence of the interest and importance of the above, and other intelligence which presses upon us at this moment, it will be seen, we publish a double sheet of the *Messenger* this morning, in addition to the enlarged supplement issued on Saturday evening.

M. Proudhon seems to form a standing topic for the original columns of the Paris journals. The *Siècle* of yesterday says:—

"In the infernal crusade which excites to vengeance against all regular society, all the evil passions, the *Représentant du Peuple* seems to aspire to the honour of making for itself a place apart. After having inflamed all cupidities by its theories against property, it has for several days entered upon history. According to its recitals, the demagogues have not to reproach themselves with a single wrong-doing—they have not been guilty of either provocation, violence, or blameable insurrection. It is the legitimists, the partisans of the regency, the réactionnaires, the bourgeoisie, who have done all the mischief. Leagued among themselves, these infamous beings, according to the *Représentant du Peuple*, have wished to crush at one blow the democratic party. Thus, this truthful journal relates murders and frightful massacres committed, it says, by the army, the garde mobile, and the national guards. Go to the Place de l'Estrapade, to the barrack in the Faubourg Poissonnière, in the Rue Lobau, the Place St. Jean, and these, with many other places, will be found dyed with human blood. And the persons who dare to make such statements accuse the bourgeois of having odiously calumniated the insurrection! Alas! in their impious rage of inconceivable blindness, they pay no respect even to the heroism, the devotedness, the memory of the dead! General Bréa, basely immolated for having been faithful to his country, to his honour, to his duty, has at least left a name that will live in history. It is upon this glory, so pure, that they threw a shade of suspicion to excuse his assassins, and extenuate the horror of their execrable crime. We can understand that the *Représentant du Peuple* should affirm the murder of General Bréa and his Aide-de-Camp to have been the work of some isolated men, and insist that the responsibility should not be extended to the whole of the insurgents. This is a legitimate demand; but this journal does not stop there. It adds—'The authors of the death of General Bréa claim, in their favour, against the horror inspired by the act of which they rendered themselves guilty, two extenuating circumstances,—a misunderstanding and a false alerte. Before passing the threshold of the small gate, the General cried—'Vive la République Démocratique et Sociale!'—and at the iron-gates of the barrière he proposed to the insurgents that they should fraternise with the soldiers upon the barricades. The insurgents believed that the soldiers were about to fight together with them, or at least to give up their arms. They were not undeceived till the moment when the General was in the midst of them. This was the cause of the first violent scene. General Bréa had been for a long time prisoner when some women gave a false alarm. This was the signal for his death. The insurgents, believing that they were attacked by the troops, avenged themselves on the chief who was in their power. This, we repeat, is to be extremely regretted. Unfortunately in all civil wars there are deplorable episodes.'—To establish a species of compensation, the journal affirms that two workmen of the Faubourg St. Antoine were victims of a murder perfectly similar committed by some gardes mobiles near the column of July. This is not all. If we are to believe the *Représentant du Peuple*, several rounds of shot were fired by the réactionnaires upon the insurgents at the Tuileries, even in the cellars where they were heaped together. And it is after such recitals as these, capable of inflaming every mind with vengeance, that this journal presents, as the only remedies, the discoveries of the Socialists, saying—'If you despise this recourse, fear that the *prolétaires* may again come to you and demand bread or bullets.'"

The *Assemblée Nationale* remarks on the deposition of M. Proudhon before the committee of investigation. It says:—

"We should wish to make a simple observation with respect to the deposition of M. Proudhon, reproduced in the first volume published by order of the Assembly. M. Proudhon said:—'On 23d June, I believed that it was a conspiracy of pretenders supporting itself on the workmen of the Ateliers Nationaux. I was deceived like others. *The next day I was convinced that the insurrection was socialist.* The Ateliers Nationaux were only the accidental cause. But the first determining cause of the insurrection was the *social question*, the *social crisis*, labour ideas. It pains me to say this—I who am a socialist.' It must, in fact, have caused great pain to M. Proudhon, for he has said exactly the contrary. M. Proudhon was convinced on the 24th June that the insurrection was socialist, and that he was mistaken in accusing pretenders of it; but that did not prevent M. Proudhon's newspaper from saying eight days after:—'No, a thousand times, no; socialism and democracy were not in cause. This pretended democratic movement displayed the eagle of the Empire, the white flag of Henry V., or that of the Regency. The money distributed, the ammunition in abundance, and reaching the insurgents without obstacle, the municipal guards figuring in their ranks—all that evidently proves that movement was conducted by those alone who could become heirs of the Republic—the partisans of the old royalties.' M. Proudhon has written a book on the *Contradiction des Economistes*—we should be curious to know how he explains his own. He will easily perhaps find some paradox of the kind of those which he knows so well how to make—he will tell us for example—*Le vrai, c'est le faux.*"

We have now to notice an article in the *Représentant du Peuple* of yesterday. M. Proudhon is very angry at the seizure of two numbers of his journal—those of the 16th and 18th inst.; the first for a letter signed Etex, the second for a letter written, or pretending to be written, by a prisoner in the Conciergerie. Some persons are angry because the *Représentant du Peuple* is not seized every day in the week, for in times like these the language is rarely such as the most ardent advocates of the liberty of the press without licentiousness can approve. But the anger of M. Proudhon is not confined to the fact of the seizure. He charges the Procureur of the Republic with anti-Republicanism, for declaring that the letter signed "a prisoner" holds up to hatred and contempt one of the classes of society. "What," says M. Proudhon, "are there classes in presence of universal suffrage?" and then he goes on to talk of universal equality. We confess we do not understand this outburst. There can be no society without classes. There are the trading classes, the manufacturing classes, the classes of honest men, and the classes of rogues. Even in a republic there is nothing anti-republican in the use of the word class, when applied to the pursuits and opinions of men. May we not, for instance, call M. Proudhon and his partisans the anti-property class? There must be some term of distinction for facts as regards society, and really we see nothing terrible in the word class. Lawyers are a class, public writers are a class—the equality of which M. Proudhon talks can never prevent classification of some sort, and it is absurd to pretend that there is, or even can be, such an equality in mind or position as to render all classification improper. Equality in republicanism means equality of civil and political rights. In this there is no class; but beyond this, it is ridiculous to suppose that society can exist without classes. Such a state of things could not be society—it would be savage life.

The *Journal* alludes as follows to the rumours which have been in circulation for the last few days of plots against the government:—

"After a time of suffering France is beginning to breathe, and the news from the departments show that trade is revivGovernment cannot ex[pect] upon any negotiations [with] Austria until the brutal [use] of force displayed against the Legations shall be an end. We think it right to state that the account from Italy, received yesterday, do not confirm the [be]lief expressed by the *National* that the Austrians are ill pursuing the course of invasion on the Legations. No new movement has been made against Bologna, and, according to an article in the *Official Gazette* of Modena, General Welden has announced that, as the Pope and the Grand Duke of Tuscany have declared that they will take upon themselves "to cause order and [le]gitimacy to be respected in their territories, there is no longer a motive for occupying either the Legations or the Tuscan territory, and the Austrian troops will retire to their former positions, there to await the results of the promises made by the two sovereigns."

The Princess de Bel[gio]joso has addressed a letter to the *National*, in which she details at great length the recent events in Italy, and especially in Milan, and she winds up as follows:—

"I abstain from drawing conclusions, as also from passing a judgment on the individuals who played a part in the latter events of Milan. I will merely say that Milan might and would have defend itself, and could have obtained better conditions than those accorded to Charles Albert; that the Piedmontese soldiers were prepared to suffer anything sooner than abandon the cause of Italian independence, and submit to the shame of defeat; that the capitulation cannot be ascribed to any plausible, wise, or honourable cause; that there was treason against the army and the people, and that this treason has ruined the Italian cause, or at least made the success of that cause dependent on the eventuality of French action. Who are the authors of the treason? On that point it is to me possible to pronounce without unquestionable proofs."

On Saturday the second volume of the *pièces justificatives* of the report of the Committee of Investigation was distributed to the members of the Assembly. It contains the document relative to the affair of Belgium, the acts of the Provisional Government, the *procès verbaux* of the sittings of the Executive Commission, extracts from the reports of the police, and the depositions concerning M. Louis Blanc and Sobrier, which were sent on Friday to the Committee of Investigation by M. Bertrand, Juge d'Instruction. Notwithstanding all the activity of the special printing-office of the Assembly, which has had to exercise great prudence in the execution of the work, the third volume cannot be distributed before Tuesday. It only contains reports of the magistrates and authorities of the departments on the events of May and June. The discussion consequently cannot, it is said, begin before Thursday.

The interpellations on foreign affairs which were to have been addressed to the Government on Saturday, in the National Assembly, have been adjourned until after the discussion of the report of the Committee of Investigation. On the same occasion M. Drouyn de Lhuys will present a report from the Committee of Foreign Affairs on the petition of the National Guard of Milan, which will naturally lead to a discussion on the affairs of Italy.

An extraordinary movement of troops took place on Saturday afternoon around the Palace of the National Assembly. At five o'clock the 42th regiment of the line was ranged in order of battle on the quay in front of the palace, and on the Pont de la Concorde, without, however, interrupting the circulation. At the same time the dragoons from the barracks of the Quay d'Orçay occupied the Place de la Concorde, and the Place and Rue de Bourgogne were also occupied by a strong detachment of troops of the line. General Lebreton, who was in full uniform, and on horseback, assigned the troops their places. The most contradictory rumours were current as to the cause of this display of military for

ONDAY, AUGUST 21, 1848.

COMMITTEE OF INVESTIGATION.

We resume our extracts from the papers laid before the National Assembly by the Committee charged to inquire into the events of May and June and their causes.

M. MARIE,
President of the National Assembly.

Being interrogated, he deposed:—On Thursday June 23, I was attending the special Committee of which M. Falloux was reporter. I was told that M. Louis Blanc was gone to the ateliers at Clichy and at the railroads, in order to act upon the workmen. I had this from M. Trouvé-Chauvel and M. Tréiat. These gentlemen said that M. Louis Blanc ought to be arrested, for that all his inspirations would be infused into these ateliers. I do not remember whether I said this to the Committee. We all desired M. Trouvé-Chauvel to have M. Caussidière and M. Louis Blanc watched. We knew nothing more, and it is only since I have been out of the office that I learnt that there was a rendezvous at the house of M. Caussidière, in the Champs-Elysées, or at that of his brother-in-law in the Rue Vendôme. Unfortunately, I believe that there is no better police now than there was in our time. M. Trouvé-Chauvel, perhaps, brings too much hesitation into his functions. We pointed out to him a house as suspicious, and recommended him to enter if necessary, but he made objections, saying that he did not think such a proceeding was legal.—Question by a member. It appears that the agents employed in the palace of the National Assembly were not more sure than the others. If the agents of M. Caussidière are always there and elsewhere, how could there not be always danger?—Answer. I know that the Salle des Pas-Perdus is full of persons secretly devoted to M. Caussidière. It is evidently necessary to dismiss all who were appointed by him.—Q. I do not think that M. Marie did say in the special Committee the words relating to M. Louis Blanc now in question.—A. If I make mistakes, let them be pointed out to me.—Q. MM. Arago and Marie came to the Committee, but went out again on hearing the news of the disorders in Paris. They gave explanations in detail on the Ateliers Nationaux; but the name of M. Louis Blanc was not mentioned.—A. I do not mean to affirm that I mentioned the name of M. Louis Blanc. What I said to the Committee on this subject was nothing more than what I had heard from MM. Tréiat and Trouvé-Chauvel.—The President: If M. Louis Blanc went to the ateliers at Clichy, he would have advised the workmen to remain united, because, in less than fifteen days, they would have become the masters; the fact would have been of the utmost gravity.—M. Marie: I have no knowledge of any such steps or such councils. I can only repeat the words of M. Tréiat.

M. MARRAST, Mayor of Paris.—July 8.

Before entering into any explanations, M. Marrast remarked that he in no wise intended to give to his answers the character of a judicial testimony but a simple conversation between colleagues, which would have all the want of connexion and freedom of recollections and personal impressions. He then declared that it was not in his power to furnish the Committee with any explanation relating to the events of May 15 and June 23 without going so far back as February 24. He said that there were three parties in the Provisional Government, viz., Socialism and Communism, represented by MM. Albert and Louis Blanc; the violent and advanced republic, by MM. Ledru-Rollin and Flocon, and the moderate republic, represented by MM. Dupont (de l'Eure), Arago, Lamartine, Garnier-Pagès, Marie, and himself. Although the majority was strong, it was often obliged to make inevitable sacrifices by reason of circumstances and the exigencies of parties. In the afternoon of March 17 the Government received a visit from the clubs which was very menacing. It had learnt by its agents that M. Caussidière had that day excited the workmen to come down into the street on that day. On the following Saturday, M. Caussidière sent to him a demand for 25,000fr., out of the credit opened to the police at the municipal treasury. But he refused, suspecting that this money might be employed in promoting a new movement. M. Caussidière was supported in the council by M. Ledru Rollin. M. Marrast several times wished to give in his resignation, and formed a firm resolution not to become part of any administration in which he was one of the members. There was a constant war and rivalry between him as Mayor of Paris and the Minister of the Interior. At the time of the elections this struggle became still more evident. M. Ledru Rollin commissioned M. Rouvenat to go into all the Mairies and watch the elections. M. Rouvenat appointed twenty-four delegates to assist him in these functions. He, M. Marrast, resisted the pretensions of M. Rouvenat and gave orders to the mayors to take no account of these instructions. Then it was that M. Ledru Rollin gave in his resignation, which M. Lamartine induced him to retract. A few days before April 16th, the question of a Committee of Public Safety was agitated at Sobrier's. In the evening the names were discussed at Ledru Rollin's. Caussidière finding that the list contained too many communists, it was agreed at Sobrier's to designate the following to compose the Government:—New members, Raspail, Blanqui, Kersausie, and Cabet;—Old members, Ledru-Rollin, Flocon, and Albert. Blanqui refused to associate with Ledru-Rollin, whom he treated as a disloyal man and a traitor, for having given up to Taschéreau documents which might be his destruction. Ledru-Rollin, on his part, refused to enter into any arrangement in which Blanqui was to be included. Flotte was sent to him at 1 o'clock in the morning, but he refused to see him. In order to prevail upon him, Sobrier said to Ledru-Rollin, "If you will not march with us, you shall be thrown out of the window on Sunday with the others. We are prepared." M. de Lamartine was informed of the plot of Blanqui, with whom he kept up a secret intercourse. At the time of the elections, Ledru-Rollin declared that the minds of the people must be worked upon, and that they must be driven forcibly into the way of the Republic. In a warm discussion on this subject, Ledru-Rollin made use of language so violent, that nothing could excuse it but the heat of passion, saying, by way of example, "When he has 200,000 men at command, a man may dare to do anything, and nothing shall stop me!" No words can depict all the evil done by the clubs and the petty journals. The conduct of Caussidière on May 15 was more than doubtful. He wrote a report stating that he knew the authors of the demonstration, and that he could answer for them as for himself. It is true that some of the clubs were averse to to acts of violence; but Blanqui appointed the Place Vendôme as the rendezvous of his followers, placed himself at the head of the column, and directed everything. When the invasion of the Assembly was announced, M. Caussidière became embarrassed. His friends pressed him to take up arms. He believed success to be certain, and yet he wavered. About 5 o'clock three persons belonging to the Society of the Rights of Man came and had a close conference with him, and then he seemed to decide against the riot. May 15 ended in nothing. The tumultuous assemblages on the Place de l'Hôtel-de-Ville continued. Passing to a recital of the events of June, M. Marrast expressed an opinion that it was intended to commence the battle on the 14th. It was only when the fermentation of the ateliers nationaux became apparent that the factious party thought of fighting. The barricades were made without interruption; when it was said that they ought to be prevented, the answer was—'They will do no harm. They have no bad intentions.' After the first beat to arms the reports from the twelve Mayors proved that, at half-past 2 o'clock, there were not more than 5,000 men under arms. In the evening there were between 8,000 and 10,000 men. The Mayors from hour to hour made serious complaints, and cried that there was treason. M. Marrast expressed his conviction that the insurrection was without any plan, was without any general, and had none but local chiefs. An old *zephyr* boasted of having killed a great many. Others threw themselves at his feet and deplored the insurrection. One of these, a municipal guard, said to him, "The Republic has not released me from my oath to Louis Philippe." In the Faubourg St. Antoine and in the Cité the insurgents invoked the name of M. Caussidière—in the sixth arrondissement the name was M. Lagrange—elsewhere it was Barbès. A report was spread that the Assembly had proclaimed the monarchy. He did not believe that the old parties had played any part. But discontented men of all parties acted. In a word, there was no direction, no powerful hand, no party whatever. A prisoner, who complained that he had not eaten for four days, and was driven by hunger into the fight, was found to be in possession of 45fr. He had torn down the electoral lists, on which were written—"A. Fould, et bon pour 5 francs." The state of Paris is this. The population, having seen the effects of cannon, is defeated, and it may be hoped that it will not revolt again. Elsewhere they wish to begin once more. Reports are circulated that the Assembly is murdering from 500 to 600 prisoners a-day. The whole of the quartier Popincourt without exception took part in the battle; it is the most troublesome part of the population of Paris.

M. LANDRIN

Was named Procureur of the Republic on the 24th of February, and immediately transacted business with M. Caussidière, just appointed Prefect of Police. From that moment he found it impossible to have anything to do with the police. However, nothing of any importance took place till March the 16th, and he thus explains the events of that day. The National Guard had a *corps d'élite*, and insisted on maintaining it. M. Landrin thought the protestation unreasonable, as he considered it a manifestation of wealthy persons friendly to the fallen government. He may have been mistaken. In his opinion, M. Ledru Rollin and M. Carteret took no part in the movement, and he foresaw a counter-manifestation on the morrow. (On that day M. Landrin was exercising his functions at Bercy, where some machinery had been burned.) He was very intimate with M. Ledru Rollin, whom he, with others, had supported at the Palace of Justice as a brother lawyer. Ledru Rollin showed his sense of these services by frequently inviting him to his house. The utter impossibility he experienced of obtaining any information from the police compelled him to have recourse to the Minister of the Interior. M. Ledru Rollin never said a word that excited any apprehensions; but he was in correspondence with some leaders of the clubs. He (M. Landrin) had seen Barbès there once, but never Louis Blanc, or Blanqui, or others.

It was everywhere known that a movement would take place in April, with a view to the postponement of the elections, to give time for preparing the provinces. M. Landrin held a contrary opinion. The object of the manifestation of the 15th April was to make the wishes of the people known to the government. It was supposed that the presence of 200,000 men would divide the Provisional Government, and cause the elections to be put off. But they had counted without Blanqui, and if he took part in the movement, he might get the upper hand; hence the measures taken by M. Ledru-Rollin, in conjunction with M. Marie and the other members of the Government, which led to calling out the national guard, who consolidated the Republic and order. He was inclined to think that MM. Albert and Louis Blanc, as well as Blanqui, had a hand in the movement. Flotte was seen in arms on the steps of the Hôtel de Ville; he was arrested and taken to the Prefecture of Police, where he was released. The next day M. Landrin went to the Prefecture to ask Caussidière for explanations on this head, and was told that Flotte had been released an hour after his arrest. He then drew up a requisitory, complained, and spoke of Flotte and an emissary who had harangued the troops in the Champ-de-Mars. He declared that if Caussidière was not prosecuted, he (M. Landrin) would resign. M. Ledru-Rollin said, "Commence the prosecution, we shall see afterwards." This was serious; it was feared that M. Ledru-Rollin might be compromised in his relations with the Prefect of Police. M. Caussidière promised fair, and that was all; he did not arrest Blanqui.

On May 2 Considère met a person attached to the Palais de Justice, and made this singular declaration to him:—On May 4 I shall throw the Assembly out of the window. An investigation was immediately begun. On May 3 I was informed that one Boissonnin had a great quantity of arms, and was distributing them; that Barbès' club and that of the Rights of Man kept under arms; and, lastly, that Caussidière's police guardians had been caught posting bills in the night. M. Landrin decided to prosecute with vigour, and issued warrants against Blanqui, Flotte, and Lacambre; one against Considère was issued the day before. M. Caussidière seemed disposed to put them in execution, but afterwards he changed his mind, and, fearing the weakness of the government, he entreated me to go to them myself. He wrote to the Provisional Government, inclosing the warrant. He was sent for. The members were all present; they asked him if the state of affairs was about to change. He explained every thing. The arrests were refused, and he withdrew indignantly. He declares that when the elections began he left Paris, ceased going to Ledru Rollin's, whom he saw only at the Assembly, and he especially declared on his honour that on May 3, the day before the meeting of the Assembly, and on which he had in vain endeavoured to arrest Blanqui and Flotte, he did not go to Ledru Rollin's, and, above all, that he did not go to the Ministry of the Interior that evening. The facts stated by M. Arago are extremely inaccurate. He never saw Barbès but once at the evening parties at the Minister of the Interior, Barbès was very moderate, and somewhat religious; he said, "The Republic can only be founded by the permission of God," and he developed his idea. Since that time he (M. Landrin) had occasion to see him in his official capacity respecting a red posting bill alluding to the events at Rouen in horrible terms, and signed "Barbès." Barbès would not hear his reproaches; on the contrary, he insisted that the bill was too moderate. Witness then said to him: "I shall prosecute you; there is my requisitory." In answer to a question, M. Landrin declared that, in his opinion, M. Lamartine and Ledru Rollin were rather at variance than united; that M. Ledru Rollin considered M. Lamartine a republican in heart, and did not despair to see him join them. He thinks that no ill-feeling has ever existed between them. He is aware that Jules Favre made an effort to reconcile Ledru Rollin and Lamartine, who were then, perhaps, improperly regarded as the democratic and aristocratic elements, but his effort met with no success.

CHENU.

Adolphe Chenu, a shoemaker, having been arrested for the part he played in the insurrection of June, made revelations to the military authorities, and those contained in the following depositions have been presented to the committee:—

Deposition of 3d August, 1848.

I was one of twelve persons who, in the offices of the *Réforme*, on 24th February, after the capture of the Tuileries, formed the Provisional Government, at least the fraction which with that left to the choice of the editors of the *National* was to compose it. In this meeting, with the assistance of some men I brought up, the citizens Ledru Rollin, Louis Blanc, Flocon, Albert, and Francis Arago (I cannot however affirm as to the latter) were designed to form part of the Provisional Government. We afterwards nominated Citizen Etienne Arago, director of the Post-offices; Citizen Sobrier having demanded to be Prefect of Police, although Citizen Caussidière was generally designed, both were nominated. I went to instal Citizen E. Arago at the Post-office, and I returned to the *Réforme* to conduct Caussidière and Sobrier to the Prefecture of Police.

Citizen Cahaigne went to the Hôtel-de-Ville to come to an understanding with Citizen Flocon. It appears that he was badly received by him, for he returned to the Prefecture, saying that he would have no more relations with him. The same evening he was nominated to the place previously occupied by M. Pabon. As to myself I was nominated Captain of the Garde Urbaine which was to be created, and for which I collected one hundred men. In the evening Caussidière, Sobrier, Cahaigne, Grandmenil and myself were together, and an order from Garnier Pagès, Mayor of Paris, was brought to the former. Caussidière received it angrily, said that he did not mean to submit to the orders of the mairie, and, by way of answer, sent in his resignation and that of Sobrier, whom he compelled to sign. I had been nominated by Sobrier, Commissary of Police of the quartier du Temple; and accordingly I thought right at that moment to give in my resignation, remaining, however, captain of the Garde Urbaine, which suited Caussidière best. After this incident, and whilst still much discontented, Caussidière and Sobrier agreed between themselves on a plan for remaining masters of the government.

I will tell you this plan. An armed force, of which the central point of meeting was to be the Prefecture of Police, was to be formed. I was charged with this business, and I convoked next day all the chiefs of groups who had formed part of previous associations. Each of them supplied about a hundred men who formed the Montagnards. I reserved to myself the formation of the Garde Urbaine, in which I in-

TRIAL OF INSURGENTS BY COURT-MARTIAL

The second court-martial of Paris assembled on Saturday, in the Rue du Cherche Midi, to proceed with the trial of the insurgents of June. The court consisted of seven members, M. Destang, colonel of the 61st regiment of the line, being president. The first prisoner was a man named Victor Testulet, aged 36, formerly a republican guard, who was accused of having fought at and commanded the barricade in the Rue des Barres Saint Paul. The evidence was to the effect that, on the 23d and 24th June, the prisoner went to the house of a lieutenant of the National Guard, named Alavoine, and tried to persuade him to go and join the insurgents, telling him that they were fighting for the good cause, and that they would be supported by Caussidière at the head of 30,000 men and several pieces of cannon. As Alavoine's wife positively refused to let him go, the prisoner went away, taking Alavoine's sword with him. On Sunday the 25th the barricade in the Rue des Barres Saint Paul was attacked by the troops of the line and the Mobile, and, after a very sharp firing, was carried. A gardien de Paris, who was one of the first to rush behind the barricade, saw the prisoner with a sword and a tricolour band round his arm. Supposing from this that he was the chief, he seized him, whereupon the prisoner cried to the insurgents, "Don't run away—help me!" At the same moment he was felled to the ground by a blow from the butt end of a musket, and was subsequently conveyed, perfectly senseless, to the barracks of Ave Maria. When the insurgents saw the barricade carried, they rushed into the adjacent houses and fired on the soldiers, but some fled, and some threw aside their arms. It was on the second day of the insurrection that the prisoner assumed the command of the barricade, and one of his first acts on doing so was to prevent the insurgents from breaking open a shop door to turn the shop into a post. On capturing the prisoner at the barricade, the soldiers and Garde Mobile proposed to shoot him, and were with difficulty prevented from doing so. During the insurrection the prisoner was at other places besides the Rue St. Paul, engaged in giving orders. The prisoner positively and repeatedly denied that he had taken part in the insurrection. He was, he said, engaged in distributing food to the Mobile, and it was by mistake that he was arrested in the confusion which prevailed in taking the barricade. He attempted to show that whilst the insurrection was raging he was not in the Rue des Barres St. Paul, or at any place at which he was said to have been seen; but his *alibi* was not made out. He also pretended that what he had said to Alavoine had been misunderstood; that he had declared that it was Cavaignac, not Caussidière, who had 30,000 men; and that by the good cause he meant that of the National Guard, not of the insurgents. The court, however, after deliberating in secret, decided, "in the name of the French people," that the prisoner was guilty of having taken part in an attempt to overthrow the government; of having excited to civil war; of having participated in an attempt to cause devastation, massacre, and pillage in the capital; of having taken a command without legitimate authority. He was accordingly condemned to hard labour at the hulks for life. The decision of the court in the case was given by a majority of 6 to 1.

The court next proceeded to the trial of a man named Jusseau, 29 years of age, a copper founder, and sub-lieutenant of the 5th legion of the National Guard, for having commanded at the barricade of the Rue Neuve Chabrol, in the Faubourg St. Denis. The evidence, which was very clear, showed that the prisoner, clothed in his uniform, was at the barricade on the 23d June, that he parleyed with the authorities at the head of the insurgents, that after doing so he withdrew with the insurgents behind the barricade and commenced firing on the troops, and that he allowed National Guards of his own company to be disarmed by the insurgents. It was also shown that, having been called on by some of his comrades to lay aside his arms, he said, "No—it is not possible—we will conquer or die," and on the commencement of the insurrection he was heard to say that this time the insurrection would succeed, and that the insurgents would march on the Chamber. He was declared guilty of having participated in an attempt to destroy the government, of exciting to civil war, and to pillage, massacre, and devastation in the capital, and he was condemned to three years' imprisonment.

engine constructed for trying ether as a motive power. This engine was found to act well, and afford a considerable saving in fuel, but it was rejected on account of the inflammability of ether, which rendered it too dangerous for use in steam-vessels. Lieut. Lafond, of the navy, however, studied the nature of chloroform, ascertained that it was capable of producing a great motive power at a saving of 50 per cent., and that no danger is incurred. The experiment on Sunday is said to have been completely successful.

It has been decreed that all letters passing between the political prisoners, either in France or transported, and their families and other persons relating to their private affairs, shall be post-free.

A M. Lourdoueix, author of a work, called *Profils Critiques et Biographiques des Représentants du Peuple*, has just been condemned to 100fr. fine and the costs, for a libel on M. Repellin, advocate at Grenoble and representative of the people, imputing that M. Repellin has only adopted republican principles to advance his personal interest. MM. Garnier, the publishers, were directed to sell no more copies of the work containing the incriminated article, and the plaintiff was authorised to publish the judgment in five journals at the expense of Lourdoueix.

BIRTH—At Bayonne, on the 14th inst., the lady of Don Andres de Silva des Ducs d'Hijar, of a son.

MARRIED—On the 16th inst., at Cork, R. Fishbourne, Esq., of Graney, county Kildare, second son of W. Fishbourne, Esq., of Carlow, to Isabella Mackenzie, second daughter of the late Capt. Kenneth Mackenzie, of the Caithness Fencibles.

COMMITTEE OF INVESTIGATION.

The second volume of *pièces justificatives* of the report of the Committee of Investigation was distributed yesterday. It contains documents relative to the affair of Risquons-Tout in Belgium, the decrees and procès verbaux of the Provisional Government and Executive Commission, the report on the ateliers nationaux, the documents found at the residence of Sobrier, and at the Club of Representatives in the rue Castiglione, which have already been partially published, several other documents and reports, and finally the procès verbaux of the Committee. The Committee has not thought right to publish all the documents seized at Sobrier's, but has deposited them in the archives of the Assembly, where they can be consulted by the representatives.

We make the following extracts from this second volume:—

THE CLUB DES CLUBS.

The Committee says:—"The Club des Clubs occupied itself principally with the elections by universal suffrage. Longepied proposed to centralise all the clubs of Paris and the banlieue for this object. He called three delegates from each of these clubs, and proceeded immediately to an electoral organisation. Delegates were sent to the 86 departments. The register of these delegates sets forth their number, which on an average was four for each department. Each of them took a copy of the instructions which he was to follow. Almost all opened a correspondence with the President Longepied, and sent detailed reports of their mission. The Club des Clubs made a resumé by departments of the correspondence of the agents; by which the situation of the department could be seen at a glance. Independently of this part of their mission, which may be considered as administrative, it appears also that the agents of the Club des Clubs were charged to organise as much as possible clubs of workmen and military clubs in which the merits of the candidates could be discussed. The opinions of the officers were also discussed. These agents were paid by Longepied, who received money from the secret service funds."

EXAMINATION OF LONGEPIED.

The Club des Clubs began to receive assistance from the Minister of the Interior about the end of the month of March, and ceased to do so about the end of April. I cannot say the precise sum received, but it may have been from 90,000fr. to 100,000fr. I presume that it was received at the Caisse du Ministère—I received money there sometimes. The money so received was distributed in small sums to the delegates sent to the departments to occupy themselves with the elections. The names of these delegates were submitted to the minister. Such portions of their reports as were considered necessary were submitted to the minister. 600fr. were given to the delegates sent to the army; these delegates were generally men who had been soldiers, and some soldiers for whom leave of absence was obtained were also employed. Although there is the inscription in one of the papers, "April 17—Surveillance of Paris and the banlieue," that sum was not for one single day, and the word surveillance was erroneously employed, as nothing else was meant than assistance accorded to the delegates. With respect to the note of 31st March, 1848, professing to be the account of 11,000fr. given to C. M. for travelling expenses, and for the incidental expenses of 44 delegates who left on 30th and 31st March, I cannot give any explanation, nor state who C. M. was; the money was given to the delegates.

Return obtained by the Committee from the Register of the Secret Service Money at the Ministry of the Interior by the Committee of Investigation.

Sums paid to Longepied:—3d April, 1848, 8000fr.; 4th April, 12,000fr.; 5th April, 8000fr. and 8000fr.; 8th, 10,000fr.; 10th, 12,000fr., 14th, 6000fr.; 18th, 8000fr.; 24th, 8000fr.; 2d May, 5000fr. and 6000fr.; 5th, 8000fr.; 9th, 4000fr.—in all 103,000fr. The sums paid to different agents of the clubs, in addition to the above, amounted to 70,000fr.

The Committee reproduces a proclamation from the Revolutionary Club to the army signed by Huber and others, calling or them to join the phalanx of liberty, equality, and fraternity in order to assure the triumph of the Republic, and promising the soldiers that under the Republic there should be no more favoritism, no more neglect of rights.

A report from one of the delegates to the army, dated the 19 April, addressed to Citizen Thièle, rue de Rivoli, 16, is given. It contains details of the visits made to the regiments stationed at Valenciennes, Douai, and a great number of other places in the north; sets forth the feelings of the men; states the political opinions of some of the officers; and with what officers correspondence may be entered into; praises some officers, censures others, and demands the dismissal or retirement of others. This extract will give an idea of the general character of the report: "The army will be faithful, judging by the regiments we have visited, but it is of the *greatest urgency and importance* that changes of the chiefs shall be made in each corps. On the second restoration all the officers of our old army were put on half pay and replaced by others; at present that cannot he done, but it is necessary and indispensable to make changes."

M. Panisse, Chef de division de la Sureté Générale, presented to the Committee the following "Note on the principal causes which brought about the events of June, and on the different elements of the insurrection."

"After the revolution of February the rich went away, and the poor of all countries arrived in Paris. Some were afraid, others in want. Among the latter some came from the provinces, others from Italy and Germany. Those who were afraid secreted their money. The clubs were formed. The cause of the rich was attacked in them, and not defended, or defended very ill. "The absent are wrong." In these circumstances, which it was not in the power of the administration to prevent or modify, social hatreds, misery, and many causes of an armed struggle arose. The government organised the ateliers nationaux, and that was perhaps an unfortunate expedient. The ateliers nationaux were a constant motive of perturbation, and the workmen in them took habits of idleness. The work in them was a fiction—was badly executed, or null. If the government, instead of having recourse to this measure, had thought of supporting the great branches of industry, it would not have displaced all the corps d'état, and thus unknowingly have created one of the principal causes of the last insurrection. Order is labour, but the labour of each workman in his speciality. Out of their own trade, watchmakers, blacksmiths, jewellers, carpenters, etc., united on one point, are disorder and chaos, are like the river which overflows its banks to inundate the country instead of fertilising it. In my opinion, instead of creating the ateliers nationaux, the government ought to have lent to great establishments half of the sum which has been lost in fruitless labour. In so doing it would have left each workmen in his shop—it would have utilised his trade, and obtained a product of tenfold value. The rich becoming reassured would have returned, and affairs would have resumed their ordinary course. The following are the classes which took part in the insurrection:—

"1st. Many unemployed workmen who maintain their families, but saw their wives and children in want; 2d. Men of strong opinions and upright, but ignorant and easily deceived; they were made to believe that the National Assembly intended to bring back little by little the system followed by Louis Philippe; 3d. The communists, men of Utopian ideas, each of whom has his system, and who are not agreed among themselves; 4th. The Legitimists, who have always said that they must pass by the Republic to reach Henry V., the Republican Government being for them a ball for a moment, but necessary; 5th. The Bonapartists, who joined their money to that of the legitimists to pay the *émeute*; 6th. The partisans of the Regency, who made themselves remarked by their ill-will in the payment of taxes; 7th. Finally, the scum of all the parties, the forçats, and the men without honest means of livelihood, and the enemies of all society, men devoted by instinct to the ideas of insurrection, robbery, and pillage. For such men as the last, the truly guilty, there must be rigorous and energetic repression—death or transportation: for the men who were misled, bread and clemency."

In another communication we find the following return of the troops, infantry, cavalry, artillery, &c., present at Paris on the 22d of June, 1848, according to the returns of the provisions served out:—In Paris, 6,224; at the Ecole Militaire, 4,722; at St. Cloud and St. Denis, 7,973; at Vincennes, 4,500—Total 23,419.

One of the most striking documents in the second volume is the copy of the minutes of a sitting of the Club of the Garde Mobile at the Ecole Militaire, on the 5th of April last. After a dissertation on the rights of man, in which a corporal, named Hurstel, made a long speech remarkable for ultra-republicanism, and for which the thanks of the Club were unanimously voted, the members discussed the following question:—

"What would be the duty of the citizens if the National Assembly were to proceed in stationary errors (des erremens stationnaires), and were not to extirpate in a radical manner all abuses; in a word, if it were not to be republican in the largest acceptation of the word?"

The vote on this question was as follows:—

"Unanimously: Insurrection, insurrection being in this case the most holy and sacred of duties."

Another question at this sitting was—

"Is it necessary that any regiments of the line should return at present for the garrison of Paris?"

The discussion on this question, say the minutes, was most animated, and was adjourned till the next day, in consequence of the lateness of the hour. The result of the adjourned discussion is not stated. It will be seen by these minutes that the Garde Mobile was up to a certain period worked upon by the enemies of order; but it may be remembered by some of our readers that there was even at that time great difference of opinion in this force, as to the propriety of deliberations by an armed body in the pay of the state, and the conduct of the Garde Mobile in June showed that the attempts which had been made to mislead this corps had at length failed, except with a very few of its members, who are said to have gone over to the insurgents.

We find also in the second volume a very long report on the clubs which existed before the insurrection of June. Their number and character are given, but so much has been said already on the latter point, that we shall merely state now that the number was nearly 150. There is a remarkable letter of great length in this volume, addressed to the members of the Committee of Investigation by Huber, and dated the 1st inst. The writer, after stating that by the protection of his friends he has been able to avoid arrest, but that he is ready to give himself up when sure of having a legal trial, professes to give an account of the causes of the two great events of May and June. He declares that there was no plot for the invasion of the National Assembly on the 15th May, and that he alone pronounced its dissolution, and is therefore the only person responsible for that act. The invasion of the Assembly and the insurrection of June were, he says, both spontaneous movements of the population. "The first was determined by the refusal of the Assembly to receive the delegates who were the bearers of petitions, and the second by the decree for the dissolution of the ateliers nationaux." It appears, however, by a report from M. Trouvé-Chauvel, the then Prefect of Police, dated the 3d ult., that the spontaneousness of which Huber speaks, as to the insurrection of June, was prompted by the clubs, for on on the 22d of June the Club des Droits de l'Homme gave notice to nearly thirty of the most anarchical clubs that their co-operation was required, and also summoned the brigadiers of the ateliers nationaux. There are several very long reports from commissaries of police, and others respecting the organisation and dispositionof these ateliers, but they do not possess much interest after all that has been stated on the subject. We also find an official return of the number of journals started after the revolution of February. Not less than 171 are enumerated, but many of them had a very ephemeral existence.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

Sitting of Aug. 22.

The public tribunes were crowded, in consequence of the notice given the preceding day by the President that an authorisation was to be demanded from the Assembly for the arrest of one of the Representatives.

The President took the chair at a quarter-past two.

The order of the day was the adjourned discussion on the bill to authorise amicable arrangements between persons who had suspended payment since February 24, 1848, and their creditors.

M. DUPONT (de Bussac) observed that on Saturday the Assembly, after having agreed to the paragraphs of Art. 4, had rejected the article itself. That course would have the effect of rendering the whole bill of no effect. In order to meet the case, he had prepared a new article to supply the place of that which had been rejected. If the Assembly wished to reject the whole proposition, it would no doubt vote against the first paragraph of the new article. In order, however, that there might be no surprise on the Assembly, he should certainly divide the House on the article. (Hear, hear.) The Hon. Representative then read the new article, which differs but little from that already given in the proposition and rejected.

The MINISTER of FINANCE said he felt it his duty to fully explain his ideas to the Assembly. France had passed through many revolutions; she had had an invasion, a restoration, and the Government of July; and yet the Commercial Code had always been respected. Why then, he would ask, should not the Republic do the same, for it was founded on a respect for contracts and for rights? The Republic was not interested in the question, which merely concerned creditors and their debtors. Some members of the Assembly appeared disposed to adopt the proposition; but, in doing so, they would vote contrary to their usual habits. (Loud interruption.)

The PRESIDENT said that Hon. Gentlemen would have an

Rec'd 15th Sept. 48.

Private. No. 5.

Paris, August 31, 1848.

Dear Sir; —

In my Letter dated August 10, I took occasion to state that, "France can never enjoy prosperity, under any form of government, until she abandons her absurd and demoralizing commercial system." I will now proceed to show the pernicious workings of this system, against the purity and energy of the people.

The deplorable instability of France, the influences which have operated from time to time to deluge the streets of Paris with human gore, are attributable to a solitary cause. That cause is monopoly, — unprincipled, remorseless, monopoly: prosecutor of legions of crimes. — Now, as heretofore, no ministry seems to be profoundly impressed with the importance of an abandonment of the existing system of monopoly, either as concerns the State, or the extension of its privileges to individuals by the State. There is nothing wonderful in the fact that the Republic has failed to take deep root in public esteem when it is so clear to every eye that the government, since it was established, has studiously delayed advancing a single pace to better, by equitable laws, the pecuniary condition of the industrial classes. — While the high-sounding motto — "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" — is incessantly ringing in the public ear, monopoly in a form, which would degrade the worst of tyrant Sovereigns, mercilessly exacts from labor its honest earnings even unto the last drop of life-blood. It would

be marvellous, indeed, if the Republic should succeed in enlisting their affection of the people as long as it perseveres in a policy, directly adverse to their interests and well-being. It is as valueless for purposes of practical good — for enlarged political philanthropy — as the Lighthouse would be to the mariner, with the blaze in its basement. — Until a resolution be summoned by the administration, to take a stride in the direction of commercial reform, the Republic, not unaptly, may be likened to a "whited sepulchre."

But to the subject — and first of the Tobacco Régie. I stated, in one of my despatches, that tobacco is only permitted to be cultivated in six departments as a staple, and that this cultivation is under the most rigid surveillance of the government. In the other departments agriculturalists are allowed to grow four plants for each tenement, for medicinal uses. On the tobacco disposed of by the Regie, whether imported or produced, the profit realized amounts to 447 per centum. The retail dealers in the article — numbering about 30,000 — are under the control of the Regie inspectors, and are allowed a commission on their sales, of from ten to twelve per cent. There are only ten manufactories: They are located at Paris, Havre, Lille, Strasburg, Morlaix, Dunkirk, Lyons, Marseilles, Toulouse and Bordeaux. Each has its circle of departments to supply, and is restricted to transactions therein. The manufactured article is deposited in magazines, of which there are 357. In the departments adjoining Switzerland, Germany, and Belgium, the prices established is vastly below that which rules in the interior. The object of this is to prevent smuggling. Where frontier facil-

ities are afforded for illicit importations the rate is comparatively moderate: Where none exist it is enormous. Thus at Strasburg a pound is worth only 15 sous (cents) while at Orleans it is worth eight francs ($1.60 cents)! — Such unequal taxation as this, is utterly incompatible with the genius of republican institutions. It is eminently calculated, from its wanton injustice, to provoke contempt for the constituted authorities, and to engender evil passions among the governed. How can a Republic — if it be a Republic in any thing more than mere name — conscientiously retain for a day, a system so wicked and false?

The State it is true, does not monopolize the traffic in Cotton Wool; yet its policy with reference to the consumption of the article by the masses, is scarcely less reprehensible than the Tobacco monopoly. It in effect manufactures for Foreigners at lower prices than it does for its own citizens. The Cotton consumed at home pays a duty of about two and a quarter cents per pound, while that manufactured and re-exported is submitted to no taxation whatever. — The husbandman, who has a large family to clothe, cannot be otherwise than discontented with his rulers, when he perceives that under their agency, he is prevented from obtaining a piece of cloth at as favorable a price from the manufactories of France, as he could, were he trading or sending it elsewhere.

Of individual monopolies there is perhaps not so ruinous an one to the general weal tolerated in the universe, as that of manufacturing Iron in France. It is so exclusive in its character, that competition cannot even slightly remedy its atrocities. The

consumer of this article of general use, may complain, and complain unceasingly, of its imperfections and worthlessness, but his voice is unheeded by the favored monopolist. If an answer is desired, it is to the purport that he can have no interest in producing a good material, when an inferior one is made at an infinitely less expense, and commands for him as high a price. Consequently, but little improvement is made in the implements of industry which are indispensable to the development of the agricultural and other resources of the country.

+ Industry, the foundation upon which every durable governmental edifice must rest, finds in the rulers of France a dubious friend, if not a determined enemy.++ A case was related to me a day or two since, as one of a thousand of similar occurrence, of two laborers who gained a livelihood with the "brass-cut" saw. For the privilege of working with this instrument the government demands 75 or 80 francs per annum. The laborers referred to, were unable, on account of the change in the times, to take out a license. They could not afford to remain idle, and therefore, found themselves under the necessity of giving one third of their earnings to an individual to advance the requisite amount! Such wrongs as these, under a consciousness of them, it is not in human nature to bear without murmurs, and I incline to the belief, that they, with the unheard wailings of thousands for bread, would awaken a spirit of communism in countries much more orderly and unimpassioned, in the main, than France. — The people of America have the most abundant cause to cherish their

institutions as they do their "bosom's love," because they are parental: The people of France have had — and alas! have now — cause to detest them as they would an arch enemy, because they are oppressive, subservient to purposes of inhumanity.

The Octroi has been re-established. It was by this tax that Louis Philippe was enabled to build the Paris fortifications. Upwards of $100,000,000 were cruelly wrung from the people, in an excise upon their daily food, for the erection of this Chinese wall. It was confidently hoped that on the downfall of the Sovereign there was an end to the Octroi: But the exactions authorized by it, are as rigidly observed as ever. No carriage, equestrian, or pedestrian, enters the gates but an examination ensues: Every one is suspected, and every one is, in effect searched. The most vexatious delays, even on a return from an hour's drive into the country, have to be submitted to without remonstration. The tyranny of the law (and the illiberal enforcement of it) causes general dissatisfaction, and the evasion of it is scarcely considered a wrong, much less a crime. The state, therefore, is chargeable with the demoralization which occasions public insecurity: — It "sows the wind" and it must necessarily "reap the whirlwind."

In her commercial intercourse with the United States, France is not actuated by one generous sentiment. She makes a convenience of our two leading staples, as I have shown, for raising revenue. These, under a moderate Tariff — particularly Tobacco — she might consume in immense quantities. —

But such a change has not yet been proposed, nor do I believe that it is contemplated in any quarter. In my opinion it would be a most mistaken policy in our government to diminish the duty on French products, under a supposition that a corresponding diminution would be made in France on American products. When the moderate imposts imposed upon French articles by our Tariff of 1846 is properly appreciated, it will be soon enough for us to make further reductions.

The Constitution was reported a day or two since. It is stated that the discussion upon it will commence next week. I sincerely wish that it may be adopted. Its provisions, even as amended, are in many respects objectionable, still if they were in force they would tend to establish confidence in the Republic, and experience might eventually remedy their imperfections. — Cavaignac continues to realize the favorable opinions formed of his worth, but he is fully aware of the exceeding precariousness of his position. When he suppressed the publication of the newspapers last week he remarked that "although the act was arbitrary it was rendered imperious in view of the preservation of the Republic. After awhile we shall have more strength and then editors may say of us what they please."

The session of the Assembly of Friday was of eighteen hours duration: It ended by ordering the issue of warrants for the arrest of Louis Blanc and Caussidiere.

The warrants however were not executed. Louis Blanc fled to England, and Caussidiere "to parts unknown." The government evidently connived at their flight, and it is believed that they will return — at least they have given such assurances — when the time for their trial arrives. They took themselves off merely to avoid imprisonment.

The monarchists are becoming more and more confident that they will succeed in re-establishing the Throne, but they cannot act concertedly in the selection of a Prince. Each of the pretenders has his party, and as the prospect for the durability of the Republic wanes their animosity for each other increases. They now designate the republicans, generally, as "La parti des Republicains Rouges", so as to excite the people to destroy all that is left of the Republic.

The German Assembly has decided that there shall be no connexion between Church and State in the Union: Offences committed by the Church shall be punished by the Laws of the State.

Great-Britain you will perceive is compelled to authorize an additional loan of £2,500,000 to meet the deficit in the Treasury for defraying the current expenses of the year. "Screw us hostess! — Screw us!" The "Times" proposes to try retrenchment, and to begin with the withdrawal of the African Squadron. This is one of the most sensible suggestions that this creator of public opinion ever made. — Great-Britain will be forced to buy largely of our bread-stuffs and provisions du-

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with the next nine months. Ireland will soon be calling for food: The British ports will probably again be thrown open.

The harvest in France is estimated to be below an average one, but a considerable portion of last year's product is unconsumed, and it is thought that importations of breadstuffs will not be required.

Yours Most Faithfully,
A. Dudley Mann.

Hon. James Buchanan.
Secretary of State.
Washington.

Private. No. 6.

Paris, Sept. 7, 1848.

Dear Sir; —

France, notwithstanding the numerous melancholy and perplexing reverses which she has experienced since the revolution of February, may yet succeed in permanently establishing the Republic. ** The prospect for the consummation of this desirable object, is, certainly, more cheering than it has been at any time since my arrival.

The debate commenced, with a degree of earnestness which was not anticipated, upon the Constitution on Monday; and I am encouraged to believe that, despite the strategem of Thiers and the critique of the fallen Princes, it will be adopted — perhaps with amendments — in less than sixty days. Our central government system would have worked admirably in France, and it is sincerely to be regretted that the enlightened suggestions, contained in your admirable despatch, to Mr. Rush, could not have been disseminated throughout the nation, without indelicacy on the part of our Minister at the time of their reception. They would have exercised an extraordinary, and most salutary influence on the public mind, — imbuing it with proper notions of a plan for a Republic, of an utilitarian nature. ** — The Executive is to be elected for a term of four years, and to be ineligible for the

four years succeeding: He is to be chosen by universal suffrage. At least such is the provision in the Report, and I am disposed to believe that it will not be changed. This meets your views, and indeed no reasonable objections can be urged against it. But the one House Legislature, even though the members be elected for a term of three years, will not answer a valuable end. It precludes the possibility, in a nation so excitable as France, of stable Legislation. However, let us trust that experience will point out imperfections in the instrument, which gives to France a republican government, and that the virtue and integrity of the people will remedy them.

Cavaignac is constantly increasing his popularity. Last Sunday was a most triumphant day for him. He reviewed the army and national guard for the first time since the émeute of June. I was near the spot where he took his station; and I feel free to state that Napoleon, on the pinnacle of his power, could not have received from his countrymen more earnest manifestations of attachment and regard, than the civilian-soldier did upon this occasion. Every voice, in or out of the lines, was raised to its highest note in exclaiming: "Vive! Vive! Le Général Cavaignac!" The early September sun, radiantly mellow, contributed to render the day one of surpassing grandeur. Nature seemed to have put on all her joyous smiles, and hearts less susceptible to the influences of magnificent

spectacles than Frenchmen's, could not suffer themselves to be shackled by emotions of sadness. — Sunday decided the fortunes of Bonaparte, and (thus) we not hopes of France: He has no longer any thing to apprehend from a competitor for the Presidency; — he is as much the man of the Republic as Napoleon was of the Empire.

No adversity has ever been able to subdue the desire of the French to behold dazzling military displays. Bonaparte thoroughly understands this weakness in their character, and he must have resolved in making his great personal debut before them, to turn it to the best available account. He entered the field — Le Champs de Mars — about noon, where at least half a million of persons had assembled, irrespective of sex, age, or condition. He was mounted upon a snow-white Arabian steed, of matchless proportions in form and beauty, apparently as wild as if he had never been bridled, yet so thoroughly trained that he could walk a plank at sea. The graceful movements of the noble animal as they were seen in the distance, excited the intensity of the multitude to catch a nearer glimpse of the world renowned rider. In a moment his manly form was seen in its majestic bearing, adorned with the richest and most elegantly arranged trappings of a commander-in-chief of the French army. As the accomplished officer and equestrian rode up and down in front of the various brigades, distinguished alike by his chivalrous mien and position, from all subordinates, it was clearly perceptible that he was the beau ideal of the cavali-

vated multitude, and that henceforth he was to be the darling of France.

Louis Napoleon having thus measured his strength, resumed the citizen's attire — a plain suit of black — on Monday, and entered the Assembly with a confidence in the Republic, which he never previously entertained or expressed. In the sitting of that day he took occasion to remark, on the question of the newspaper suppression: "One of them, a "journal too well known, had had the audacity to state while "the public mind was highly excited by the events of June, that "France could not get on unless the Republic was beloweand "the Monarchy above." Now this is precisely what we desire, and what we intend to prevent. From the assertion "which I have just quoted, I cannot be mistaken that there "is at least one person in France favorable to a restoration "of Monarchy. In such I behold a mischievous, heartless, remorseless enemy: At such I strike: My duties "to the Republic will admit of no forbearance in such cases." — "But I repeat that my official conduct is at all times subject "to your supervision and decision."

The London "Times" of Monday animadverts, with its accustomed severity, on Marrast's Report upon the proposed Constitution — condemning the plan of government generally, and particularly its destitution of Conservative properties. — In discussing the want of checks and balances, this journal remarks: / "That was the study of the wise founders of the

"great American Republic, the only men who ever yet succeeded in concert in such a task; and, to the lasting honor of the American people, no rash voice has yet been raised to demand alterations in a Constitution, which has upon the whole, accomplished its principal objects and fostered the growth of a prosperous and powerful people." — An unwilling witness always carries weight with him, and this just and beautiful compliment from our sincerest and powerful calumniator will contribute to increase our national fame in Europe.

Lamartine in his pamphlet, just published, has made so successful a vindication of his character as to seek the mouths of his most vindictive and clamorous enemies. If he will only erect his platform upon the earth, and cease to commune with the ideal, his future cannot fail, (if the Republic should fortunately last) to be brilliant and valuable to his race.

Germany is getting along prosperously. The armistice with Denmark has been rejected by the national government, more on account of a disagreement between the plenipotentiaries of Prussia and the Vicar Imp on account of the terms, but this difficulty, I doubt not, will be soon arranged, and the question afterwards definitively settled. — The Italian affair I consider almost as good as arranged, and upon conditions calculated to preserve perpetual peace.

My account I trust will be approved by the Department, but if it is objectionable, settle it as you, in your own way.

I have never yet met with Mr. Rush although I have exchanged cards with him half a dozen times. He, of course, keeps you more faithfully advised than I do myself of all that is transpiring. It is my pleasure to make myself serviceable to you, if possible and I am sure you will appreciate the motive, even though I fail in my purpose. — I am engaged in preparing an article explanatory of our Commercial and Navigation policy with Foreign States, which I desire to submit to your revision before its publication. I shall transmit it by the next, or the following steamer. It will operate favorably upon public opinion in Connecticut, Maryland, North-Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio, as far at least, as facts are concerned.

I remain, Faithfully your Friend

A. Dudley Mann.

Hon. James Buchanan
Secretary of State.
Washington.

No. 6. A. D. Mann. Paris - 7 Sept. 1828.
(Private) -

Recd 26th Feb? 49

M. Markoe.

Paris, February 5, 1848.

Dear Sir; —

I wrote to you under date of Jan. 25. The day after I mailed my letter I received the accompanying communications from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg, — too late for transmission by the steamer which left Liverpool for New-York on the 27th. As I gave you my views, in my last, in a somewhat lengthened manner, upon the subject to which these documents relate, I shall now merely remark, that too much caution cannot be exercised by the government to prevent our losing in Germany that which we have been so successful in securing. I trust your successor will understand the question in all its complicated bearings.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Oldenburg supposed at the time of his addressing me, that I was still in the service of the United States. In reply to his note I informed him, that I was not thus employed but that I would, nevertheless, forward the documents to their intended destination, which he had entrusted to my care.

I have the honor to remain, with faithful esteem,

Your Obt. Svt.

A. Dudley Mallett

Hon. James Buchanan.
Secretary of State.
Washington.

A. D. Mann. Paris — 5 Feb — 184

Rec.d 26 Feb. with Mr. Mann's private note Feb. 5. 1849.

for translation.

Der Unterzeichnete, provisorisch mit dem Departement der auswärtigen Angelegenheiten Seiner Königlichen Hoheit des Grossherzogs von Oldenburg beauftragt, hat die Ehre dem Herrn Obersten A. Dudley Mann, Special-Agenten der Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika für das Grossherzogthum Oldenburg &c. &c. die folgende Mittheilung zu machen.

Es ist dem Herrn Obersten Mann bekannt, dass in dem zwischen den Vereinigten Staaten und dem Königreiche Hannover am 10. Juni 1846 abgeschlossenen Schifffahrts- und Handelsvertrage, welchem Oldenburg am 10. März 1847. beigetreten, im Artikel II. bestimmt worden: dass, wenn das Königreich Hannover – das Grossherzogthum Oldenburg – während der Zeit von 12. Jahren sich entschliessen sollte, die bestehende Einfuhr-Abgabe auf in Hogsheads oder Fässern eingebrachte Tabacksblätter, Streifen oder Stengel, welche Abgabe dermalen 1 ℔ und 1 Ggr. von 100 ℔ Hannoversch Geld und Gewicht p. 70 Cents von 100 ℔ Gold und Gewicht der Vereinigten Staaten nicht überstieg, zu erhöhen, die Hannoversche – Oldenburgische – Regierung ein Jahr vor der Ausführung dieser Massregel der Regierung der Vereinigten Staaten davon Nachricht geben und am Ende dieses Jahres oder alle Zeit nachher die Regierung der Vereinigten Staaten volle Gewalt und Befugniss haben solle, den gegenwärtigen Vertrag durch vorgängige 6monatliche Kündigung bei der Hannoverschen – Oldenburgischen – Regierung aufzuheben, oder nach ihrer Wahl, den Vertrag in voller Kraft fortbestehen zu lassen, bis die Wirksamkeit desselben in der in demselben Artikel zuerst angegebenen Weise seine Endschaft erreicht hat.

Die grossen Ereignisse welche seitdem in Deutschland eingetreten sind, und die wesentlichen Veränderungen, welche es in seine Verfassung einzuführen im Begriffe ist, – Ereignisse, welche die Regierung der Vereinigten Staaten ohne Zweifel bereits nach ihrem

Herrn Obersten A. Dudley Mann,
Special-Agenten der Vereinigten
Staaten von Nordamerika
Paris.
N.o 13. Boulevard Montmartre.

nah

wahren Geiste und Werthe gewürdigt haben wird, – h
ben auch die Wünsche und Bestrebungen der ganzen
Nation hervortreten lassen, den lang gehegten Ged
ken einer allgemeinen Zoll- und Handelseinheit für
ganz Deutschland zu verwirklichen.

Dieser mit Vorliebe genährte Plan findet ein th
weises Hinderniss in der obgedachten Bestimmung
in Folge dessen empfiehlt der Handels-Minister zu
Frankfurt in einem Schreiben, von welchem der Unt
zeichnete sich erlaubt dem Herrn Obersten Mann
die beifolgende Abschrift mitzutheilen, angelegent
dem Oldenburgischen Gouvernement, wie solches
gleichfalls bei Hannover geschehen ist, nunmehr jen
Mittel anzuwenden, welches die angeführte Bestimm
zulässt, um das angedeutete Hinderniss hinwegzurä
men.

Obgleich die Grossherzogliche Staatsregierung si
dem nicht entziehen kann, ohne die grossen Interesse
unseres gemeinsamen Vaterlandes zu beeinträchti
so ist es doch nicht ihre Absicht, den gewünschten Sch
sofort schleüssig zu thun ohne vorher das Gouverneme
der Vereinigten Staaten von dem beabsichtigten Zwe
und der Natur seiner Gründe zu unterrichten.

Der Unterzeichnete ist deshalb ermächtigt den Herr
Obersten Mann zu ersuchen, zur Kenntniss seines G
vernements zu bringen, wie die Oldenburgische Reg
rung verpflichtet sein wird, von der Klausel im Ar
kel II. des besagten Tractats, in dem Falle dass der ob
dachte Plan wie zu hoffen verwirklicht werde, Gebra
zu machen, wie dieselbe aber zugleich wünscht sich v
sichert halten zu dürfen, dass die Vereinigten Staat
die wirklichen Beweggründe dazu anerkennen un
an der sehr aufrichtigen Bereitwilligkeit Oldenburg
in jeder Hinsicht so viel in seinen Kräften steht, d
bestehenden Beziehungen zu den Vereinigten Staaten
recht zu halten und auszudehnen.

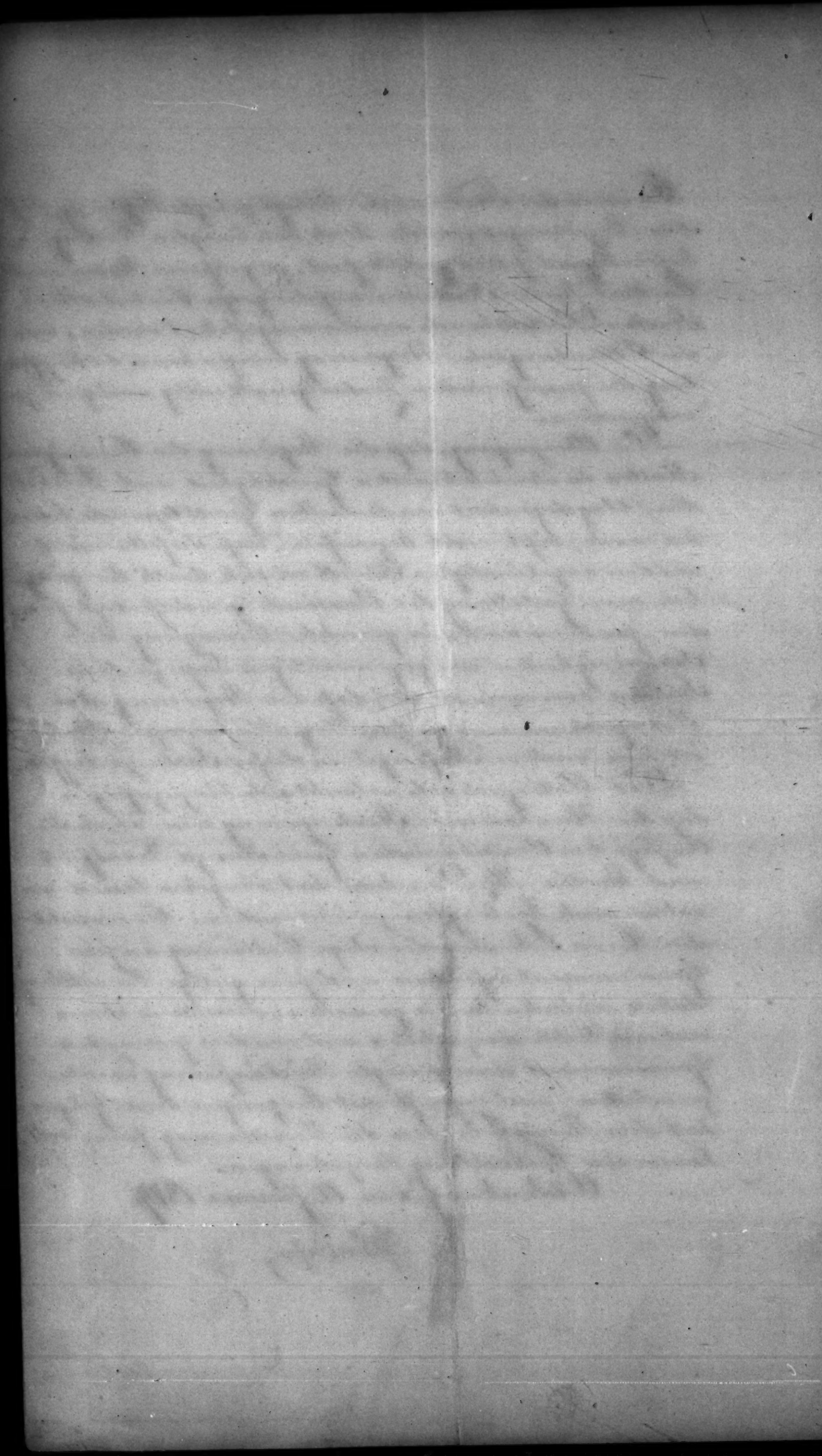
Es ist in der That nur die lebhaft gehegte Hoffnung, dass diese Beziehungen, welche durch den besagten Vertrag so befriedigend sicher gestellt sind, zu gröſserm Ruhm und Vortheil beider Nationen auf die groſse Einheit aller Staaten Deutschlands werden ausgedehnt werden, was die Oldenburgische Regierung bewegen kann der Empfehlung der provisorischen Zentralgewalt willig und gern zu entsprechen.

Die Überzeugung, dass die Regierung der Vereinigten Staaten in ihrer bekannten Gerechtigkeit und Weisheit diese Angelegenheit von demselben Gesichtspuncte betrachten werde, läſst nicht bezweifeln, dass dieselbe nicht nur den angekündigten Schritt an sich durch die gänzlich neue Gestaltung der Umstände gerechtfertigt finden, sondern auch, in gerechter Erwägung der Schwierigkeiten der gegenwärtigen Lage zu dem Schlusse kommen werde, dass die Regierung des Unterzeichneten in diesem Augenblicke auſser Stande ist, eine andere Maſsregel in dieser Sache zu treffen.

Der Unterzeichnete erlaubt sich hinzuzufügen dass die Hannoversche Staatsregierung eine ähnliche Anzeige dem Amerikanischen Gesandten zu Frankfurt und Berlin, Hl. Donelson hat übergeben lassen um solche nach Washington zu übermitteln. Er ersucht den Herrn Obersten die obige Erklärung an sein Gouvernement befördern und seine gütige Vermittlung dahin eintreten lassen zu wollen, dieselbe in ihrem wahren Lichte darzustellen und von dem genannten Gouvernement eine geneigte Rückäuſserung darüber zu erbitten, und ergreift mit Vergnügen diese Gelegenheit dem Herrn Obersten die Versicherung seiner vollkommenen Hochachtung darzubringen.

Oldenburg, den 17. Januar 1849.

H. Schloifer



Copia

Frankfurt a/m den 6 Dec. 1848.

Das Reichs-Ministerium
des Handels.

an

den Großherzoglich Oldenburgschen Bevoll-
mächtigten bei der Central-Gewalt, Herrn
Oberst Mosle,

hier.

Nachdem bei der ersten Lesung des-
jenigen Theiles des Verfassungs-Ent-
wurfs für Deutschland, welcher von
der Reichsgewalt handelt, beschlossen
worden ist, daß alle deutsche Staaten
zu einem Zollgebiete vereinigt werden
sollen, und da es keinem Zweifel un-
terliegen kann, daß dieser Beschluß
bei der zweiten Lesung definitiv ge-
faßt werden wird, werden sich zuver-
sichtlich die einzelnen deutschen Staa-
ten mit der Centralgewalt bereitwil-
lig vereinigen, um diejenigen Hin-
dernisse zu entfernen, welche dem
Eintreten eines allgemeinen deutschen
Zollwesens entgegenstehen, oder das-

Rec. 26 Feb. with W. Mamis private note 5 Feb. 184

selbe zu verzögern geeignet erscheinen
Zu diesen Hindernissen gehört eine
mittelst Vertrages der Grossherzog-
lichen Regierung mit den Vereinigt
Staaten von Amerika vom 10. Juni
1846 (: Beitrittserklärung 24 März 184
eingegangene Verbindlichkeit die
Eingangssteuer auf verschiedene Ar
tikel nicht anders als nach 12 Mon
den zuvor ergangener Anzeige erhö
hen zu wollen.

Jede Verzögerung der Aufkündigu
dieser Vertragsverhältnisse wird auf
die Umgestaltung Deutschlands von
den nachtheiligsten Folgen sein, ic
erlaube mir daher, Sie zu ersuche
Ihrer Regierung zur Erwägung zu
verstellen, der Regierung der Verei
den Staaten von Amerika die Anz
ge zu machen, dass jene Stipulation
mit der Umgestaltung Deutschlan
nicht vereinbar seien, und sie sich
daher veranlasst finden müsse,
jene davon zu benachrichtigen,

dass Ihre Regierung von dem Vorbehalte einer Aufhebung gedachter Stipulationen Gebrauch zu machen sich in dem Falle befände, dabei aber erwarte, dass das bestehende freundschaftliche Verhältniss zwischen deren Staaten und Deutschland durch anderweite Vereinbarungen, die vielleicht eine frühere Aufhebung jener Stipulationen zulässig erscheinen lassen möchten, auf jede mögliche Weise festgestellt werde.

Ihre Regierung würde durch ein solches Vorschreiten sich gerechte Ansprüche auf den Dank des Vaterlandes erwerben.

Der Reichsminister des Handels.

Duckwitz.

Translation of a German paper accompanying Mr Mann's letter of Feby 5. 1849.-

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To Colonel A. Dudley Mann Special Agent of the United States of America - at Paris Boulevard Montmartre N° 15.-

Oldenburg January 17. 1849.-

The Undersigned, provisionally charged with the Department of Foreign Affairs of His Royal Highness the Grand. Duke of Oldenburg, has the honour to make the following communication to Colonel A. Dudley Mann, Special Agent of the United States of North America, near the Grand duchy of Oldenburg &c

Colonel Mann well knows, that it is provided by the eleventh article of the treaty of Commerce and naviga= =tion, between the United States of America and the Kingdom of Hanover, concluded on the 10 of June 1846, to which Oldenburg acceded on the 10th of march 1847, that= if the Kingdom of Hanover i.e. the Grand= Duchy of Oldenburg- should determine, during twelve years, to augment the existing duty of import on leaves, strips, or stems of tobacco, imported in hogsheads or casks, which duty, did not then exceed one thaler and one Gutengroschen

Gutengroschen, or one hundred pounds, of Hanoverian weight and currency (seventy-two per hundred pounds of United States weight and currency) the Government of Hanover, i.e. of Oldenburg shall give notice of such a measure, of one year, to the Government of the United States; at the expiration of which year, or at any subsequent time, the Government of the United States shall have full power and right to abrogate in the said treaty, by giving a previous notice of six months, to the Government of Hanover i.e. Oldenburg, or at its option to continue the treaty in full force, until the operation thereof shall have been arrested, in the manner first specified in the said article.

The great events which have since occurred in Germany, and the changes in its system, now in progress, or in contemplation — changes which the Government of the United States will doubtless have estimated at their real value — have outstripped even the desires and efforts of the whole nation, for the fulfilment of the long cherished idea, of a common system of commerce and custom house duties throughout all Germany.

This plan, now happily near to its consummation, meets however some difficulty, in consequence of the stipulation above recited

recalled; and the Minister of Commerce at Frank=
=fort, has accordingly recommended earnestly
to the Oldenburg Government, in a letter of
which the Undersigned has the honour to
enclose to Colonel Mann a copy, as he
has probably also recommended to the Hano=
=verian Government immediately to employ
the faculty, secured to it by this stipulation,
to remove the obstacle above indicated.

Although the Government of this
Grand-duchy, cannot refuse to comply with
this recommendation, without prejudice to the
great interests of of our common Fatherland,
it does not however intend to carry the mea=
=sure desired into execution, without explaining
to the Government of the United States, the ob=
=ject and the nature of its motives for so doing.

The Undersigned is therefore au=
=thorised to request Colonel Mann, to make
known to the Government of the United States,
that the Government of Oldenburg will be
obliged by duty, to avail itself of the provision
of the eleventh article of the above mentioned
treaty, in case the Plan here indicated should,
as is hoped be carried into effect, but it also de=
=sires that the United States should know the
real motives, as well as the sincere wishes
of the Government of Oldenburg, to observe and
continue the subsisting relations towards

the Government

the Government of the United States, so far as its power may extend, in all respects.

It is, in fact, only the deeply cherished hope, that these relations, which are so completely established by the said Treaty, may be extended for the glory and advantage of both nations, to the great Union of all the German States, that could induce the Government of Oldenburg, so willingly and promptly to meet the desires of the Provisional Central Power.

The persuasion, that the Government of the United States, in its well known justice and wisdom, will regard this circumstance in the same light, leaves no doubt, that it will not only consider the proposed measure, proper in itself, under the new State of things, but also that, after duly weighing the difficulties of this condition, it will arrive at the conclusion, that Government of the Undersigned is entirely unable to take any other step in this matter.

The Undersigned takes the liberty to add, that the Hanoverian Government has despatched a similar notice to the American Minister at Berlin, Mr Donelson, for its transmission through him to Washington. He therefore prays Colonel Maun to send the present explanation, also to his Government,

and to use

and to use his good offices, to place the matter in its true light, and obtain from that Government, a favourable disposition towards it; and he with great pleasure embraced this occasion, to repeat to that Gentleman, the assurance of his most distinguished consideration.

J Schlosser.

Translation of a paper in the German language accompanying Mr Mann's letter of Feb.y 5. 1849.

The Department of Commerce of Germany, to Colonel Mosle, Plenipotentiary of the Grand-Duchy of Oldenburg, near the Central Power, here established.

Frankfort December 6.th 1849.——

Inasmuchas, on the first reading of the part of the projet of a Constitution for Germany, relating to the commerce of the Empire, it was resolved, that all the German States should be united under one custom-house system, and there can be no doubt that this Resolution will be rendered definitive, on the second reading, it may be confidently expected, that the several German States will readily join the Central Power, in removing all the obstacles to the establishment of a common German system of Custom-house duties, and all the circumstances which may tend to delay such a consummation. Among these obstacles, one is presented by the treaty of the 10.th of June 1845, between the Government of your Grand-duchy and the United States of America, (Declaration of Accession being made on the 24.th of march 1847) containing a stipulation, that the import-duties on certain articles shall not be raised, until twelve months after notice to that effect, has been given. (10.th?)

As any delay in giving this notice may prove seriously prejudicial, to the progress of the change in Germany, I take the liberty to pray you Sir, to impress upon your Government, the propriety, of declaring to the Government of the United States of America, that these Stipulations are not in unison with the changes in progress in Germany, and that it finds itself required, to give notice thenceforth, that your Government, considers it proper, to avail itself of the provision for the termination of the said stipulations, though it expects that the existing friendly relations, between those States and Germany, will be in every possible way strengthened, by other bonds of union, which will probably allow a speedy renewal of the stipulations in question.

Your Government by such a course, would secure to itself legitimate claims, to the gratitude of our Fatherland.

The Minister of Commerce
Duckwitz.

Paris, May 10. 1849.

Sir; —

In a Letter, which I have just received, from Mr. Robert-son, written at New-York, it is stated that: "Mr. Clayton, in the interview which "I had with him, enjoined it upon me to solicit you to write to him, as "soon as possible, and give him your views, in detail, of the affairs of Eu-rope." With this flattering request, emanating from a source entit-led to my most respectful consideration, and conveyed as it has been through an official channel, I conceive it to be my duty to comply.

I presume that you wish to obtain such informa-tion, in addition to that which you already possess, as can be employed to advantage, in extending our commercial intercourse with European Powers and States: I will, then, begin with Great-Britain. — xx

You will have perceived that the House of Commons acted definitively, about three weeks since, on the bill for the modifica-tion of the Navigation Laws. This measure of the government is likely to encounter strong opposition in the House of Lords, but I am disposed to believe that it will be carried by a small majority. In the excitable condition of the realm and the growing prejudice to the privileged orders, the Senate is more inclined to be led by the popular branch than to defeat the purposes of that body. — The most important provisions of the bill, as concerns our own country, are those authori-zing the Ministers in Council to contract with Foreign States reci-procity Treaties of Navigation for the indirect carrying to and from

Hon. John M. Clayton.
Secretary of State.
Washington.

British Ports. Expectations were, as I conceive, most unfortunately, created in the public mind of England some months since, that our government would consent to a division of our Coasting Trade with vessels sailing under the British Flag for privileges of a like character to our bottoms. My opinions of the wildness of the notion were explicitly expressed to your worthy predecessor, after the termination of the duties of my mission, in a Letter, designated "Private," dated "Paris, August 3, 1848," and as they were written for the use of the Department I herewith place them in your possession, if they be not on file.

The long and tri-angular voyages are the joy of our sailors, the nourishment which causes our Mercantile Marine to augment with so much rapidity. The policy of multiplying them, by all the means at our disposal, is not even a questionable one. It will, I fear, however, be exceedingly difficult to negotiate a Treaty with the British government for a participation in the indirect carrying on terms strictly reciprocal, because concessions are expected which the Administration, clearly, will not consent to make. Still should the bill pass a discreet Diplomatist, properly instructed upon the subject, and strongly fortified with facts and figures, might succeed in accomplishing an object so desirable to a further development of our general prosperity.

President Bonaparte promises to recommend "Annexation" as soon as order shall be more satisfactorily established. I do not know that he contemplates a change in the Navigation Laws, but I imagine he does inasmuch as the operation of

those Laws is palpably adverse to the best interests of France. This has been practically demonstrated in the necessity which influenced their suspension at a time when the products of the soil were inadequate to meet the demand of the population, and more recently in the fact that Cotton Wool, by their exclusiveness, ruled two or three cents in the pound higher in Havre than in Liverpool. — The Tonnage of the Commercial Navy of France according to the most reliable statements before me, measures only 487,000 Tons — less by nearly 100,000 Tons than the build of the Commercial Navy of the United States for the two years ending June 30, 1848! About 93 (ninety-three) per centum of the carrying of the products from the one to the other of the two countries is performed under our Flag. It is consequently tolerably certain that if we were permitted to engage in the indirect Trade with France we should enjoy it in a similar ratio.

France has never been animated, in her Commercial intercourse with the United States, by generous sentiments. She seems not to appreciate in the slightest degree the reduction in our Tariff of duties favoring the consumption of her staple products. We permit the entrance of her Wines, Silks, and other articles of Luxury at a moderate import, while she monopolizes the Trade in our staple of Luxury for revenue purposes, and thus circumscribes its consumption. Last year the receipts from the Customs only amounted to about 146,000,000 francs, 86,000,000 of which were derived from Tobacco — nearly all grown in the United States — under the workings of the Régie. Were this Régie abolished and a moderate import

duly substituted I am confident that instead of a market for 16,000 or 18,000 Hhds. tobacco per annum France would take from us double that quantity immediately thereafter. — No system ever existed in any country so demoralizing in its tendencies, or indeed in its uses, as the Tobacco Administration of France. The cultivation of the plant is prohibited except in six Departments. The extates upon which it is grown are under the most rigid governmental surveillance. The yield is classed, according to quality 1st, 2nd, 3rd; and damaged leaves are collected and burnt. It is asserted that under the late reign when a Minister was not in good odour with his constituency, and his return doubtful, he could always secure his election by standing for one of the Tobacco Departments. Nothing more was required to obtain a majority over a popular Deputy than a secret instruction to the officer of the Régie ~~Dist~~ to mark strictly 2nds good 1sts, and inferior 3rds good 2nds. It was corruption like this that de-throned a Sovereign more elevated in public esteem, than any of his co-temporaries, and the Republic cannot too soon remove the cause in which its exercise emanated, if it justly appreciate public morality.

It is possible, I conceive, to procure an abandonment of the Tobacco Régie by such influences as we may, with the utmost propriety, bring to bear against it: But the object is not to be accomplished by a further reduction of duties on French articles as was proposed in Congress a few months since. We are already more liberal to France than Peru is liberal to the Departments of France; and Peru as relates to gov-

ernment is emphatically France. The Octroi of this city on the lower description of Wines — such as are consumed by nine-tenths of the population and regarded as a necessary of life — amounts to more than three times the duty exacted on a like quality at our Custom Houses. A cask worth forty francs at a vintage is burdened with a tax of forty-five francs for permission to enter the gates of Paris! — At another time I may have an occasion to point out to you the inequality and general imperfection of the French "System" of raising revenue — a "System" whose iniquitous workings, morally, politically, and pecuniarily have well-nigh impelled the Nation into a state of anarchy. — Mr. Guizot asks on the out-set of his celebrated pamphlet, "What is the source of the existing evils?" and answers "Democracy". Had he gone a little further back he would have beheld the true source the hideous features of the sire of that bastard "Democracy", (Socialism Communism, Mountainism) whose revengeful hand is uplifted against orderly government.

In the German States more than ordinary care will be required in the Executive Department of the government, to prevent a diminution of our Commerce. Hanover, Oldenburg, and Mecklenburg, have been influenced by the Central Provisional authority at Frankfort, to transmit notices to the Department of State of their intention to increase the duty on Tobacco, — thus subjecting their Treaties with the United States to abrogation at the expiration of eighteen months. — An impression has been made upon those states, that a Treaty can be negotiated at Washington, on a differential duty basis, for Germany, and on terms particularly advantageous to their Navigation. —

the Administration in my opinion, should endeavor to prevail upon Hanover, Oldenburg, and Mecklenburg, to continue the existing duties upon our staples; and they should be informed, at the same time, that our government is determined to conclude no Treaty with the German Union, (even if it should ever be perfected) less favorable to our interests, than those in operation with themselves. If our efforts should result unsuccessfully, the question would be presented, whether, with a view to ulterior objects, our true policy demanded that the other stipulations, covenanted by each of the three States, should cease to be obligatory. — I can not express my opinions more clearly, or more succinctly, of the importance, in our National interest, of the Hanover, Oldenburg, and Mecklenburg Treaties, or of the policy to be pursued in negotiating with the States embraced in the Zollverein, than I found occasion to do in my correspondence with the Secretary of State, last summer. My Despatches are, I have no doubt, all in the archives of the Department, but I prefer, — in order that you may have such views as I entertain, upon the complicated questions which are likely to require much of your attention — to accompany this with a copious extract from my number 25, dated June 10, 1848.

In 1846 the Prussian Minister near our government applied to the Secretary of State for permission to allow the States of the Zollverein to become parties to our Treaty with Prussia. About the time that this application was made, the Hanover Treaty was concluded, by which, among other concessions to us, the transit and river tolls on four of our staples were to be abolished in the Steuerverein. Intimations had been given me during the pendency

cy of the negotiations at Hanover of the nature of the instructions which had been sent from Berlin to Washington on the subject; and I wrote to the Department, urging it to decline the proposition unless the Zollverein would consent to suffer our products to transit the territory embraced in its bounds free of other charges than those, necessary to defray the expenses of control. When I returned to Washington in April 1847, with the ratified copy of the Hanover Treaty, I found that the Department had offered the desired privilege upon the condition which I suggested, and that it had been forwarded to Berlin for consideration. Before I left Germany, however, I ascertained that, in consequence of the obligations which we had placed the Steuerverein under, the system of transit tolls could not be long sustained in the Zollverein, and I accordingly recommended the immediate suspension of negotiations with the Prussian Plenipotentiary, if not inconsistent with the communications of the Department; for I believed that we could secure much more than had been previously demanded, if not ultimately succeed in compelling the Zollverein to accede to the Hanover Treaty, or contract a new one similarly advantageous to our general interests. The States of the Zollverein contained not an inch of Sea-Board other than that of Prussia, which we had access to already as far as was profitable, but which in reality was scarcely deserving of mention as such, there being upon it but one tolerably respectable Port, (Stettin) at which four or six of our vessels entered annually. The Department coincided with the opinions thus expressed, as you will find by reference to the Instructions which it gave me on the 26th June 1847.

Just as I was completing my mission to the States of the Zollverein (in which Prussia was not included) the revolutionary demonstrations commenced throughout Germany. * The idea then uppermost in all minds was, Union, and a liberal Central government. This object was so far perfected as to establish within two months after the meeting of the Constituent Assembly, a Provisional National Executive Department. The government created in this manner, in pursuance of custom, was formally recognized by the United States and it accredited, subsequently a diplomatic representative of the highest grade, that we can receive, to our government; and with full powers, as I suppose to treat in behalf of Germany as a Nation. — Since then, however, — somewhat recently — the governments of Austria, Prussia, and Bavaria, have positively refused to acknowledge the legitimacy of the Central, self constituted, power at Frankfort; ** while the reigning Sovereigns of Hanover, Saxony, and Wurtemburg decline an observance of its mandates. — This authority, consequently, is not the exponent of the public will of Germany; nor can it contract stipulations which would be binding upon Germany. Its character is pseudo, and its acts must be null and void — as concerns Germany, to all intents and purposes. If we negotiate with Germany it ought to be with the States respectively and in their Sovereign capacity, as was the case when Mr. Wheaton concluded the Zoll = verein Treaty (which was rejected by the Senate) and afterwards when I concluded the Steuerverein Treaty.

The first and most important step to be taken in our Continental Commercial questions is, to endeavor to procure the con =

lowence of the moderate Tobacco, Whale-Oil, and Rice duties in the seven States of Germany which have stood aloof from the Zollverein, because, although the political Union of the "Vater-land" will likely not occur speedily, the Commercial Union, or Zollverein, may possibly be completed as soon as those states definitively determine to raise the duties on those Articles: The next, for Congress to authorize, as that body assuredly would when proper representations were made to it of the importance of such a measure. The giving of a notice to Prussia and another to the Hanse-Towns for terminating our Treaties with them: The third for Congress, in obedience to an imperative duty, to repeal or amend the Acts of 1824 and 1828, providing for the bestowal, under a Proclamation of the President, of the direct and indirect carrying. This accomplished, no alternative would be left Prussia but to accede to the Hanover Treaty, and the governments of the other States of the Zollverein,—from the assurances which I received from those that I was accredited to,—would not oppose a diminution of the duty on Tobacco to 25 per cent. ad val., if they found that it would lead to the Union of the German States, commercially. The Hanse-Towns admit our products, as you are aware, at a mere nominal duty, but if Hanover, Oldenburg, and Mecklenburg increase their duties to the standard of the Zollverein they will necessarily have to do so likewise, and unite in a general Treaty. Their influence would be exercized (in the event of the abrogation of their Treaty) with Hanover &c. to let the Tobacco duty remain as it at present is, in order to become a party to the Treaty which otherwise would be liable to be discontinued.

While I believe that our reciprocity system of Navigation has been productive of vast benefits to the country, and am in favor of the future observance of the liberal principle in which it had its origin, I am, nevertheless, opposed to giving the right to Powers without Sea-Board and eligible Ports, and to small States, to trade with us from all the world, which fetter our Commerce by prohibitory Imposts and unwarranted land, sound and river duties. The Countries, or several of them, in the North of Europe, could not get along prosperously if their intercourse with us was suspended, and yet they place, conservatively, no value upon the extended privilege in Navigation which they have with our immense Coast — measuring more than 33,000 miles, — because, as they truly remark, it is authorized by our Navigation Laws. — Hanover was reproached by the government at Berlin for stupidity in making Import and Transit concessions to us when she could as well have secured all she did by the Treaty under a Proclamation of the President. In fact, the President had promised to issue his Proclamation in her behalf, as you will find in an examination of the correspondence of the Secretary of State with the Hanoverian Consul for the Port of New-York, before I was called upon to undertake the mission to that Kingdom. Oldenburg and Mecklenburg had been in the actual possession of the privileges provided for by the Act of 1828 at least twelve years previous to the time of my proceeding to negotiate with them. You may therefore form an estimate of the obstacles which I had to overcome in concluding the Treaties with those three Sovereignties. I arrived each

of them, as I believed, that the Acts of Congress of 1824 and 1828 could not possibly remain in force for a long period; So anxious was I that this should occur that I prepared and transmitted in Decem= ber 1847 to the Department the form or substance of a bill which I thought it to be the duty of Congress to enact for the purpose — accompanying it with remarks, in my No. 7, which I deemed appro= priate.

Of the Italian States the Grand Duchy of Tuscany alone, possesses generous Commercial sentiment. The Union of those States for Commercial purposes, whatever the forms of government which may hereafter exist in them, is certain to be effected at no distant day; and I think it not unlikely that by judicious Diplomacy we could succeed through Tuscany in influencing the other States to consent to mea= sures that would eventuate in doubling the consumption of our sta= ple agricultural products in Italy The Pope, previous to his withdrawal from Rome was desirous for a Commercial Union, and should he be re-established in his temporal authority would doubt= lessly be inclined to use his influence for the attainment of the object. The spirit for National Independence so engrosses the public mind of Italy that without its re-construction there can be no durable repose beyond the Alps. — This Letter, already too long I fear for your patience, will not admit of my taking a general survey of Continental or even German and Italian, political affairs.

Before I close suffer me to suggest to you the injury to our interests, occasioned by the continuance of the

A. D. Mann. Paris — 10 May — 1849 Rec

[illegible] of our Treaties with Denmark and Sweden. Denmark re-
alizes annually about $2,500,000 revenue from the Elsineur Sound Tolls,
much of which is derived from our vessels and our products. I
have studied the question attentively and I have not been able to learn
that those exactions have any foundation in justice, or are in conformity
with natural and national Law; particularly as concerns the United
States. I think that a duty to ourselves requires that we should
terminate our Convention with this Kingdom without unnecessary
delay, and try negotiation first, for a removal of the enormous
grievances to which we are subjected. — Sweden burdens our pro-
ducts with such heavy duties, in various shapes, as to consume scarcely
any thing; while her vessels in intercourse with us, frequently are ab-
sent from her ports four or five years. We should coerce her in-
to a sense of reciprocity if her Treaty were abolished.

With constant good wishes for you individually, and
for the success of the Administration of Gen. Taylor in advancing
the welfare of the Union at home and its honor abroad, I am,
very truly, your ob.t. s.v.t.

A. Dudley Mann.

Recd 5 Augt.

Mr Clayton

No. 1.

Paris, July 13, 1849.

Sir; —

My appointment, instructions, and the other documents transmitted therewith reached the Legation of the United States in this city yesterday, — having been forwarded through the Post-Office at London on the 11th.

I enter immediately upon the discharge of the delicate duties, with which I have been so confidingly entrusted, and with emotions of gratitude to the President, and yourself, which language cannot adequately describe.

The realization of the favorable opinions entertained by the Department, of my capacity and disposition to be useful to my country, shall be my unceasing care during the continuance of my mission.

I feel, indeed, more than ever, confident that the highest of all national destinies awaits our Union, when I perceive its affairs administered by statesmen, acting in that sense of patriotism which has been manifested in the selection for public employment of myself, — a citizen unknown to them personally, and who was no applicant for office.

Hon. John M. Clayton.
Secretary of State.
Washington.

My fitness for so important a position — a knowledge of which, as I am advised, was derived almost exclusively from my correspondence in the archives of the Department — may have been overestimated; but the motive which influenced the choice was as pure as the noblest emanations of Executive justice which proceeded from the heart of Washington.

I shall hasten to Vienna, by the most expeditious conveyance, where I will determine upon my future movements:— I shall be prepared to start in three or four days.

Gen. Lamoricière is about to leave here on a Special mission to St. Petersburg. He was, as you are perhaps aware, until his recent election a *modéré*, but it is believed that he inclines more, at present, to Thiers and *monarchie* than to Barrigue and *la république des honnêtes gens*. He will be met by the Emperor of Russia, who after having declared Poland to be in a state of siege, returns to his capitol. — It is feared that the restoration of the Throne of France, is seriously in contemplation, and it is supposed that negotiations are in progress, for placing the crown upon the head of Louis Napoleon, with the assent of the Orleanists and Legitimists, under the guarantee of the partitioning allies of 1772. + The question whether Continental Europe shall be under Cossack or republican rule, hereafter, will, in all probability, be definitively decided on the plains, or in the passes, of Hungary.

Should Kossuth fail in the consummation of his purpose, the yoke of despotism would, doubtlessly, become almost as galling to the governed in eastern, central, and western Continental Europe as it is to those of the "Colossal Empire" of the north: — But little better than an actual state of siege, would exist from the Black Sea to the British Channel, and from the Mediterranean to the Baltic. The sword would enforce obedience to law, and law would wrest the last cup of nourishment from the industrial pursuits, for the sustenance of the sword. Apart from the sympathies, cherished by our generous institutions, which we entertain for the oppressed of all nations, European questions would then assume an American importance — commercially, if not politically — not known since the adoption of the Constitution.

!! Hungary, however, should sustain herself, against the united Imperial forces, the prestige of the Czar would be impaired to such a degree that Russia could no longer excite terror in other States, and the dismemberment of Austria, and the re-establishment of Italian nationality, would speedily ensue. ××

What exciting, — what sublime or appalling, — spectacles may I not be submitted to witness on the banks of the Danube! I am distinctly to behold kindred spirits in the great cause of humanity and rational liberty, tri-

No. 1. A. D. Mann. Paris 13 July - 1849 - Hungary

umphing over an unequal and unnatural enemy, or their death struggle. — My trust, however, is, and will continue to be, to the last, that the sacred adage — the battle is not to the strong — may be literally verified in the instance of the indomitable Magyars; and I shall desire no joy of a more boundless nature, during my pilgrimage through life, than to be enabled to report to you, that "Hungary has established her independence on a permanent foundation: That I saw the infant Hercules strangle the mighty Serpent!"

I have the honor to be,

Faithfully, Your Obt. Svt.

A. Dudley Mann.

rd 18th Augt.

Rec. Markac.

No. 2.

Berlin, July 28, 1849.

Sir: —

Shortly after my arrival at this metropolis, on the 26th, I concluded not to proceed on my journey to the East until to-night, in order, during the delay, to transmit to you such useful information as I might be enabled to obtain from authentic sources, of the condition of affairs in Hungary.

I forward, herewith, a literal translation of the Proclamation of the Austrian General Haynau, upon the occasion of his entering Pesth. The ferocious sentiments therein expressed are disgraceful to their author and to the allied powers. The threats uttered to the gentler sex cannot fail to provoke the universal indignation of enlightened humanity. Christianity will weep that a spirit so fiendish should manifest itself in a nation professing to recognize the ruling principles of civilization.

The members of the Provisional government of Hungary, after quitting Pesth, repaired to Szegedin on the lower Theiss. Kossuth, when last heard

= Hon. John M. Clayton.
Secretary of State.
Washington.

from, was at Petervaradein, where he will probably be joined by his ministers.

The effective force of the insurgents in Hungary is about 350,000 men. The army of the Czar on the north numbers 150,000 men, and 80,000 more are reported to be on their march across the Carpathians to unite with it. The Austrian corps too, are receiving additional strength from Bohemia and elsewhere. I shall, perhaps, not over-estimate the number, if I state, that by the middle of August the troops of the Emperors will amount to 500,000. To meet this immense invasion Hungary had not two weeks ago more than 250,000 men in actual service. A new impulse, however, has just been given to the cause of liberty and independence. The powerful appeals of Kossuth to his countrymen have not been made in vain. All classes are at length awakened to a sense of their country's wrongs, and are courageously hastening to the defence of the national banner. The brutal purposes avowed by Haynau have stimulated woman to depart from her natural sphere and arm for action. It is reported that thousands of females are marching side by side, with their husbands, brothers, and sons to enter the army, desiring a glorious death rather than submit to ignominious servitude.

The Autocrat, in espousing the hopeless cause

of the youthful Emperor, reserved to himself the right of ar=
ranging the plan of warfare to be observed by the invading
army. This plan, it is understood was perfected
by the advice, and with the entire approval, of the most
eminent Captains within the embraces of the two Empires.
It was considered so complete, even in its minutest de=
tails, as to be easy of immediate execution. In con=
formity therewith the allied forces were formed into
four grand corps d'armée, which were subsequently
sub-divided. These were to enter, as nearly as pos=
sible the geographical divisions of Hungary, and to advance
in such order as to cause them to arrive at the same
time at the centre. By this intended concentration
of vastly superior strength the "insurgents" were to be sur=
rounded and the "insurrection" stifled. But the
Eastern division has not yet succeeded in advancing
in the direction of the West, nor the Western division
in the direction of the East, while the space between
the Prince Paskewitsch and the Ban Jellachich remains
as wide as at the commencement of operations. The
Latter Commander in fact has experienced severe disasters
in battle, and has written from Rume, in Slavonic, to the
Emperor of Austria to say that, unless he speedily re=
ceives considerable reinforcements he would inevitably

be cut into pieces. Lieutenant-General Grotenhielm, is said to be marching to his succour from Bistritz — the Head-quarters of the Russians in the East — and Haynau and Nugent from the North and West; but whether any one of them will succeed in opening a way to him is considered quite doubtful.

The Autocrat has unquestionably signally failed in the consummation of his original plan, and in the stupendous failure, as might have been expected, the tower of strength contained in his name has been weakened. That he entertains painful apprehensions of the result is generally believed: That he would gladly return to the neutral ground which he occupied on the 12th of March, with his dazzling prestige untarnished, is very certain.

It would be idle in me to offer you prediction upon the final issue of the contest, so energetically and desperately prosecuted by one of the belligerents and so judiciously and patriotically resisted by the other. The strength, for an open field fight, is decidedly on the side of the Muscovites, while skill and invincibleness are as certainly with the Magyars. Kossuth's plans, if I fully comprehend them, have been admirably conceived. His sagacious mind distinctly perceived, from the first,

that the only hope of saving his country from so formida=
ble a foe, was that of fortifying himself strongly in the
extreme South. Accordingly his energies are now di=
rected to this end. Peterwardein is located on the
right bank of the Danube nearly opposite the mouth of
the Theiss, and within a few miles of the Turkish fron=
tier. The fort there, one of the strongest in the "Mil=
itary Boundary," has withstood the repeated attacks of Jel=
lachich. Its position is so commanding that it was
a primary object with the insurgents to obtain posses=
ion of it. On its front, with the exception of the an=
gle at the junction of the Danube and Theiss, the coun=
try for a considerable distance is marshy and after
the early autumnal rains cannot be penetrated by
heavy troops. Paskiewitsch, at the last dates, was at
Miskolcz, a distance of about 225 miles from Peterwar=
dein. The army of Görgey is in the same region,
while that of Dembinski is not very far off, but East of
it. Neither of the Hungarian Commanders are disposed
to engage in battle with the main army of Russia, for
they would risk too much by such a procedure. They
employ themselves in endeavoring to intercept reinforcements
~~and in procuring supplies for subsistence~~, occasionally
giving indications that they are preparing for a conflict.

In this manner Paskiewitsch is forced to suspend his movements to the south, while time is afforded to Kossuth to perfect his arrangements. If Görgey should succeed with Dembinski in detaining Paskiewitsch in the North until the middle of September, this year's campaign would result most adversely to Russia and Austria, and hostilities would cease. The Hungarians would retire to the angle, which I have mentioned, where with ample stores, they could remain secure until May; while the Cossacks would be in but little better condition than the French were, under Napoleon in Russia, were they to remain in the country. Under this view of the subject the destiny of Hungary will be determined, at latest, by the first of December.

The Autocrat arrived on the 25th inst. at Warsaw from St. Petersburg. He is fully sensible of the value of the stake for which he plays. If he lose, the retrogradation of his policy and his principles cannot fail to be more rapid than was his Empire to its present colossal stature.

Mr. Bodisco, the Russian Minister to the U. S., is here, and staying at the same hotel at which I took apartments. The Autocrat I am informed, has given orders to his representatives abroad to exercise the utmost vigilance

with respect to the passports of Americans when presented for a visé. He denounces in the most vehement terms all republican institutions, — attributing the extension of liberal principles in Europe, and lastly to American example and influence. **

The accounts from Milan represent that the re-commencement of hostilities by Austria against Piedmont is likely to occur immediately. Radetzki has made a categorical demand of the government of Piedmont for a compliance with the peace conditions which he proposed at the time of the armistice, and states that in the event of a refusal he is prepared to enforce them. — It will be recollected, that the money which was employed in fitting out the French expedition to Rome was appropriated by the Constituent Assembly expressly for the purpose of protecting, physically, Piedmont against unjust exactions should Austria be disposed to make them. Will France, now that the contingency has happened which was provided for, have recourse to an armed intervention? I question it very much. There is not, in my opinion, a solitary idea fostered by the Ministers of Louis Napoleon and the majority of the Legislative Assembly but that which has for its object the creation of an Em-

sessor and the establishment of an Empire. If Hungary should be crushed I am quite confident that the restoration of monarchy would be attempted, and if successfully, the Crown would be placed upon the head of the President of the Republic, regardless of the solemn oath to his God to be true to the Constitution!

I have not yet had sufficient leisure to call upon Mr. Hannegan, our Minister; nor have I seen Mr. Bodisco.

I have the honor to be,

Faithfully, your Ob't S.V.t.

A. Dudley Mann.

(No copy taken.)

N. Num's N: 2.

Proclamation

of the Master of the Ordnance Haynau. —

To the inhabitants of Ofen and Pesth!

After a number of victories, which the Imperial Royal arms, engaged in a just cause, have obtained over those of the traitors, we are again among you; Austria's old banners are again floating above your battlements. But a change has taken place in our feelings, since we left you a short time ago. Actuated by your conduct towards us, we would have then reposed confidence in you, notwithstanding your former outrages, and would have considered you incapable of ever again arraying yourselves faithlessly against us as enemies. You have, with the exception of a few, bitterly deceived us, and we can therefore, scarcely credit the assurances of your peaceful intentions. Although the greater majority of you are Germans by language and by habit, yet, led on by a rascally hero of words, you have participated in the chimerical project of forming a Hungarian Republic. A part of the blood of the noble Kentzi and of his brave companions in arms

falls upon your heads. You helped to stir up the fanatic fire which consumed him in his loyalty towards his Emperor. You have persecuted your well-intentioned fellow-citizens, and many of them, together with soldiers of the Emperor who had fallen into your hands you shamefully murdered. I might avenge them by the destruction of yourselves and of your cities, but I conform to the magnanimity of my Emperor and Master; hearken, however, to the voice of an old soldier, who has shown how he keeps his word. - ✕ Death will be visited, without regard to condition or sex, without delay, and on the spot where the deed is committed. Upon every one 1° who attempts to afsist the cause of the rebels by word or deed, or by wearing revolutionary emblems; 2° who dares to insult, by word or deed one of my soldiers, or one of the soldiers of my brave allies; 3° who enters into treasonable connexions with the enemies of the crown, and who attempts to kindle the spark of rebellion by malignant reports; 4° who dares to secrete arms, as was unfortunately formerly the case, and does not deliver them during the space of time appointed by another Proclamation of mine. ✕✕ But on the other hand I promise my protection to the well-intentioned

citizen, who freely exposes his honest way of thinking, to the peaceful peasant and to their property, and our good Emperor and Master will relieve the heavy burden, which these times, so pregnant with important events, has imposed upon them. –

Haynau.

Pesth 19th July, 1849.

Rec'd 14 Sept. 49.

Mr Barker

No. 3.

Mr Wheeler

Vienna, August 8, 1849.

Sir: —

The opinions which I expressed in my No. 2, written at Berlin on the 28th, respecting the failure of the military plans of the Czar for speedily obliterating the nationality of Hungary, are now substantially confirmed. — The Magyars have again been eminently victorious in the West, — within eighty miles of this place — in the very region where the Imperialists considered themselves most secure! ++

When Görgey performed the daring exploit, of hewing with his sword a passage through the solid mass of invading troops, in his march to the North, it was generally believed that but a small number of men were left behind him for the defence of Komorn. This impression, in the absence of any information on the subject, was the more reasonable, inasmuch as Komorn from its strength and location was easy of protection, while a large army would necessarily rapidly consume its supplies without accomplishing any valuable end. An attempt at the storming of this fortress, as desirable as was the possession of it, seems not to have been contemplated: It was to be reduced

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Secretary of State.
Washington.

to capitulation by siege; and, accordingly, it was beleaguered, as was confidently believed, by an adequate force for the preven= tion of communication between it and the adjacent coun= try. But, when least expected, about 20,000 Magyars issued from it — attacked the besiegers — put those who were not left upon the field to flight — captured Raab, a large town in the vicinity — took possession of 1000 oxen, belonging to the enemy, and other articles of subsistence, to= gether with arms, ammunition, &c. The result of this bril= liant achievement, this masterly ruse de guerre, casts for the moment, an indescribable gloom over the Imperial cause. It is even apprehended, such is the existing terror inspired by the name of Görgey, that a descent will be made upon Vienna. — Komorn, I may remark, bears the appellation of "Virgin Fortress," from the circumstance of its never hav= ing surrendered. It is situated at the lower extremi= ity of Great Schütt Island, about mid-way between Press= burg and Pesth, and commands the Danube at that point. It is to the West what Peterwardein is to the South, and the acquisition of such vast supplies, so late in the season, places it, in all probability, beyond the conquest of the in= vaders during this year's campaign.

The Vienna journals, without an exception, have from the commencement, under-stated the magnitude of the

disasters experienced by the Imperialists and misrepresented the nature of operations generally in Hungary. None of the reports published over the signatures of Imperial officers are full and explicit: The authors of them appear to have studiously endeavored, by ambiguous expressions, to veil important facts from public view. The Presse, in its leader of yesterday, speaks distinctly enough concerning the victory at Komorn. "The most disagreeable intelligence "which we have yet received from Hungary," it remarks, "is contained in an extra of the Vienna Gazette of yesterday evening, to the effect that a corps d'armée of the Magyars suddenly marched from Komorn, commenced operations in the open field, surprised Gönyö, and is said to have captured Raab, and to have driven our troops back upon Wesselburg. . . . . It appears that the garrison of Komorn was much stronger than Haynau supposed it to be. . . It is difficult to comprehend, how the commanding General of an army should have been so destitute of correct information with regard to the strength of his enemy, even if withdrawn from his immediate observation by the ramparts of a fortress, as was the case in this instance. . . . . With respect to the operations of the Imperial Russian troops we think that more concentration and combination with the movements of our own, were necessary

in the interest of success. In our opinion, General Haynau should not have thought of hurrying off to assist Ban in the South before he prevented Görgey, cost what it might, from breaking through the ranks of the Russians or rather from crossing the numerous Russian Corps, stationed [échelonnés] here and there along the banks of the Theiss to the astonishment of the military world! Yes, the best plan was, perhaps, for General Field Marshal Paskewitsch to have undertaken the operations towards the South, and for Haynau to have confined himself to the continuance of hostilities before Komorn, and to the protection of the metropolis. It was the duty of the latter to make propositions and offers to this effect: He had the power to do so through the Ministry. A plan of co-operation, well traced, and carried out with energy by both parties, might have prevented what has happened."

The sentiments and views thus expressed are, doubtlessly, those entertained by the Austrian government as they assuredly are those of intelligent individuals in private circles. The Presse, it is true, is not the organ of the Ministry, but, nevertheless, it would not, with the restraints upon its freedom, venture to give utterance to opinions upon such a delicate subject, at so momentous a period, which were not strictly in accordance with

the opinions of the Cabinet. If I am correct in this sup=
position - there is virtually a condemnation on the part of
Austria of the plans, under which the operations of the in=
vading forces have been conducted, and the Czar is charge=
able with the blunders which have been committed, as well
as reprovachable for the inefficiency of his 100,000 soldiers,
(under the command of Prince Paskiewitsch) in enforcing
— "to the retrenchment of the military world" — with the move=
ments of Görgey! — It is more than insinuated that the
ordinary fortunes of war, in view of the concentration
of such an immense number of heavy and thoroughly dis=
ciplined troops in a comparatively small space, have had
no hand in the repeated reverses of the invaders. It
is even whispered that Nicholas is acting faithlessly
with his engagements to Francis Joseph: That he has
deluded him by false professions in order the more surely
to effectuate the definitive and early dismemberment
of his Empire: That his covert design is the extinction
of his embraces to the 16,000,000 inhabitants of the Slavic
race within the confines of Austria: And that this
purpose could not be perfected if he were to succeed in
winning back Hungary to the House of Hapsburgh-Lorraine.

I give no indulgence to such notions as those
which attribute the discomfiture of the Imperial arms,

to the treachery of the Autocrat. On the contrary I am quite convinced, that a more resolute, a more ferocious, a more positive life or death war, never was waged than that waged by Russia against the Magyars, and I am not sufficiently charitable to cover the disgrace attendant upon the prosecution of it, with the alleged perfidy of Nicholas. Were I disposed to take this view of the matter I should be deplorably wanting in justice to that more than Spartan people whose prowess, whose skill, whose patriotism, and whose indomitable energy cause rational liberty in Continental Europe to smile and to hope, and despotism to frown and to despond.

That the aggrandizement of Sclavic territory and the subsequent practical establishment of Panslavism are important considerations with the Czar can scarcely be questioned. The Sclavic population in Austria perceive day by day additional benefits in the tenets of civilization, and, in fact, may be considered as making rapid advances in the line of intellectual progress. If the spirit which from his ingress for truth and light be not subdued, it will imperceptibly force its way to the more benighted Sclaves in the very heart of Russia, and endanger if not undermine the colossal Throne. It

is natural to presume that the Autocrat is desirous of fortifying himself against the threatening peril, and that no alternative is left him but to endeavor to shut out the rays of knowledge, proceeding from the more enlightened states which penetrate and expand the Sclavic mind.

But Nicholas in his imbridled ambition has aspirations, I fear, which stretch far beyond the frontiers of Austria and the taming of the Sclaves to bondage. Were he influenced exclusively by a laudable observance of nature's first law — cruel as his system — his aggressions, however they might shock the senses, would not amount to flagrant outrages on humanity. — Peter the Great in order to stimulate his successors to a faithful execution of the principles of unlimited absolutism, and to deeds of rapacity upon feebler states, bequeathed them as a legacy the following words: —

"I found Russia a rivulet: I leave it a "river: My successors will make it a great ocean, "destined to fertilize Europe."

In the face of all that is transpiring on the Continent, there is something startling to a votary of liberty in this remarkable prophecy of a century and a half ago, — realized as it has been in part by an augmentation of the "river" to an ocean-like magnitude.

There are many melancholy evidences that the remainder of it is in the course of fulfilment. I shall not exaggerate when I state that at this moment, millions of the friends of monarchical government, in France, Germany, and elsewhere, are advocating the Russian system, the interminable siege system, the bayonet ruling system; thus desiring the immediate fertilization of Europe by the creation of such an ocean as was contemplated by the first "emperor of all the Russias." — The Czar is encouraged to persevere: finding allies in powers, and sympathies with people who, until recently, regarded him as their natural and unrelenting enemy. That the government of France is prepared to adopt his policy in its extreme rigor, in many respects, I have all along believed since the intervention at Rome. This is now pretty distinctly foreshadowed in a Vienna journal, of to-day. It says: —

"It is a fact worthy of remark that Prince Schwarz-
"enberg arrived at Warsaw nearly simultaneously with Lamor-
"ciève, Minister of the French Republic. The first meeting of the representative of a State which forms the incarnate principle of revolution with a man who in his person concentrates the strict monarchical system must be a singular one. The French volcano is certainly nearly extinguished; and from a report which has been circulating for some time in diplomatic circles, it is more than probable that the entente

"cordiale which now exists between the Cabinets of St. Petersburg,
"Vienna, and Paris may be the origin of a closer alliance.
"The most important interests of those powers are confined to Ger-
"many; the land of the songster, who according to his song —
"'Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland" — is in search of his country."

If the "closer alliance" be perfected, Germany will cease to exist even in name. A liberty stifling Prussia will be made more potent for evil by the absorption of the other and more generous states. This accomplished, France Austria, and Prussia, as far as concerns the performance of a conspicuous part in the affairs of the world, will be as powerless as pilot boats in tow of a 120 gun ship.

All now depends upon Hungary; and, notwithstanding, her recent glorious victories, it is expecting almost too much, — if too much can be expected. Particularly after a recurrence to the history of our own struggles) of a magnanimous people resolved upon absolving their allegiance to an oppressive Crown, — to calculate on their overcoming the odds arrayed against them. Peace has just been definitively ratified between Austria and Sardinia, and a considerable part of the army of Radetzki is to be forthwith transferred to Hungary, which will increase the chances in favor of the invaders. In three months, if the Magyars can hold out so long, the con-

text will assume an aspect adverse to their enemies. A second year's invading campaign could not, it is supposed, be undertaken. Neither the finances of Austria nor of Russia will admit of it: Nor can either contract loans if this year's operations terminate unsuccessfully. The currency of the former at present is twenty per cent. below par, with a downward tendency. Under such circumstances, and with an overwhelming public debt that may possibly be dishonored, borrowing is out of the question. — Moreover, if Hungary be not conquered before winter Great-Britain, and perhaps other powers, will recognize her; while the people of France and Germany will make such a demonstration of their sympathies, as will upset the governments of Paris, Berlin, &c. if they continue to look on the cause of the Magyars with indifference. — Again, the Croats may desert the standard of their leader, of which there are indications. It is rumored that they have refused to accept the Imperial Constitution of the 4th of March, in conformity with a Proclamation of the Ban. Bohemia too is represented to be in a state of intestine commotion, dissatisfied with the Pacta. This may operate to the advantage of the Magyars by strengthening their position back of Peterwardein.

Great-Britain has a government interest, commercial and political, in the success of the Hungarian cause: She seems not to have awakened to a sense of it, however, until just before the adjournment of Parliament. It is believed that she is now endeavoring to negotiate here and at Warsaw for a suspension of hostilities, and she may possibly be in communication, informally, with Kossuth. The government mistook its policy in not opposing, at the first, the intervention of Russia: But I will recur to this subject in a future number.

The Hungarian government had removed, as reported by the last accounts, to Grossewardein, — a strong fortification on the left side of the Theiss, not far from the centre of the territory. Dembinski was there with an army of 50.000 men.

I have not yet examined the correspondence of the Legation. Mr. Stiles started a few days before my arrival on a tour through Tyrol and Switzerland to Paris, and will not return before the 1st of September. I arrived on the 30th. — I have the honor to be, Sir. &c.

Most Faithfully,

Your Ob't. S'v't.

A. Dudley Mann.

[Forwarded by British Courier to London. — No copy taken.]

No. 3. A. D. Mann. Vienna. 8 Aug. 1862

Rec'd 14 Sept. 49.

R. Mackee.

No. 4.

Vienna, August 17, 1849.

Sir; —

A telegraphic despatch, just received from Hayneau, announces that Görgey, with his army of 30,000 or 40,000 men, laid down his arms on the 13th inst., at Vilagos, an interior town, near Arad. No details are given nor will any probably, be received here, in an authentic form, before to-morrow. It is understood however, that the surrender was made to a Russian General.

Within the last week the Magyars experienced several reverses in engagements with Haynau, which perhaps, counterbalance the recent advantages obtained by them at Komorn. Should the intelligence respecting Görgey, be confirmed hostilities can scarcely fail to terminate, at an early day, adversely to Hungarian independence.

A rumor originating either in the "London Post" or "Augsburg Gazette," is currently circulated here, that the President of the U. S. had formally received a Minister from the Government of Kossuth. Fortunately your Note to Mr. L. B. Breisach, under date of June 25, as contained in the American newspapers, was received yesterday

Hon. John M. Clayton.
Secretary of State.
Washington.

and will place the matter before the public in its true light.—
The uniform policy of our government with respect to the recog=
nition of Foreign states, so succinctly explained in this Note, can=
not fail to impress all concerned in the question of Hungary, as
eminently just and proper.

I transmit this by mail to our respectable Agent
in London, and I trust it will arrive in time for the Liverpool
steamer of the 25th.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c

Most Faithfully,

Your Ob't. S'v't,

A. Dudley Mann.

No. 4. A. D. Mann. Vienna. 17 aug. 1849

Rec'd 14 Sept. 49.

No. 5.

Vienna, August 24, 1849.

Sir: —

The surrender of Görgey, according to the Report of Paskewitsch to the Czar, was unconditional. ** Not a paragraph relative to this momentous occurrence has yet been published by order of the Austrian government. Detailed official accounts, however, were received here this morning from Warsaw, where they appeared in the "Gouvernement" of the 18th, inst. The following is a translation of the Report of Paskewitsch: —

"Hungary lies at the feet of your Imperial Majesty! The government of the insurgents in its act of dissolution transferred all power to Görgey, who, unconditionally, surrendered to the Russian army. The other insurgent commanders will undoubtedly follow his example: The Officers sent by Görgey to me to negotiate a capitulation appeared to be willing to proceed to them with commissioners from our army, or from that of Austria, to endeavor to occasion a discontinuance of hostilities.

"I am most fortunate in being enabled to report to your Imperial Majesty, that the only request made of me by Görgey, was for the enjoyment of the privilege of surrendering to your army.

"I have made suitable arrangements for having the

"Hon. John M. Clayton.
Secretary of State.
Washington.

troops of Görgey surrounded by the corps of Gen. Rüdiger, to which the disarming of it is confided.

"With regard to the delivery of the prisoners, and the arrangements for the other insurgents who may lay down their arms, I will advise with the commander-in-chief of the Austrian army. I have had Görgey brought to my head-quarters, where he shall remain until I receive further orders from your Imperial Majesty."

+ It seems to be pretty well authenticated that a Hungarian war council was held at Arad on the 11th August, in which all the members of the government participated: That at the commencement of its deliberations Görgey expressed a belief that recent reverses left no alternative to the Magyars but an abandonment of the cause for which they were struggling: That Kossuth, giving utterance to opinions diametrically opposite, was overruled by a considerable majority, and bowing to the will of that majority, immediately, by public proclamation, notified his countrymen that his official life was terminated, inasmuch as Görgey had been chosen Dictator: And that the first use Gorgey made of the authority conferred upon him was to place Hungary "at the feet of his Imperial Majesty," the Emperor of all the Russias. ++

The remark of the "Presse", made at the time the news from Villagos was Gazetted, that, "We are at a loss which to admire most the Military or Diplomatic skill" of "Gen. Paskiewitsch" has become quite proverbial. It receives additional point from the fact that

Hungary, as Reported by the Prince, is favorable before the Czar, and that the only condition required, in the communication of this deed, was an exclusive surrender to the Russian army!

+Kossuth, it is stated, started the same day that he was divested of his authority, to Orsova in Turkey. Whether in future he is to play a great role in the management of the affairs of Eastern Europe, the Almighty in His wisdom must determine. Görgey will, assuredly, be placed in a high military position either in the Russian or Austrian service, as it is admitted, on all sides, that his professional talents are of a very superior order. All will depend, as regards the army which he is to bear hereafter, upon the position or disposition — as a whole — of Hungary. — Between Kossuth and Görgey, in political sentiment, there was never any sympathy. The latter was an uncompromising monarchist, as is distinctly seen in recent developments. Under the mask of national independence he fought for individual glory; not for liberal government. Consequently he was the idol of the Magyar nobility, and in the war council the nobility prevailed. Kossuth, after the capture of Pesth, lost all control over the movements of Görgey and, therefore, suspected his loyalty, — communicating his suspicions to Bem. xx

The Reports of Haynau and Paskiewitsch — the former to the Austrian and the latter to the Russian Em-

No. 5. A. D. Mann, Vienna - 24 Aug. 1849

favor — relative to the victories at Világos, Aved, &c., have this moment made their appearance. I regret that I have not time, before the last post for the steamer starts, to favorize you with a translation of them. I send herewith the evening edition of the Presse containing them. It will be seen that Haynau claims for the Austrians the glory of hazarding the war to a close.

The Augsburg Gazette, and other papers, contain a translation of your note upon the subject of the recognition of Hungary. — I have the honor to be, Yr Yr

Most Faithfully,

Your Ob't. S'v't.

A. Dudley Mann.

N°. 75. Wien, Freitag den 24. August 1849.

Abendblatt der Presse.

Jedes einzelne Blatt kostet 1 kr. C. M.

Wien.

Gestern Abend ging das nachstehende Armee-Bulletin hier ein:

Mit der siegreichen Schlacht bei Temesvar am 9. August wurde nicht nur der Entsatz dieser Festung unmittelbar bewirkt, sondern dem Insurrektions-Heere auch eine solche Niederlage beigebracht, daß es zu einem fernern geordneten Widerstande in größeren Massen durchaus unfähig ist.

Auf dem fluchtartigen Rückzuge des Feindes von Temesvar nach Lugos ließ er eine Masse von Gewehren, Ausrüstungsstücken, viele Munitionskarren, Geschütze, endlich Tausende von Nachzüglern in den Händen der Verfolger.

Die Zahl der Gefangenen und Ueberläufer seit der Schlacht von Szöreg am 5. August beläuft sich bereits auf 18000.

Eine gleiche Zahl hat die Waffen abgelegt und eilt der Heimath zu, so daß die Infanterie des feindlichen Heeres aufgelöst ist.

Görgey, welcher mit seinem Korps durch die Schnelligkeit seiner Bewegungen der 1. russischen Armee an der obern Theiß zu entkommen wußte, war über Debrezin, wo seine Arrieregarde von den Russen in die Flucht gejagt wurde, über Großwardein bei Arad angekommen, um sich mit der magyarischen Südarmee zu vereinigen.

Schon glaubte er der Gefahr entronnen und die Vereinigung erzielt; allein die österreichische Donau-Armee hatte bereits Temesvar entsetzt und Arad am linken Marosufer bedroht.

Görgey kam zu spät; denn am 10. August Vormittags traf FML. Graf Schlick mit einem Theile seines Armeekorps unweit Arad auf die 8—10,000 Mann starke Avantgarde Görgey's, welche eben debouchiren wollte, und warf sie mit großem Verluste nach Arad zurück.

Görgey suchte hierauf den Weg über Radna an der Maros, wo er eine Brücke schlug, um über Lippa nach Lugos zu entkommen. Ich hatte jedoch in der Voraussicht bereits eine Kolonne nach Lippa dirigirt, welche die eben anlangende Avantgarde des Feindes sogleich über den Fluß zurückwarf, worauf dieser die Brücke abbrannte.

Diese letzteren Manövers entschieden; denn nun blieb Görgey kein Ausweg mehr übrig: von Großwardein her das ihm auf dem Fuße folgende Korps des k. russischen General der Kavallerie, Grafen Rüdiger, von Siebenbürgen her die Avantgarde der verbündeten Armee bei Deva, wo das Schloß in die Luft gesprengt und eine große Anzahl Insurgenten vernichtet wurde, endlich am linken Marosufer die k. österr. Donauarmee. So von allen Seiten umschlossen, streckte Görgey mit seinem ganzen Korps, welches zwar auf 25,000 Mann herabgeschmolzen war, aber noch immer 144 Geschütze zählte, am 13. d. M. bei Vilagos die Waffen.

In Folge dessen hat sich auch die Festung Arad am 17. August auf Gnade und Ungnade ergeben.

Die österreichische Armee jubelt, daß sie es ist, welche den Feind in 6 Schlachten bis zur Vernichtung besiegt und nun auch die Unterwerfung des Görgey'schen Korps und der Festung Arad entschieden hat.

Gleich nach dem Entsatz von Temesvar ließ ich das fliehende Heer, welches Bem geführt hatte, mit dem dritten Korps, dem Reservekorps und der Kavallerie-Division Wallmoden verfolgen. Nach einigen schwachen Versuchen des Widerstandes wurde Lugos von uns eingenommen und die fast aufgelösten feindlichen Haufen werden in den Richtungen über Facset und Karansebes unablässig verfolgt.

Schon die Theilung des Rückzuges in zwei divergirenden Linien beweist die Uneinigkeit und Verwirrung der Insurgentenführer.

Aller Orten werden Waffen und Ausrüstungsgegenstände gefunden, welche die sich zerstreuenden Schaaren wegwarfen; von den Geschützen, welche sie nicht mehr fortschleppen können, wurden die Lafetten verbrannt und die Röhre liegen gelassen.

Ein aufgefundenes Schreiben Kossuth's gibt die magyarische Sache schon zu einer Zeit unrettbar verloren, als ihm die Unterwerfung des Görgey'schen Korps noch nicht bekannt war.

Bei der raschen Verfolgung des Feindes fielen unermeßliche Vorräthe an Montur- und Ausrüstungsgegenständen, an Munition ꝛc., im Werthe von Millionen in unsere Hände. Der Finanzminister der provisorischen Regierung, Duschek, stellte sich selbst, und überlieferte einen bedeutenden Schatz an ungeprägtem Gold und Silber.

Am 16. vereinigte sich die Südarmee des Feldzeugmeisters, Ban von Kroatien, Baron Jellachich, bei Ujpecs nächst Temesvar mit der Donauarmee.

Das blutige Drama ist zu Ende, und es mag als eine glückliche Vorbedeutung gelten, daß eben heute, am Geburtsfeste unseres allergnädigsten Monarchen, die Gewißheit hievon und die Verheißung des Friedens verkündet werden kann.

Temesvar am 18. August 1849.

Baron Haynau m. p.
Feldzeugmeister und Armee-Oberkommandant.

Wir können uns nicht versagen, auf die Zusammenstellung der Operationen in unserm Abendblatte vom 20. d. M. zu verweisen, deren Richtigkeit nunmehr durch das Bulletin überall bekräftigt und bestätigt wird, wie wir auch in unserm heutigen Morgenblatte richtig darauf aufmerksam machten, daß der Sieg der österreichischen Waffen bei Temesvar das Schicksal der Insurrektion entschieden habe.

Als ein Dokument von historischem Werthe lassen wir das in Warschau am 20. d. M. erschienene 19te russische Armee-Bulletin folgen:

„Der General-Feldmarschall Fürst Paskiewicz berichtet aus seinem Hauptquartier Beretti-Ujfalu, den 14ten, daß die magyarische Armee unter Görgey am 13ten vor dem Armeekorps des General Rüdiger die Waffen gestreckt habe. Görgey war zufolge der mit dem General getroffenen Uebereinkunft mit seinem Korps aus Arad gezogen, ging nach Szellosz, wo er die Waffen niederlegen sollte. Gleichzeitig ließ General Rüdiger seine Kavallerie aus Szimendy und seine Infanterie aus Kisz-Imo nach Szellosz marschiren. — Am 13. Mittags näherte sich Görgey, umgeben von seinem Stabe, an der Spitze seiner Kolonne den russischen Truppen, die in voller Schlachtordnung standen. Er versicherte nochmals dem General Rüdiger, daß er sich unbedingt ergebe; nur bat er den General, er möge beim Fürsten Paskiewicz um gnädigen Schutz für ihn nachsuchen. Darauf ließ Görgey seine Armee in Reih und Glied aufstellen, und um 4 Uhr Nachmittags streckten die Magyaren in folgender Art die Waffen: In zwei Gliedern standen sie auf den Feldern bei Szellosz, in dichten Kolonnen; die Infanterie in erster Linie, die Artillerie in zweiter; auf beiden Flügeln die Kavallerie. Die Infanterie präsentirte das Gewehr, legte darauf die Gewehre nieder nebst Patrontasche, die Kavallerie saß ab und hängte die Säbel an die Sattel. Darauf traten alle Soldaten aus den Gliedern und zogen unter Eskorte von drei Regimentern in die Stadt Zarand. Die Artillerie nebst Aerar-Bagage wurde von einem russischen Regiment fortgeschafft; das Jeleckische Infanterie-Regiment erhielt den Befehl, sämmtliche Waffen nach Großwardein abzuführen. Die Anzahl der Magyaren, welche die Waffen streckten, betrug 20,000 Mann Infanterie unter 11 Generalen, etwa 2000 Kavalleristen, nebst 130 Kanonen. — Görgey, als er sich den Russen näherte, rief: „Was könnte man nicht alles mit solchen Truppen unternehmen und durchführen." Auch versicherte Görgey nochmals seine Bereitwilligkeit, alle noch übrigen Heeresabtheilungen zur Niederlegung der Waffen zu bewegen. — Kaum hatte Görgey's Korps die Waffen gestreckt, so erschienen vor dem General Rüdiger zwei Parlamentäre aus der Festung Arad, welche vom Kommandanten Damianowicz und sämmtl. Offizieren die Vollmacht hatten, die Festung den Russen zu übergeben. Am 14ten marschirten die Truppen Rüdigers in ihre vorigen Standquartiere zurück. Die Vorhut nach Szimaeli, und das Hauptkorps nach Kisz-Imo, wo sie die weiteren Befehle des Fürsten Paskiewicz abwarten. — Das Korps Görgey's ist von drei Regimentern leichter Kavallerie und 200 Kosaken unter dem Befehl des Generaladjutanten Anrep nach Großwardein eskortirt worden."

Zur Feier der Siege in Ungarn fand übrigens am 19ten wieder eine große kirchliche Feier und Parade sämmtlicher hiesiger Truppen auf den Feldern hinter Powonski statt. — Anwesend waren der Kaiser, der Großfürst Michael, der Reichskanzler Graf Nesselrode, der französische, österreichische und preußische Gesandte, alle fremden in Warschau anwesenden Offiziere, die Fürstin Paskiewicz nebst ihrer Tochter, der Prinzessin Anastasia, und die Gemahlin des General Lamoricière, die Mitglieder des Reichsrathes, alle Militär- und Civil-Behörden und sämmtliche Schüler der Gymnasien und Kreisschulen mit ihren Lehrern. Als das Te Deum abgesungen wurde, ertönten 101 Geschützsalven — Abends war das königl. Schloß Lazienki prachtvoll illuminirt.

— Zur Ergänzung des Armeebulletins des F.Z.M. Haynau entnehmen wir einer in Pest vom 20. veröffentlichten Kundmachung des F.M.L. und Militär-Distriktskommandanten Kempen folgende Stellen: Bei dem Görgey'schen Heere, welches am 13. die Waffen streckte, befanden sich die Führer Kiß, Pöltenberg, Schweidel, Nagy Sandor, Aulich, Leiningen, Lenkey, Vetter und mehrere Andere.

Ein ergreifender Moment war die Rückkehr von 630 Kanonieren des 5. Artillerie-Regiments, welche beim Ausbruche der Revolution in verschiedenen Garnisonen Ungarns von den Insurgenten gefangen gesetzt wurden. Zuerst verführerische Ueberredungen und Bestechungsversuche, und als diese an dem Pflichtgefühle der Mannschaft scheiterten, Mißhandlungen der härtesten Art, Einkerkerung im strengsten Winter, wochenlange Entziehung jeder andern Nahrung als Brod und Wasser, selbst die Anwendung von schwerer Tracht Stockstreichen, endlich die Bedrohung mit dem Tode, welche sich die gereizte Wuth der Rebellenregierung oder ihrer Werkzeuge gegen diese braven Soldaten erlaubten, konnten die Treue derselben nicht erschüttern, und sie verleiten, gegen den Kaiser und ihre Waffenbrüder zu fechten.

Der wackere Hauptmann Wilsdorf theilte freiwillig mit der braven Schaar das drückende Loos schmachvoller Gefangenschaft, und wußte, selbst gefochtet, und in völliger Unkenntniß über den Zustand der Dinge im Vaterlande, den Muth seiner unglücklichen Waffenbrüder aufrecht zu erhalten.

Diese würdige Truppe gebührend zu ehren, empfing sie selbst der Armee-Oberkommandant auf dem Platze ihrer Aufstellung mit einer herzlichen Ansprache, worin er die Braven begrüßend, ihre Bewährlichkeit in der schönsten Kriegstugend, der Treue, belobend hervorhob, und ihnen im Namen des geliebten Monarchen dafür den Dank ausdrückte.

Mit gerührtem Herzen wurden die Wackern sodann von ihren Waffenbrüdern und Befreiern empfangen.

Nahe an 8000 Mann Gefangene und Ueberläufer wurden in den letzten Tagen eingebracht; die Muthlosigkeit und Demoralisation ist in den Rebellenhorden derart eingerissen, daß sie haufenweise ihre Waffen wegwerfen und sich ergeben, oder nach allen Richtungen zerstreuen.

Das Korps unter dem Rebellenführer Guyon, welches in seiner Verblendung noch beharrte, wird vom dritten und vom Reservekorps in den Richtungen gegen Facset und Karansebes lebhaft verfolgt.

Bemerkenswerth ist es übrigens, daß die Rebellen, von Gewissensbissen und von Furcht getrieben, auf jede Weise trachten, sich den kais. russischen Truppen zu ergeben.

Den Werth des mit dem Finanzminister Duschek eingebrachten ungeprägten Gold- und Silbervorrathes gibt FML. Kempen auf eine halbe Million Gulden an.

— * Der „Pester Ztg." vom 20. d. M. entlehnen wir folgende Notizen: Gestern war hier allgemein das Gerücht verbreitet, Kossuth sei mit 14 Wagen an der wallachischen Grenze angehalten und gefangen genommen worden. Bis jetzt ist noch keine Bestätigung dieses Gerüchtes erfolgt, doch hören wir, daß Sonnabends vor acht Tagen Kossuth in drei Wagen, angeblich mit Bukovics, Horváth und Csányi, durch Lippa fahrend, gesehen wurde.

Ueber die Schicksale der Banknotenfabrik der Insurgenten erfahren wir: Die Pressen waren zuerst in Szegedin aufgestellt worden und daselbst

durch drei Wochen thätig. Ueber den Totalbetrag der in dieser Zeit fabrizirten Kossuthzettel differiren die Angaben, indem derselbe von Einigen auf acht, von Anderen nur auf eine Million Gulden angeschlagen wird. Von Szegedin wurden die Pressen nach Arad übersiedelt, wo sie jedoch nur durch zwei Tage arbeiten konnten, und dann in Folge der Kriegsereignisse nach Lugos wandern mußten, wo sie jedoch gar nicht mehr aufgestellt werden konnten, sondern bald darauf nach Lippa und von da nach Világos gebracht wurden, wo sie den kaiserlich russischen Truppen in die Hände fielen. Das Arbeiterpersonal hatte sich zerstreut, nachdem es eine sechswöchentliche Vorausbezahlung, und zwar zu einem Drittheil in ungarischem Papiergeld, zu zwei Dritteln in Silbergeld erhalten hatte.

Die Pester Ztg. entnimmt ferner dem Siebenbürger Boten folgenden interessanten Tagesbefehl Bem's, aus dem ersichtlich, wie er seine Noth mit den Szeklertruppen hatte, die nicht nur vor den Russen ausrissen, sondern sich auch damals schon geweigert haben mögen, ihm auf seinen Kreuz- und Querzügen zu folgen, wie aus den Zureden und Vorstellungen, mit denen er ihnen zu Leibe geht, geschlossen werden darf:

Das Kriegsgericht, welches zu dem Ende ernannt wurde, um über diejenigen zu richten, welche am 27. und 28. Juni ihre Fahnen, ihren Feldherrn, ihre Kommandanten und Kameraden durch ihre schändliche Flucht vom Schlachtfelde verlassen haben, ist so ausgefallen, daß ich entweder Massen von Szeklern müßte erschießen oder zu Hunderten prügeln lassen. Das Erstere will ich nicht, weil ich glaube, daß die dem Schrecken Unterlegenen dem Vaterlande und der Freiheit noch gute Dienste werden leisten können, wenn sie ihre weltliche Furcht besiegt haben und zu sich gekommen sind; und das Zweite nicht, weil ich Euch nicht wie das Vieh behandelt wissen will. Ich habe demnach beschlossen, diesmal noch Gnade für Recht ergehen zu lassen und allen am 27. und 28. flüchtig gewordenen Honveds zu verzeihen. Bei dieser Gelegenheit kann ich nicht umhin, die Szekler, welche mit mir so manches Feuer ruhmvoll bestanden haben, darauf aufmerksam zu machen, daß sie überall für ihr Vaterland, für ihre und der Ihrigen Freiheit kämpfen, wo sie den Russen entgegenstehen. Würde der Russe hier ins Land gelassen, so ist sein erster Weg nach dem Maroschr Stuhl, nach der Gyergyo, Csik und Haromszek, so wie umgekehrt, wenn er nach Haromszek hineingelassen werden möchte; darum kämpfen wir auch hier wie dort gegen denselben Feind. Wir müssen ihn hier besiegen, wenn wir unsere Lieben in Haromszek geschützt wissen, wenn wir aus freien Menschen nicht Jobbagyen werden wollen. Wir müssen ihn hier vor allem festhalten, denn nach Haromszek marschieren bereits Andere von unseren Kolonnen, um ihn dort zu vernichten. Ferner muß ich Euch sagen, daß Ihr von der Kavallerie gerade dann nur besiegt und zusammengehauen werden könnt, wenn Ihr Euch zerstreut. Während jeder Einzelne verloren ist, ist die Masse unbezwingbar, besonders da Ihr wißt, daß ich mit den Kanonen nicht von Euch weiche. Bleibt also beisammen, bleibt bei mir, so lange ich lebe, und keine Macht der Erde wird uns besiegen. Bald werdet Ihr Euere Väter, bald Euere Weiber und Brüder sehen; als Sieger und freie Männer werdet Ihr sie sehen, hütet Euch also, daß nicht Manchem unter Euch der Vorwurf der Feigheit gemacht, und daß diese Schmach, wie bei den alten Ungarn, nicht auf Euere Kinder und Kindes-Kinder greift werde. Seid und bleibt tapfere Szekler bis zu Euerem letzten Athemzuge, denn es gilt hier nicht nur Euch durch Euere Tapferkeit von der russischen Knutenherrschaft zu befreien, sondern auch die Ehre der Nation zu retten, welche Euere Urahnen durch mehr als 1400 Jahre in Europa bewahrt haben. Seid Euerer Abstammung von den heldenmüthigen Hunnen und Eueres großen Königs Attila würdig.

Hauptquartier Bistritz, 5. Juli 1848.

J. Bem, Feldmarschall-Lieutenant.

—* Soeben kommen uns zwei Nummern des Siebenbürger Boten vom 8. und 10. August zu. Die Redaktion klagt über die furchtbaren Verwüstungen, welche die Insurgenten angerichtet, so daß jetzt keine zureichenden Mittel der Verpflegung sich fänden. Nahe an 2000 Proviantwägen sind vom Feinde mitgenommen worden; die wenigen Fuhrleute, welche zurückkehrten, kommen blos mit der Peitsche in der Hand. Es wird ferner darüber geklagt, daß der vom General Hasford gestellte Antrag, die Hermannstädter Bürger am 3. August, nämlich an jenem Tage, wo die Magyaren sich auf 24 Stunden der Stadt bemächtigten, zum Schutze derselben und zur Bewachung der magyarischen Gefangenen zu bewaffnen, auf Schwierigkeiten gestoßen sei.

Die dortige Nationalgarde sei nicht aufgelöst, sondern deren Reorganisirung bereits anbefohlen. Vielleicht hätte diese Bewaffnung das Unglück am 5. d. verhütet. Es ward behauptet am selben Tage sei bei dem ausgebrochenen Straßenkampfe aus mehreren Wohnhäusern auf die kais. russischen Truppen geschossen worden. Es fanden mehrere Verhaftungen statt. Einige ängstliche Gemüther sollen sogar die magyarische Fahne ausgesteckt haben. Das gab zu zahlreichen Verdächtigungen Anlaß. In Nr. 10 erklärt sich die Redaktion von hoher Hand ermächtigt zu versichern, daß das russische Offizierkorps die Ueberzeugung gewonnen habe, daß während des mörderischen Straßenkampfes von keinem Hermannstädter Sachsen auf die Russen gefeuert worden sei.

—* Aus Preßburg schreibt man uns: Die Schanzarbeiten wurden eingestellt, was zur Beruhigung des Publikums wesentlich beiträgt, da Jedermann auch jede Gefahr als vollkommen beseitigt ansieht. Der Kriegsminister hat das Kommando des Komorner Cernirungskorps an den Brigade-General Czorich wieder übertragen und ist nach Wien zurückgekehrt. Ueber die Zustände in und um Komorn ist man hier ganz im Unklaren. Wenn auch von Kapitulationsanträgen, neuen Ausfällen u. dgl. viel erzählt wird, so läuft doch das Alles auf Gerüchte hinaus, und nur einige Anzeichen sprechen dafür, daß Klapka in Komorn entschlossen ist, günstige Kapitulationsbedingungen durch einen energischen Widerstand zu gewinnen.

—* Dem Schreiben eines Romanen aus Kronstadt entnehmen wir: „Wir erwarten täglich die Ankunft des Civil- und Militär-Gouverneurs F.M.L. Wohlgemuth und des kaiserlichen Kommissärs Bach, damit sie uns aus der traurigen Lage befreien, in welche uns Oberst Dorsner gebracht hat. Treue Anhänger der Monarchie werden von ihm mit ausgesuchter Härte und Verachtung behandelt; die nach der Schlacht bei Kezdi-Vasarhely und Sz. Gyorgy gefangenen Magyaren, welche auf den öffentlichen Gassen „dem Gotte der Oesterreicher und der Russen“ fluchen, mit einer Milde und Leutseligkeit, neben der jene Härte wie eine für die Treue verhängte Strafe erscheint. Und von dieser Milde bleiben die Individuen nicht ausgeschlossen, die fest zu den Insurgenten hielten, ausgezeichnete Stellungen in den Reihen derselben einnahmen, als Präsidenten und Richter bei der Verurtheilung der Romanen, die sich den Magyaren widersetzt hatten, fungiren.

Nach der Einnahme von Kronstadt und Hermannstadt strömten die romanischen Grenzer von allen Seiten mit ihren verrosteten Waffen, welche sie während der magyarischen Invasion vergraben hatten, nach diesen Plätzen und stellten sich zur Verfügung der kaiserlichen Armee. Sie fanden nur abstoßende Verachtung. Puchner forderte im vorigen Winter das romanische Vazifikations-Komité auf, die Linien-Regimenter zu kompletiren. Auf einen Aufruf des Komité's stellten sich freiwillig mehr als 4000 romanische Jünglinge; Hr. Dorsner läßt jetzt Rekruten am Stricke fangen. In den Berichten finden die romanischen Truppen kein Wort ehrender Erwähnung, ja Janku, der mit seinen schlecht bewaffneten Schaaren das Land vertheidigte und die Festung Karlsburg seit fünf Monaten verproviantirte, wird von einem Major, berühmten Namens, öffentlich nur der „Räuberhauptmann“ genannt. Und von welchen Gefühlen müssen die Romanen bestürmt werden, wenn sie die ausschließlich an die Sachsen gerichteten Proklamationen lesen, in denen die Treue und Biederkeit derselben gerühmt, ihnen Trost zugesprochen und Hilfe zugesagt wird, während man die anderthalb Millionen Romanen vollständig ignorirt.

—* Wir erhalten die verläßliche Nachricht, daß F.M.L. Czorich nach vorgenommener großer Rekognoszirung und Entsendung starker Patrouillen in allen Richtungen die Waaggegend von Insurgenten vollkommen geräumt gefunden hat. Dieselben haben sich theils zerstreut, theils in einzelnen Abtheilungen nach Komorn geworfen.

—* Am 17. Nachmittags um 4 Uhr — schreibt uns ein Offizier aus Arad — ward die Festung Arad an die kais. Truppen übergeben. Die Magyaren schlugen selbst die Brücke. Kosaken und russische Husaren standen am Ufer. Altarad ist sehr stark mitgenommen, ein Thurm beinahe zerstört.

—* Durch den seit einigen Tagen anhaltenden heftigen Regen hat das Wasser im Wiener Donaukanale eine Höhe von 12 Schuh 7 Zoll über 0 erreicht, und ist an mehreren Orten über die Ufer getreten; auch der Wienfluß hat sich über die Ufer ergossen und mehrere Brücken, namentlich jene in Gaudenzdorf und in Weidlingau so beschädiget, daß die Passage gesperrt werden mußte. —

Mailand, 19. August. Die heutige „Gazzetta di Milano“ bringt als Fortsetzung der Verhandlungen des Ministers Bruck mit der revolutionären Regierung von Venedig, einen Brief Manin's vom 11. August, worin derselbe bittet, die abgebrochenen Unterhandlungen jetzt, wo er mit ausgedehnten Vollmachten versehen sei, wieder aufzunehmen und zu diesem Behufe die Herren Jos. Calucci, Ludwig Pasini und Georg Foscalo abermals empfangen zu wollen. Die Antwort des Herrn v. Bruck vom 14. August spricht sich dahin aus, daß nun, wo durch die nicht zu rechtfertigende Verlängerung des Widerstandes jene Uebel, welche man vermeiden wollte, herbeigeführt worden, nur von unbedingter Unterwerfung die Rede sein kann. Dessenungeachtet hat sich der F.M. Radetzky bewogen gefunden, ohne jede weitere Unterhandlung nochmals der Stadt die Bedingungen seiner Proklamation vom 4. Mai anzubieten.

Deutschland.

Rastatt, 17. August. Heute früh nach 4 Uhr wurde der alte Böning am gewöhnlichen Platze erschossen. Noch gestern Nacht hatte er durch durch den evangelischen Prediger Aufschub von 48 Stunden erbitten lassen wollen, um seine Frau noch sprechen zu können. Mit Hinblick auf den Biedenfeld'schen Fall konnte die Bitte vom Gouverneur nicht gewährt werden. Der alte Mann mochte wohl auch das Gerücht vernommen haben, daß nach Ankunft des G.-Großherzogs keine standrechtliche Exekution mehr vorgenommen werde, wie denn auch wirklich vom Kriegsministerium die Weisung kam, heute kein Urtheil zu fällen (damit nicht dessen Vollziehung mit der Feier des Einzugs zusammenfalle). Als er die Gewißheit des Todes erhalten, benahm er sich gefaßt. Die religiösen Tröstungen des Priesters lehnte er mit den Worten ab, daß er mit seinem Gewissen und seinem Gott im Reinen sei. Den Gang zur Richtstätte rauchte er, wie gewöhnlich, seine Cigarre, die Augen ließ er sich nicht verbinden, und nach den Worten: „Vater, ich komme, Dich um Rache anzurufen gegen meine Mörder!“ sank er von Schüssen durchbohrt zusammen.

Italien.

Rom, 13. August. Die Regierungs-Kommission hat heute den Herrn Cammillo Jacobini zum Minister des Handels, des Ackerbaues und der öffentlichen Arbeiten ernannt. Das Gerücht von der Krankheit des Papstes war durchaus unbegründet, der heilige Vater befindet sich vollkommen wohl. In der Hauptstadt herrscht die größte Ruhe.

Livorno, 14. August. Eine Gesellschaft von Individuen, welche mit verbotenen Spielen sich unterhielten, wurde schon mehrmals von den Sicherheitswachen überrascht und auseinander getrieben. Vorgestern haben sich abermals Sicherheitswachen in die Spielhölle begeben, um den Unfug zu unterdrücken, sie wurden aber zurückgedrängt, und gezwungen, die Oesterreicher zu Hilfe zu rufen, welche sich auf den Ort des Tumultes begaben und die Exzesse dämpften. Von der Festung waren die Kanonen schon gerichtet, um die Thore der Stadt zu beherrschen, doch endigte glücklicherweise der kleine Tumult blos mit einigen Verhaftungen.

24. August. Die Börse war heute in Fonds und Bahnen mit Ausnahme der Nordbahnaktien sehr fest. Devisen und Komptanten blieben zu ermäßigten Preisen ausgeboten. Wir notiren (um 1 Uhr) 5proz. Metall. 94, Bankaktien 1075, Nordbahnaktien 111⅛, London fl. 11. 50 Br. Gold 127, Silber 116½.

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Hauptredakteur: Dr. Leopold Landsteiner.
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15 Sept. 49.

No. 1 — Private

Vienna, August 25, 1849.

Dear Sir; —

I fear that my despatches may fail to reach you, and I send this under cover to Mr. Baker, of the House of Baring Brothers & Co., to be forwarded to Washington.

I closed my No. 5 yesterday, having written the first at Pesth, the second at Berlin, the 3rd, 4th, and 5th at Vienna. The 3rd was received in London by the Courier of the British Legation here, — the others were transmitted through the Post-Office.

An official bulletin from Venice, published this afternoon, announces the unconditional surrender of that city yesterday.

Austria continues in a state of painful suspense with respect to the intentions of the Czar, now that "all Hungary lies at his feet." The pacification of the Magyars, at any cost, is strenuously urged upon the government. But unmistakeable indications are furnished that the door of pacification is closed now, if, indeed, it have not been since the employment of Russian intervention became manifest.

If the Czar really desire Hungary there is no obstacle to his taking possession of it immediately, for sustained as he would be by Görgey's influence, there is no power in Europe "to harm him or make him afraid." —

Windischgrätz, after entering the Austrian service with his accustomed agacity, was not long in discovering that Görgey was a General not to be despised, and that there was more to be accomplished by seducing than by subduing him, were either possible. He had recourse to diplomacy, after finding that his plans for humming in and stifling the "insurrection" failed, and with what success is readily explained in the request of the renowned Magyar warrior for permission to surrender to the Russian commander-in-chief. To suppose, after what has occurred, that the preliminaries for the surrender —

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If the Czar really desire Hungary there is no obstacle to his taking possession of it immediately, for restrained as he would be by Görgey's influence, there is no power in Europe "to harm him or make him afraid." —

Windischgrätz, after entering the war arena, with his accustomed rapidity, was not long in discovering that Görgey was a General not to be despised, and that there was more to be accomplished by retreating than by subduing him, were either possible. He had recourse to diplomacy, after finding that his plans for hemming in and stifling the "insurrection" failed, and with what success is readily explained, in the request of the renowned Magyar warrior for permission to surrender to the Russian commander-in-chief. To suppose, after what has occurred, that the preliminaries for the surrender —

had not been arranged during the month that Perkiewitsch and Görgey were loitering on the banks of the upper Theiss, would be to suppose that Imperial ambition was too cheeke to achieve a primary object by strategic influences.

We shall probably know soon what disposition is to be made of Hungary. If the question be left to the decision of the Magyars, it will certainly go to Russia. In the event of a vehement opposition on the part of Austria to such a procedure, the Czar may propose as a compromize measure the creation of a Throne, and the Crowning of his son-in-law, the Duke of Leuchtenberg, King, with hereditary rights. // + +

In the face of the important occurrences which are so rapidly transpiring in Eastern Europe, I would suggest for your consideration whether it is not desirable to establish a Legation at Athens? As the Southern point of Europe, a capable representative could collect much valuable information for the government there. — At Berne, in Switzerland, we should also, in my opinion, have a Legation. Its central position with the institutions of the country, seem to me to require that we should be represented there. But I have not time to enlarge upon the subject, nor do I deem it necessary after bringing it to your notice.

+ I shall employ myself in preparing reports upon commercial matters, until the return of Mr. Slidell, who has been written to to hasten to his post. It is perhaps, nothing more than respectful that I should await his arrival; but it is necessary that he should be here before I set out for Paris, to arrange my Passports &c.

+ // When I reach Paris I can write to you more freely, than I am disposed to do in Austria // + + +

If you still intend that I shall go to Turkey I would be much obliged if you would forward my instructions &c. to the Legation at Paris at your earliest convenience.

I beg to renew to you the assurance, that I am prepared to serve the President to the best of my abilities, in any position which

he may designate.)

I have the honor to be,
Most Faithfully,
Your Ob't Serv't.
A. Dudley Mann.

Hon. John M. Clayton.
Secretary of State
Washington.

No. 1. (Private) A. D. Mann. Vienna - 25 Aug. 1848 Rec'd

Rec'd 23 Sept. 49.

R. Lansdale

No. 6.

Vienna, August 28, 1849.

Sir: —

I received upon my arrival at this place the "National Intelligencer" containing the correspondence in relation to the steam-ship "United States" which you did me the honor to transmit to me under cover to Mr. Stiles. My more immediate duties have so constantly employed me since then, that I have had no leisure, until now, to state to you how cordially I approve of the action of the President relative to this vessel, and how entirely I coincide in the opinions and views, which you have expressed upon the subject to the Baron von Rönne.

Witnessing at Munich the first successful popular demonstration of last year, against the moral and political enormities of Sovereigns, I looked forward from that moment for a salutary improvement in the condition of Continental Europe. — In the severance of reigning Royalty from its titled parasites by an outraged people, I imagined that I beheld the hand writing on the wall for all rulers "by right Divine", who had been regardless of the rights and interests of their subjects in a flagrant degree. Nor was I much mistaken, for in two weeks afterwards the King of France was forced to abdicate and the public voice majestic obtain-

Hon. John M. Clayton.
Secretary of State.
Washington.

ed from crowned heads most of the concessions demanded — in Germany, Austria, and Italy.

From my long and intimate knowledge of the wrongs of the Germans, and with their orderly and unimpassioned deportment under a sense of those wrongs, I esteemed them as a people deserving vastly more political freedom than they had hitherto been permitted to enjoy. Observing my duty as an American I silently watched, from day to day, the public manifestations from their commencement, — anxious that they might eventuate in benign and durable results. I saw nothing unusual in the universal desire entertained for the re-establishment of a Germany. On the contrary, I viewed the sentiment as emanating from a lofty spirit of patriotism, having for its ulterior object the adoption of institutions and laws sufficiently liberal and just to secure contentment to the governed. The notion of overthrowing, at once, the numerous Thrones, I considered chimerical in the extreme, but I nevertheless believed that it was possible to adopt a system, the operations of which would gradually imperil the foundation of those Thrones until they would necessarily fall. — As it was clear that the Danish-Schleswig question — which had been agitated and discussed for the last two years — could never be adjusted as one of right, and as there had been no obligatory, or rather observed, European Law since the partition of Poland, notwithstanding the recent Treaty, I be-

feeved that the demand of the Schleswigers for admission into the embrace of the father-land, was neither illegitimate nor unreasonable. In the war which grew out of this question, I am very free to confess, that I wished for the success of the Germans, because I had an abhorrence to the principle of sacrificing the peace and prosperity of Provinces, irrespective of language or race and in opposition to their avowed will, for the preservation of mongrel Kingdoms, merely for the convenience of Princes.

But while I entertained sentiments decidedly favorable to that which was understood to be the great German cause — union and subsequent liberty — I was not without occasional painful forebodings that my country would, in some way or other, be allowed to render physical assistance against Denmark. I sojourned at Frankfort from the commencement of hostilities in Schleswig until near the end of June, during which I was almost daily approached by members of the Assembly, and others, to ascertain my opinions as to the likelihood of making an arrangement with the United States, by which a part of their war marine could be employed to protect the Elbe and the Weser from blockade. I repelled all such advances by replying that my country had not only international obligations and statutable provisions to obey, but the cherished principles and policy of its fathers and founders to observe: That, however much its affections might be enlisted for struggling humanity, it would

never consent that its honor should be submitted to reproach for having violated a vital neutrality, adverse to a nation, involved in war, with which it was at peace. — In order that the government might be fully guarded against the danger of aiding indirectly the Germans, in my No. 19, written at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, May 1st, 1848, I remarked to the Secretary of State: —

"Baron von Rönne returns to the United States as Minister of Prussia. Two or three days before his appointment was Gazetted the Bundesversammlung (Germanic Diet) "Resolved," "That the Prussian government be requested in all future negotiations with Denmark to have a particular regard to the security of German commerce and navigation in the North and "Baltic Seas; and, if possible to enter into an arrangement "with some naval powers to protect them on the Coast." Absurd as is such a notion, as that expressed in the latter part of this proceeding, it seems to be understood here that in conformity with it, the Diplomat mentioned has been despatched to Washington. With a knowledge of our policy, with respect to foreign nations, recently forcibly re-expressed by the Executive, — that of "peace with all nations, entangling alliances with none", — by the Cabinet of Berlin, I am somewhat disinclined to give credit to the statement, as current as it is among well informed persons."

Those of our countrymen who contend that the

steam-ship "United States" was not purchased and armed expressly with a view to employment against the Danes, are either egregiously deceived themselves or endeavor to practice upon the credulity of others: On my route hither I conversed with several intelligent German gentlemen of my acquaintance, in relation to the matter, and while they were disposed to be clamorous against the action of our government they unhesitatingly admitted that the object for which the purchase and equipment was made was no other belligerent and on the instance of Denmark. I was also told that one of the Secretaries of the pseudo Frankfort government had been informed through an official channel, that the United States were prepared to furnish any number of officers required for the German Naval service, and that Germany might make arrangements accordingly. The non-observance of this promise was more complained of than the detention of the steamer. Now any one conversant with German affairs, since the 1st of April 1848, knows perfectly well that the creation of a German Navy has been advocated exclusively with reference to the Danish question; and it is, therefore, the more astonishing that a functionary of the United States, at home or abroad, should have given an assurance that his country was willing to furnish its own officers to aid in bringing this Navy into existence.

As far as the government and people of the United

States contemplated the purposes conceived by the German Constituent Assembly, they could not fail to feel a lively solicitude that those purposes should be attained: But when they saw that Constituent Assembly warring against the power which called it into being, engaged in the creation of a despotic Throne and in arranging an Imperial Crown for the House of Hohenzollern, they surely could not regard it as a body entitled to their esteem or their respect.

Consequently, apart from the influencing considerations which led to the decision of the President in requiring bonds that the steamer "United States" should not be employed against a nation with which the states of Germany were at war, and we at peace, the Germany of Frankfort creation gave unmistakeable evidences, some time before its self-immolation, that it was wholly unworthy of the sympathies of people so free, upright, and magnanimous as those of America.++

I have the honor to be, V. Yc. &c.

Most Faithfully,

Your Obt. S.v.t.

A. Dudley Mann.

No. 6. A. D. Mann. Vienna - 28 Aug. 18

18

Rec'd 23 Sept.

R. Clarke

The white

No. 7.

Vienna, September 1, 1849.

Sir; —

Gen. Haynau has proclaimed an amnesty to all non-commissioned officers and privates who have been employed in the Hungarian service. The troops surrendered by Görgey have returned to their homes.

The fortresses of Komorn and Petrowardein have not yet capitulated. The Commandant of the former is represented to be disposed to throw open its gates but his officers resolutely resist his wishes. Russian Generals are in daily communication with each fortress, and it is confidently believed that arrangements for their surrender will be concluded soon. When this shall occur the present war will have been terminated.

About 45,000 Magyars, including the army of Görgey, have laid down their arms to the Russians. No voluntary surrenders, as far as I am advised, have been made to the Austrians! In every circle the questions continue to be asked with increased anxiety, "what does this mean?" If nothing worse result, is the Czar to enjoy all the glory attendant upon the cessation of hostilities when the victories were all won by the arms of Francis Joseph?"

Hon. John M. Clayton.
Secretary of State.
Washington.

It is stated that the Vilagos prisoners who have just arrived at Pressburg concur in the belief that Görgey was an arrant traitor. Kossuth seems to be entirely of the same opinion, (if the letters published over his name can be relied upon as genuine) as I intimated to you in my No. 5. In writing to Count Batthyàni he expresses himself unreservedly upon the subject, — remarking that "the proposal and execution of Görgey's plan, which he had foreseen and feared, was treason against the fatherland, and resulted in a death-blow to the Republic." —

Radetzky is expected here to-day. His troops are not to occupy Venice on account of the prevalence of disease there, and the distress consequent upon the lengthened bombardment. — I may remark here that Mr. Speeks, our Consul for that city, died of Cholera a short time since.

A Customs Union is reported to be in contemplation between Austria and the Italian States, with a view to the adoption of a prohibitory system against the manufactures of Foreign countries. If perfected its operations will be chiefly aimed at England, but they cannot fail, unless great care be exercised by our government, to affect injuriously American interests.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c. &c.

Most Faithfully,

Your Ob't. S'v't.

A. Dudley Mann.

No. 7. A. D. Mann. Vienna 1 Sept. 1849 –

Recd 23 Sept.

No. 2. – Private.

Vienna, September 2, 1849.

Dear Sir; —

This morning's Post brings important intelligence, if true, from the East. It is to the effect, that the great Russian army under the command of Paskiewitsch is returning, in forced marches, to Poland: That Görgey had been delivered to Austria and immediately pardoned by the Emperor, with the understanding that he was to be confined for a time to the limits of Styria: That the officers of Görgey will probably be set at liberty, after being submitted to trial by a Court Martial: That Kossuth, Bem, Dembinski, Mazzucci, and 16 other Polish chiefs, together with many Hungarian Deputies had been captured at Gelaffet, on their route to Constantinople, by order of the Imperial Turkish commander: That they had been removed to Widdin, where they were to be detained as prisoners until the decision of the Sublime Porte should be known, respecting the disposition which might be made of them: That the Austrian authorities in Turkey allege that they have the Hungarian Crown jewels: And that according to Treaty stipulations they were under Austrian jurisdiction.

+ I forwarded two despatches to you yesterday by Post – Nos. 6, & 7. – I trust they will, in due time, reach their destination. The communication between here and London is not only direct but expeditious; but I fear that the system of espionage in the Post-administration has not been entirely abandoned in Europe, and that my despatches may be delayed if not detained. + + + +

It is important that I should convey you all the information at my disposal, between this and the meeting of Congress, relative to European affairs. With this object steadily in view I imagine I shall anticipate your wishes by proceeding direct to Florence, instead of returning to Paris, – when I quit Vienna. My reports to you will give me constant employment for several weeks, so that I cannot afford to loose the time that would be required for a tour to the west of Europe.

This

If you shall decide upon the mission to Tuscany, or upon my employment elsewhere, you can forward instructions &c., as stated in my last, addressed to me under cover to the Legation of the U.S. in Paris. There are often opportunities presented daily at Paris for the conveyance of despatches to Florence by Americans.

No tidings since yesterday from Komorn and Peterwardein. To-morrow the victories in Hungary and Italy are to be celebrated here. Radetzky, Haynau, and Jellachich are to be present on the occasion.

I have the honor to be,
Most Faithfully,
Your Ob't. Serv't.
A. Bradley Mann.

Hon. John M. Clayton,
Secretary of State,
Washington.

(Private) A. D. Mann. Vienna. 2 Sept. 1849

If [illegible] decide upon the mission to Turkey, or else my employment elsewhere, you can forward instructions to me & direct to my last address me under cover to the Legation of the U. S. in Paris. [illegible] tranquil [illegible] daily as well for the [illegible] by Americans.

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I have the honor to be
most faithfully
your obt. svt.
A. Dudley Mann

Hon. John M. Clayton
Secretary of State
Washington

Rec 29 Sept.

No. 8.

Vienna, September 8. 1849.

Sir; —

A commercial union, if not a close political alliance, is unquestionably in contemplation between Austria and the peninsular Italian States. This union, if it be perfected, will perhaps extend its embraces to Sardinia, and also to Bavaria and Wurtemberg. In fact the Austrian system, with many additional import restrictions, and possibly a few slight modifications, will in all probability be adopted throughout Germany. Experience has furnished indubitable testimony to potentates that freedom in commerce and political liberty are inseparable companions, — the latter closely and steadily following the lead of the former. It is therefore, considered indispensable, in the endeavor made to Russianize the Continent, to confine importations from Foreign States, of generous sentiment, to such raw materials as may be absolutely required by the manufacturing interest and to such articles of consumption as cannot be dispensed with. — As a preparatory measure to a system of virtual exclusiveness on the part of Austria, except to states which may coalesce with her, it is announced that a notification has already been given by the minister of commerce, to the Venetian authorities, that the "free port" privileges of Venice are to be immediately abrogated. That a similar

This

Hon. John M. Clayton.
Secretary of State.
Washington.

policy will be decided upon with reference to Ancona cannot be reasonably doubted. This of course will eventuate, in some degree to a diminution of consumption of our staples other than cotton and to the disadvantage of our navigation

The young Emperor left here yesterday for Dresden for the two-fold object, it is said, of settling the German question with the King of Prussia — who is to meet him there — and of contracting a matrimonial alliance with a daughter of the heir presumptive to the Throne of Saxony. On the 15th he is to proceed to Udine, to be present at the ceremonies of opening the rail-road to Laibach, from whence he will continue his journey to Venice, where he will be visited — according to letters received from Naples, Rome, and Florence — by the King of the two Sicilies, the Pope, (or two of his Cardinals) and the Grand Prince of Tuscany. Should this meeting take place it is almost certain, that, among other matters, the preliminaries for the establishment of a Customs Union will be arranged

A conference of the most distinguished captains and civilians in the Austrian service is to take place at Schönbrunn on the 11th inst., under the Presidency of the Emperor. Its ostensible object is stated to be, the organization of Hungary. But a more important subject than even this, from occasional rankings during the present week, are likely to engage its deliberations. The army of Vorarlberg, near the confines of Switzerland,

36,000 strong, with a reserve of 20,000 men, requires an experienced and successful commander just now! Hayau it is rumoured is anxious to quit Hungary! If the obliteration of Switzerland have been really resolved upon at Warsaw the duty of communicating the deed could not be confided to safer hands than to his General. — One thing is very certain: If the Autocrat is disposed to wipe out the existence of the Helvetian Republic, he may do so, in my opinion, with entire impunity; for I consider him politically omnipotent on the Continent: Kingdoms and Republics, for all practical uses in the balance of power, are merely his departments and Crowned Heads and Presidents his Prefects! The Czar, as will be seen from the following address to his army, claims all the honor of terminating the contest with the Magyars, and who will venture to dispute his right to do so? — ++

"Children! — God has blessed your ardor, your manly courage, your unwearied perseverance in the midst of hardships. Children! — you have done your duty and the insurrection has been stifled. There where the enemy dared to meet you, you vanquished him; and pursuing the fugitive step by step, you finally witnessed an occurrence without a parallel: The whole force of the enemy unconditionally laid down their arms before you and surrendered to Your mercy. In the course of two months were captured by, and surrendered to us 150 flags and standards, and 400 pieces of artillery. With more than

No 8. A. D. Mann. Vienna - 8 Sept. 1849 -

"50,000 rebels! — Honor and glory for you! Honor and glory
"for your victorious leader. As ever, you have shown your-
"selves worthy of the name of the victorious army of all the
"Russias. I thank you collectively and individually; I am
"delighted with you; I am proud of you." — Sept. 3"

signed "Nicholas."

But I will advert in a future number, when I can do so with less restraint than at present, to the Russian Empire and the causes of its increased greatness.

Komorn has not yet surrendered, nor had Petersw-
-aldein when last heard from.

I have the honor to be, Dr. Sir.

Most Faithfully.

Your ob't. S'v't.

A. Dudley Mann.

Ch. Marsh

No. 3. — Private

Vienna, September 9, 1849.

Dear Sir; —

I wrote to you yesterday. Although I am informed that my despatches reach the Agency of the U. S. in London regularly, when transmitted by Post, I nevertheless do not consider it prudent to express myself as freely as is desirable, in relation to Russian and Austrian affairs, until I meet with a safe private conveyance. You cannot fail to be anxious to know the cause of the sudden termination of the Hungarian war. I hope to put you in possession of much information on the subject, as soon as I meet with one of our trusty countrymen going to London or Paris.

Görgey arrived here last night accompanied by his wife and brother. He is proceeding to Gratz, where he is to reside for a time. We have no additional tidings from Kossuth and his party. If they should succeed in getting to Constantinople, I think it not unlikely that they would embark for the U. S. I hope for the credit of K. that he has not carried off the Crown jewels of Hungary. If they were in his possession, he should have delivered them to Görgey when he laid down his power.

Vienna is filled almost overflowing with Russians. It is decidedly the most important point at present in Europe. All eyes are turned to it, as they were four and thirty years ago, for a solution of the Continental questions. — The same motives prevail with the Autocrat for the subversion of Switzerland as prevailed with him in 1846 for the subversion of Cracow. He is as powerful now for the one as he was then for the other. Whether this power will be exercised as is contemplated, a few weeks will determine. If it shall, Russia will take care of Hungary, while Austria and Prussia march upon

Switzerland. Nicholas remarked a few days since that he had now demonstrated to the world what his arms were capable of performing, and that democracy might profit by the example!

+ How salutary to our best interests — to our tranquility and security — our established policy with respect to the concerns of Foreign States! Without an honest observance of it, what unprofitable difficulties may we not have been involved in, on account of one, or another, of the abortive revolutionary movements of Europe? Let us resolutely adhere to it, (despite the demegogical influences to drive the government to an abandonment of it) in all coming time: Let us never — as well-intentioned, peace-loving republicans — give any just cause of offence, whatever our sympathies for their oppressed subjects, to any power or state: Let us be pure in all our acts, influenced by reason instead of passion, and that Unseen Arm which has protected us from infancy will continue to watch over and guide our destiny. +

Mr. Stiles has not yet arrived; nor have any tidings, as I understand, been received from him at the Legation.

I have the honor to be,
Most Faithfully,
Your Ob't. S'v't.
A. Dudley Mann.

Hon. John M. Clayton.
Secretary of State.
Washington.

No. 3. (Private) A. D. Mann. Vienna. 4 Sept. 1849 Rec'd

Rec'd 5 Oct.

No. 9.

Vienna, September 16, 1849.

Sir, —

Peterwardein capitulated on the 6th instant to the Austrian army. The official report of the occurrence demonstrates that this fort was excellently well provided for defensive operations. It contained 7,600 effective men, 300 pieces of artillery, and a large supply of ammunition and provisions.

The "virgin fortress," the last hold of Magyar resistance to the restoration of Austrian authority, resolutely refuses to surrender. The terms upon which it was disposed to capitulate were rejected by Haynau, under an impression that it would be forced by circumstances to surrender unconditionally. A majority of the officers in Komorn were formerly in the Austrian army, and as they know that no mercy would be bestowed upon them as prisoners — without a previous promise of pardon — they are prepared to sell their lives at the highest price.

It has been ascertained, during the present week, that there are upward of 25,000 troops in the enclosure of the walls of Komorn, and that they are not only amply furnished with all necessary articles of food for a siege of a twelve-month or more, but that they have 500 well mounted guns, besides 8 batteries with 8 guns

Hon. John M. Clayton.
Secretary of State.
Washington.

each, 50 heavy guns, and 1400 artillery horses. It is estimated, by competent military men, that in order to besiegeer Komorn successfully 75,000 troops will be constantly required. The fortress, with the numerous facilities now at the disposal of Hayman, could doubtlessly be reduced by bombardment, but such an idea seems not to be entertained. In fact, Komorn from its position and strength, is too valuable, in the future military government of Hungary, to say nothing of the consequent peccuniary cost and loss of soldiers to Austria, to admit of such a proceedure, particularly as the war is now virtually ended. — I incline, therefore, to believe that, as reluctant as the government may be to do so, an amnesty will be granted to all the inmates of the fortress, in which event its gates will be thrown open.

Perkicwitsch, it seems, has interceded for the captive Magyer officers. In reply to him, the Emperor remarks that while he acknowledges the obligations imposed by humanity, he has nevertheless grave duties to perform to his realm. Still Görgey has been pardoned, from which circumstance it may be inferred that his subalterns, if submitted to a trial at all, will be discharged.

The Czar has published another manifesto, in the form of a circular to his representatives in foreign countries, — which has probably been communicated to you, — explanatory of his motive for intervention, and expressive of his determination now that his pur-

peace has been so signally accomplished, to abide by the settlement of 1815.

In consequence of the death of his brother, the Grand Duke Michael, the Autocrat left Warsaw a few days ago for St-Petersburgh.

It is now officially announced that after the 21st instant, the "Free Port" privileges are to cease at Venice.

+ The letter of Louis Napoleon to Ney has created much surprize wherever it has been read. As really intending to benefit the cause of liberal government I attach no value to the sentiments which he utters. I may be Machiavelic but I cannot believe otherwise than that the President of France is influenced exclusively in all his acts by an inordinate solicitude to re-establish the Imperial Throne; and that the object of the recent publication was to bring his name more conspicuously before the European public. ++ Rome is assuredly in a deplorable condition, but not worse than must have been foreseen by the French government when it decided upon the subversion of the Republic. The expedition of Oudinot was not only ill-advised, but ill-boding, and I fear ill-intentioned.

The conference of the prominent civil and military functionaries of Austria, which I alluded to in my last, is progressing with its duties. It is engaged, as is understood, at present with the organization of Hungary.

A vigilant eye should be kept, as I am sure it will

No. 9. A. D. Mann. Vienna. 16 Sept. 1849.

by yourself, over our interests in this Empire. I intend to devote a despatch to this subject soon.

Mr. Stiles has written to his secretary to say that he will return to his post about the 20th. Inst.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c. &c.

Most Faithfully,

Your Ob't. S'v't.

A. Dudley Mann.

Rec'd 14 Oct.

Mr. Barton.

10?

No. 10.

Vienna, September 23, 1849.

Sir; —

It seems to be generally understood here that Austria has submitted to Prussia a plan of central government for the States embraced in the Germanic Confederation, and it is stated that Prussia finding the Spreebund, or Constitution of the three Kings, unpracticable now that Austria is in a condition to assert her rights to the Presidency of the old Germanic Diet, is not inclined to throw any obstacles of an insurmountable nature in the way of its adoption: — This plan, though not communicated to the public, is perhaps foreshadowed in the outlines of the interim government, as proposed by Austria, which are to the following effect: —

1. As soon as the consent of the different German governments shall have been obtained for that purpose, "the Vicar of the Empire" shall immediately vacate his office, when the duties appertaining to it shall be exercised by the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia.

2. Austria and Prussia shall govern through a Committee of four, two members chosen by each, (Austria to have the Presidency) and in case of a disagreement upon any national question Bavaria, Hanover, and Wurtemberg and Bavaria, Hanover, and Saxony

shall alternately, act as umpire, from whose decision no appeal shall be taken. With this condition, the Committee shall conduct the affairs of the Confederation exclusively, and shall be responsible alone to the respective Sovereigns to whom it owes allegiance.

3. The 1st of May 1850 is the period designated for the termination of the interim government, provided a definitive government shall have been organized prior to that time.

4. All the states of the Confederacy shall assent to the provisions of the central Constitution, before their operations shall commence, or shall be obligatory upon either.

Should the interim government be established, upon the principle thus proposed, all the smaller reigning Princes would be morally mediatized. Austria and Prussia, with all power vested to themselves, would not likely be disposed to part with any portion of it by provisions in the Constitution of the definitive government.

It is currently rumored this morning, though not as yet officially announced, that Komorn has capitulated; and upon the same terms, in conformity with the advice of Radetzky, as those accorded to Venice,— an amnesty to all persons within its walls. Radetzky assisted, from time to time, in the construction of Komorn, and is said to have frequently expressed a belief that it was so strong, if properly defended, as to bid defiance to the assaults of an enemy.

The government of Austria, aided by the most experi-

enced military men in the Empire, continues to occupy itself with the question of the organization of Hungary. It is a difficult an one, of satisfactory adjustment, as ever engaged the deliberations of a Cabinet. In its settlement Austria will, possibly, be forced to change materially her commercial system, in order to harmonize not only the interests but the nationalities which she embraces. Under good diplomacy I am encouraged to believe that we could make ourselves instrumental in abolishing the Tobacco Regie. I have collected many facts which could be usefully employed, by an able representative, upon the subject. +

+ I have concluded to return to Paris, for reasons which I shall explain to you after I arrive there, and I shall leave here between this and the 1st Proximo. By that time, I trust that there will be some one here to represent the country. ++

I perceive, according to an announcement in a Berlin paper, that Baron von Rönne has been superseded, and that Baron von Gerolt returns as resident Prussian Minister to Washington.

The letter of Louis Napoleon, to Drey, no longer occasions remark, let alone anxiety. It notoriously means nothing, and accomplishes nothing, as concerns the bettering of the condition of the Romans. The Cardinals are more unmerciful than they were before its contents were communicated to them.

I shall not write to you again from this place. —

No 10. A. D. Mann. Vienna. 23 Sept. 1879

Print

I shall complete my reports, which will employ me several days, after I quit Germany.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c.

Most Faithfully.

Your Ob't. S.v.t.

A. Dudley Mann.

9 ℔ 12 Dec. 49.

M. Clarke.

No. 11.

Vienna, September 24, 1848.

Sir; —

The Treaty which I concluded with Hanover in 1846, of which nothing was known in the States of the Zollverein until it was proclaimed by King Ernest in March 1847, was attacked with much vehemence by the Press, in the advocacy of Prussian interests. I forward you, herewith, the translation of an article which appeared in the Augsburg Algemeine Zeitung upon the subject, on the 29th March 1847. A friend in Germany wrote to me at Washington, shortly after the publication was made, informing me of its contents and of the name of the author, but I never saw the article itself, until, after a diligent search, I found it at Berlin, on my route hither. It was prepared by a celebrated diplomatist, who, as will be perceived, was well acquainted with the Statutes of our country, and also professed to have a thorough knowledge of our countrymen. In order that the translation, (by any imperfections) may do no injustice to the writer, I send, along with this, the printed copy in German.

In my despatch, No. 7, I stated to Mr. Buchanan that: "In my opinion, it is imperative upon Congress to repeal the Act of 1828 if not that also of 1824," and so much solicitude did I feel that this might be done, that I transmitted him the form of a

Hon. John M. Clayton.
Secretary of State.
Washington.

Bill, which I hurriedly drew up for the purpose, at Schwerin en Novembre 1847. It is scarcely necessary to advance a single argument for the repeal of those laws, and for giving the requisite notice to Prussia for the abrogation of our Treaty with her, in addition to the unanswerable ones which will be found in the article referred to. If properly explained in Congress, assuredly no member could vote against the measure and afterwards face his constituents. However widely we may occasionally differ with respect to home questions, we are at least in our international policy, in so far as concerns a profitable augmentation of our trade intercourse, an united people. With all our good will to foreigners — our steadfast desire for the most amicable relations with every State — we are not so regardless of our interests, as to afford, knowingly, pecuniary benefits to them to the injury of ourselves.

The Prussian functionary (I believe the writer then held a position subordinate to a Cabinet Minister at Berlin) not satisfied with the privileges which we had so generously bestowed upon the flag of his Sovereign was, apparently, quite indignant that Hanover should have made export and transit duty concessions in order to be permitted to engage in the tri-angular carrying with us. "We cannot believe", said he, "that the President of the U. S. who stands under the law, as well as every other American citizen, and whose only duty it is to execute the laws of the country (and consequently those Acts of 1824 and 1828) would have refused to do so; and

had he done so, Congress and the Press, if properly influenced, would very soon have called him back to his duty." With respect to Oldenburg, he observed, "We hope the report will not be confirmed that the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg also acceded to the Treaty of June 10, 1846. This would be on the part of Oldenburg a much greater blunder than it was on the part of Hanover... Why should Oldenburg, which has obtained by the Proclamation of the President of the U. S. of Sept. 10, 1830, all that was granted to Hanover in the Treaty of June 10, make additional concessions?"

When I visited Mecklenburg in October 1847 — then in the enjoyment of the President's Proclamation — to negotiate the Declaration of accession, I was met by the Minister of Foreign Affairs with the arguments thus furnished by the Prussian expounder of American law, not to grant "similar favors" to those granted by Hanover. and it was not until after I convinced himself and the reigning Prince, by palpable demonstrations, in repeated interviews, that the United States would find it to be their duty to repeal the Act at an early day, from which the Proclamation derived its authority, that I succeeded in the object of my mission to that government.

While the Acts of 1824 & 1828 remain upon our code book, and certain Treaties continue in force, it is not possible for us to negotiate stipulations securing concessions favorable to the most extended consumption of our products in Foreign countries. Brazil may levy transit duties on our staples passing

to a third nation behind her, and foster her producing interests by prohibitory import duties; Denmark may exact unjustifiable Sound tolls from our ships and such cargoes as we export to the Baltic; Sweden may burden with impunity by taxes, import and excise, the articles of our growth, produce and manufacture, and yet we are compelled to submit to such injustice because our laws forbid a resort to measures of retaliation. "The privilege of the indirect carrying to the United States" confidently asserts the renowned Prussian diplomat, "was the less to be valued as the attempts made from time to time, by the American ship owners to repeal the Acts of Congress of 1824 and 1828 — authorizing the reciprocity — had repeatedly failed, and as it is not at all probable that these laws will be in the least changed, particularly as things now stand in the United States." In fact no value whatever is placed upon our generous Navigation policy from the circumstance of its being utterly unrestricted, making no discrimination between selfish and liberal States.

The Prussian functionary expresses astonishment that Hanover was so unmindful of her interests as not to notify the United States, as Oldenburg had done, of her readiness to admit their vessels, and the cargoes conveyed by them, into her ports without subjecting them to higher or other duties than were levied on her own, and thus secure the indirect carrying. It is strange that a German diplomat so well instructed in the commer-

cial and indeed political affairs of other countries, as the writer of the article should have been ignorant of the fact that Hanover was not in a condition, — or at any rate did not manifest a disposition, — to place the vessels of the United States, and their cargoes, without reference to the country from whence they came, on an entire equality in her ports, with those of her own. The discriminating Brunshausen or Stade duties which she exacted, could not admit of such a procedure before the Treaty of June 10, 1846 was concluded. In that Treaty, Art. 1, it is stipulated that, "no "higher or other toll shall be levied or collected at Brunshausen or "Stade on the river Elbe, upon the tonnage or cargoes of the vessels "of the United States than are levied and collected upon the ton= "nage and cargoes of vessels of the Kingdom of Hanover, and the ves= "sels of the United States shall be subjected to no charges, detention= "or other inconvenience by the Hanoverian authorities, in passing the "above mentioned place, from which vessels of the Kingdom of Han= "over are or shall be exempt."

In his immoderate desire to embrace the German Bund States in the Zollverein — with a view to ulterior political power — Frederick William IV. had not a more diligent or du= tiful subject in his employment than the nobleman of diplomatic celebrity. The King of Hanover, the Grand Dukes of Meck. lenburg-Schwerin and Oldenburg, and the Hanseatic Towns, reso= lutely resisted the many temptations presented to them to be=

some members of this League; but Prussia continued to persevere until the Hanover Treaty was proclaimed. This Treaty precluded the possibility of the perfection of the Commercial Union of Germany, during its continuance, unless Prussia would consent to change her policy, because it committed Hanover to low import and merely nominal transit duties, (through whatever ports or in whatever vessels the importations might be made) on our leading products. It was also stipulated that "no "higher or other duties shall be imposed on the importation into "the Kingdom of Hanover of any articles the growth, produce "and manufacture of the United States and of their fisheries "than are or shall be payable on the like articles, being the "growth, produce or manufacture of any other Foreign country "or of its fisheries." — Prussia and the Zollvereign States, in matters of commerce, stand in the attitude of Foreign countries to Hanover, Oldenburg, and Mecklenburg, and, consequently, our whale oil and tobacco must continue to be admitted, while the Treaty is in force, into Hanover &c. on as favorable terms as that produced in Prussia, Baden, &c. — If the League had been completed the products of the States composing it at present, would have entered the Coast States free while ours would have been subjected to the Tariff of imposts which operates adversely to an extended consumption of one or more staples. — And here I will take occasion

to remark that in my opinion it is not in the interest of our country, for our government to release the States obligated by the treaty of June 10, 1846, even if they shall augment the duty on tobacco, as they gave notice of their intention to do, about the commencement of next year. "We sincerely wish," says the respectful Prussian <u>diplomat</u>, "that the promised abolition of the import duty "upon raw cotton and the stipulation not to increase the duty on "tobacco may present no obstacles to the future realization of a "system of commercial policy favoring direct trade with Trans-"Atlantic countries! If an augmentation of the duty on "tobacco were contemplated, the United States would scarcely "make use of the right of abrogation reserved to them, in Art. "11. of the new treaty, as it would still be in their interest to "desire the continuance of the other concessions so easily obtained."

I have the honor to be,

Most Faithfully.

Your Ob't. S'v't.

A. Dudley Mann.

No. 11. a. D. Mann. Vienna. 24 Sept. 1849

Vienna 23d Oct Mr Markoe.

Queries how much of this dispatch should be published

No. 12.

Vienna, September 27, 1849.

Sir; —

The conquest is now complete. The Austrian flag is suspended over Komorn: There is no longer a Magyar army raised against autocratic rule.

As late as the 21st of July the Hungarian government entertained confident hopes of ultimate success. In the session of the Diet of that day at Szegedin, — as appears from the proceedings just published — the Minister of the Interior made an elaborate exposition of the condition of the country, which was so satisfactory in its details, as to elicit plaudits, even from members whose previous despair had contributed to cast a gloom over the future. Towards the close of his speech the Minister remarked: — "If our army shall continue to fight as bravely as heretofore; if its leaders have no other, or more unworthy, intention than the liberation of the father-land; if we can employ advantageously the extraordinary power contained in the rising masses of the millions of our people; if the nation will patiently accustom itself to the hardships of war, in the same spirit of patriotism with which it appreciates the liberty for which it is battling, the time is not distant when we shall be eman=

Hon. John M. Clayton.
Secretary of State.
Washington.

bled to announce that we have no more sacrifices to demand!" —

+ This occurred in the last session, of which any account is furnished, before the fatal one at Arad, which result= ed in the bestowal of a Dictatorship upon Görgey. Haynau shortly afterwards occupied Szegedin, from whence he continued a victorious march to Temesvar. — A spirit of insubordination had stealthily found its way into the camps of Bem and Dem= binski. Many of the officers suddenly became disobedient, and the privates, with such an example, were disposed to be mu= tinous. Evidence of this was in the possession of the govern= ment prior to the disastrous conflicts at Szörög and Temesvar; and Kossuth made a powerful exertion to re-establish dis= cipline and order. In a touching address to the army he appealed to its patriotism and its pride, — imploring it not to swerve from its duty, not to disobey a command, while an invading foot pressed Hungarian soil. Pointing to that mighty nation of self-governing men beyond the Atlantic he observed: "And — remember still more, and press the matter to your heart, to what a judgment you expose us in that part of the distant world which is looking with so much admiration and solicitude upon our struggle for freedom and independence." But, as we soon saw, disaffection had attained an incurable point. At Szörög and Temesvar, the Magyars enjoying many advantages, were routed, with an immense loss of men and arms! When

This startling intelligence was communicated to the Diet, the timid ci-devant Magnates, ~~Diet~~ (the noblemen) who were members of that body, became so frightened that they thought of nothing but their own personal safety, and were prepared to abandon the cause of Independence as forever hopeless.

Görgey perceived that the hour for the consumma: tion of his long cherished purpose had now arrived, and hastening to Arad he entered the hall of the Diet exclaiming "Finis Hungariae!" A nobleman himself, he was the darling of the nobility: The most renowned of the Magyar captains, he wore a charmed name for the multitude. The words which he pronounced, therefore, fell with as much force upon his astounded hearers as though they had been uttered by a supernatural voice. In the presence of that which was announced upon the highest authority as a palpable re: ality, Kossuth's explanations and remonstrations were unheeded_ . By the duplicity of the monarchist the republican was superseded: In the traitor's triumph the patriot lost his country.

Görgey, it is believed, had his emissaries at work for some time before his surrender, and the disaffections in the Divi: sions of Bem and Dembinski may be attributable to his manage: ment. He had a brother who held a civil appointment in the Austrian service, with whom, by the connivance of the authori: ties, he is supposed to have corresponded freely and frequently. It is quite certain that no want of fidelity was manifested in any

quarter of the Hungarian camp, until a sort of corps d'armée travelling companionship of loitering movement, was observable in the vestas of the white Uhlans, in the commands of Görgey and Parkewitsch.

The Autocrat had notoriously failed in his original plan for crushing the Magyars at a blow: His army had accomplished absolutely nothing in facilitating hostilities to a favorable conclusion: It was check-mated at every turn that it attempted in offensive operations. The tittled hero of Erivan and Warsaw was in a sad dilemma. His Princely fame was submitted to a dangerous ordeal. To advance was perhaps to encounter defeat: To retreat, to incur disgrace. The gaining of any additional glory in combat with the Magyars, as repeated discomfitures had foreshadowed, was, to say the least, uncertain. — Why not secure by diplomacy that which might be lost in fight? Görgey is, comparatively young, of noble blood, an inflexible anti-republican, — without a sentiment in common with the Liberalists of Hungary. He holds the destinies of the Magyars in his hands, and if he choose, can lay their country at the foot of the Throne of all the Russias. What price too high to pay for such a consummation? — Thus doubtless ~~xx~~ enquired, and thus reasoned, the great European statesman and diplomatist. Did he mistake his man? Alas! for the welfare of civilized Europe, no.

What says Görgey, as he approaches the Russian Commander to consummate his guilt? Why, "I have but one request to make: I want to surrender my army to the army of his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias." Casting his eye upon the column of serf soldiers, as he subsequently passed in front of it, he observed, "what could not be undertaken and executed with such troops?"

Görgey admits that he desired the Dictatorship for no other purpose than to enable him to terminate the war, and accordingly, immediately after it was bestowed upon him, he addressed letters to the different Magyar Commanders, ordering them to lay down their arms to the Russians. His letter to Klapka, the Commandant of Komorn, has been exposed to the public eye, and it contains, alone, ample proof that he was a betrayer of his country. Of all the Magyar officers, taken prisoners, not one, except himself, has yet been pardoned. This, naturally, occasions remark in all circles; but his friends are more disposed to applaud the returning prodigal than to conceal the enormities of the impenitent traitor.

Haynau, in one of his reports states that Görgey was so completely hemmed in at Világos that he was forced to surrender. Görgey says, in his letter to Klapka, if he had been attacked he could have retired to Transylvania, and, to use his own language, he solemnly declared that he would sooner annihilate

his whole corps in a desperate battle, against whatever superior= ity, than to surrender his arms unconditionally to Austrian troops. — Here is indubitable testimony, if other were wanting, that a formal agreement had been made with the Russian Gen= eral.

From the time of his leaving Komorn on the 13th of July, until his arrival at Arad on the 11th of August, Görgey had transmitted no report or other communication to the government. In fact, after his first victories, he disregarded all instructions which were transmitted to him. This cast a gloom over the hopes of Kossuth when all else appeared bright. A distant allusion was made to the circumstance, in the speech of the Minister of the Interior, from which I have quoted.

Kossuth, as far back as April, penetrated the selfish and ambitious designs of Görgey and was constantly desirous of superseding him in his command. Görgey was aware that his loyalty was suspected, and with a fiendish revenge, encouraged, by the example of his own acts, disobedience to the civil authorities and consequent rebellion in the military ranks. He knew how to value the strength which victory had imparted to his name, and he was utterly unscrupulous as to the manner of its employment. That he will live in story as the deliberate betrayer of his country to bondage, when it was bleeding at every pore to be free, is as certain, as that up=

right states and communities have a permanent interest in repro=
bating deeds which lead to the abasement of the human character.

+Hungary has been won by vile means, — not by those grand exploits of prowess and skill which rightfully reflected: it on conquerors! ++ But false glory is not always esthem: eral or valueless: In the instance of the fall of the Magyars it will be turned to as useful account as though it were genuine. — Before the departure of his army for Hungary Nicholas proclaimed to his "children," that in fulfillment of the mission of Russia, they were "about to march to put down a rebellion" which threatened "the security of orderly European government". "Let us take care to discharge our duty: God bless you." In his next address to them he exultingly exclaims: "God has blessed your manly courage. . . . . You have done your duty and the insurrection has been stifled. The whole force of the enemy unconditionally laid down its arms before you, and surrendered to Our mercy. In the short space of two months you have captured 400 pieces of artillery and 150 flags, besides taking 80,000 prisoners. You have shown yourselves worthy of bearing the name of the victorious army of all the Russias. I thank you collectively and individually. I am delighted with you: I am proud of you." — The Russian serf soldier believes that the voice of the Emperor is the voice of God, and consequently his highest and constant

2,

assertions are for future similar to the above. The superstitious faith in the magnificent destinies of the colossal Empire, which animates the breast of every Selavic subject — to which the Autocrat unceasingly administers — will take deeper and deeper root as the result of the campaign beyond the Carpathians. Thus announced, becomes more and more known. Within the confines of Russia, at least, the glory claimed by the Czar will never be questioned.

The Russian soldier is not only sufficiently brave to fight hard, but he has a motive to do so, because every war in which he is engaged is a Holy one with him: He has no respect for any other mortal than his great Chief, — merely obeying those who interpret to him his will: He is kept in such a state of ignorance as to be nothing better than a human machine, and hence, notwithstanding his good will he has not the capacity to make himself efficient in a combat where expert manoeuvring is indispensable to victory. — Nor has Russia furnished, with the solitary exception of Suvaroff, a General who has deservedly earned a high reputation in the field. Bakewitch, for his achievements on the Theiss, is hereafter to be honored by the army, by salutations identical with those extended to the Emperor! — Military eyes have searched in vain for evidences of skill, in the affairs of Eviron and Warsaw, on the part of the renowned champion who was rewarded with two Princedoms. They may search a-

gain, but with no better success, for the guerre-chip which has received him, in the bankruptcy of titles, fresh dignities.

In not formally expressing her disapproval of the policy avowed in the manifesto of Nicholas of 14th May last Great-Britain either misconceived the nature of the obligations imposed upon her, as the most liberal and enlightened of the European powers, or was ignorant of the principles and interests involved in the issue. Had she proclaimed in emphatic language within twenty-four hours after this manifesto reached Downing-street, that she was prepared to resist an armed intervention by any power, adverse to Hungary, the Czar would scarcely have had the temerity to march his army across her frontiers. The deplorable omission of such duty changes completely the relations of power in European states. If the star of England's glory shall hereafter be seen descending, the faithful historian will not be at a loss to fix the date at which it touched its culminating point.

It will be recollected that the Autocrat, in his manifesto of May 11, 1848, distinctly stated, in substance, that it was his intention to avoid all interference with the domestic concerns of European nations: That he should leave to each the right of choosing its own form of government: That he should act upon the defensive, merely, shielding his own subjects, as far as possible, from the contamination of democratic notions.—

Shocked at the revolutionary demonstrations which were extending their influence in the direction of his dominions, Nicholas was careful in having his pacific purposes not only generally understood on this side of the Atlantic, but also in the United States. The manifesto of 1848 was received with universal favor: it caused the anxious world to breathe easier, by diminishing at so portentous a period, the chances of war.

An eventful, re-actionary year closed, and Russia's mask was cast off. Prince Louis was President of France. Indications were abundant that the first Legislative Assembly of the Republic would be monarchical in the extreme. The reactionary Autocrat had accurately surveyed the space between himself and the incumbent of the Presidential Chair. — At the presentation of Maximilian Joseph Eugene August Napoleon, Duke of Leuchtenberg, at the Court of St. Petersburg, upon the occasion of his marriage to the Grand Duchess, Nicholas remarked: "The Bonapartes and Romanows are already related, because their country's glory has always been their highest aspiration." It was desirable to strengthen the ties of relationship between the Bonapartes and Romanows, and to augment "their glory"! The abrogation of struggling infant Republics presented a suitable pretext for the realization of these objects. The victorious expedition to Rome was quickly followed by the more eminently victorious expedition to Hungary.

Acting in concord, as the Cabinet of the Elysée Nation practically was with the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, from what nation except Great-Britain had the Autocrat any thing to apprehend? From the soi-disant Germany which was brought into existence by the stipendiaries of tottering Thrones? No! The Frankfort government never had sufficient power, after its high-handed attempt to establish an Imperial Crown, to disperse a country-town meeting. — From Prussia? No! Frederick William IV was as much interested in the subjugation of the Continent to military law as his illustrious brother-in-law of the North. — It had perhaps been satisfactorily ascertained that even Great-Britain would interpose no obstacles. Metternich had been in England a year controlling one, or more, of the leading London journals and imbuing the public mind with the "beauties of autocratic doctrines." It was represented that the Magyars were fighting for democracy in its most utopian sense, and that in the event of the dismemberment of Austria, England would suffer severely by the loss of her old and valuable ally. The liberal party was made to believe that the Bancroftic aimed solely at unity, regardless of an extension of Imperial power. Lord Palmerston stated, in debate: —

"Austria herself has renounced arbitrary government, and has entered the ranks of constitutional States. The step which she has taken cannot be reversed, though there is

reason to hope that the change may be regulated by prudence and moderation. Her government will itself set an example of improvement and reform; and it is scarcely possible that with a representative legislature, she would allow her Executive, even if it were so inclined, to impose upon other countries principles of government diametrically opposite to those which will be carried into practice in Austria herself."

In diplomacy the Czar is an overmatch for all the Cabinets of Europe, particularly if he have Metternich as his instrument. The world may, possibly, yet be informed that the idea of the French expedition to Rome originated at St. Petersburg or Brighton; and that through St. Petersburg management Great-Britain was, unexpectedly, influenced to tacitly acquiesce in its purposes. If Great-Britain declined from prudential motives to protest against French intervention, with what consistency could she protest against the contemplated Russian intervention? Moreover by committing France, nominally a Republic, and placing her in the lead, Great-Britain would not be disposed, in any event, to make a belligerent demonstration. Such reflections as these may have been indulged in by the prolific mind of the Czar. — Lord Palmerston, awakening to the actual condition of things, after all the mischief had been done, proposed mediation to Prince Schwarzenberg. He received for answer that the Austrian government would take the liberty of enquiring, in a short time, of

Great-Britain, in what manner she intended to arrange the Danubian difficulties.

I cannot be mistaken in the supposition that the Autocrat and the French President have acted throughout understandingly, with respect to Continental questions. Görgey surrendered on the 13th of August: Louis Napoleons famous letter was written on the 18th of that month. The intelligence could not have been conveyed from Vilagos to Paris in five days, and yet it must have been known at the Elysée National on the 18th that Russia had accomplished her purpose in Hungary. It is not presumable, judging from antecedents, that the liberal opinions expressed to Prey would have been communicated to the public, while a chance remained for the success of the Magyars. I risk nothing in stating that Louis Napoleon was authentically informed of the treasonable designs of Görgey, as well as of the precise time at which they would be executed, when his epistle was prepared. He could afford to utter generous sentiments after having been instrumental in battering down liberty. — The Cardinals, from the day of their valorization, had been in the constant commission of deeds revolting to humanity. Why were they, then, not punished or rebuked at the out-set? Because Russia had not finished her work, if indeed Louis Napoleon was averse to them in reality.

The smaller States of Germany are now to be

arrangeg. Whether they be divided between or taken alto-
gether by Austria or by Prussia is of but little moment, since
the actroiet Constitution of the one is as objectionable as that
of the other. In their operations the provisions of both may
be expressed in a dozen words. They notoriously mean
nothing more than that Francis Joseph and Frederick William, by
the grace of Necholas, are absolute, have mighty armies, and exact
implicit obedience from their subjects. The military strength
of Russia, Austria, Prussia, and the smaller German States is about
2,150,000 men, supported at an expense of at least $100,000,000
annually. This immense army is to be increased. (Russia hav-
ing already given an order to that effect with respect to her own)
and will hereafter be employed, as at present seems certain, in
establishing and sustaining autocratic measures. If
therefore, Louis Napoleon shall succeed in re-establishing the Im-
perial Throne of France, his "relation" will take care that the
Crown shall be placed on his head and kept there. The ob-
literation of Switzerland may be delayed until the Constitution
of the Republic is formally subverted. France will then
overtly co-operate with the Autocrat, as she has done all along
under the administration of Louis Napoleon covertly. England,
by her stupendous blunders, will cease to be heard upon the
Continent, nor is it likely, with such odds against her, that
she will attempt to make herself felt. How different

might have been her position! Before Russia received to the res-
cue of Austria, Hungarian independence was almost as good as
established.

The Autocrat is said to have familiarly remark-
ed to one of our representatives near his Court: "Your government
or mine." I imagine that this sentiment has latterly been so chan-
ged as not to embrace ourselves; for in his manifesto of the 29th ult.
he says: "Penetrated with gratitude to the bestower of all bles-
sings, We exclaim in the fullness of Our heart, God is with us! —
Hear it ye people and believe it, God is truly with us." As
the millenium of autocracy cannot occur during the existence of Re-
publics, the Czar in his triumphs, will perhaps regard us as his
natural enemy. This is the more probable as our country
is the asylum for the thousands whom his system is driving
from their homes. — In 1823 France drew her sword in
the service of the Holy Alliance, which aimed not only at pro-
tecting the then reigning dynasties but also entertained, for a
time, the notion of regulating the balance of power upon the
American Continent. She may do the same again without
returning it to its scabbard unstained, in the service of the Au-
tocrat who contemplates the creation of Thrones and the pros-
truction of Republics in Europe, and the wasting of an univer-
sal warfare against the principles of self-government. From
Russia, singly, America has nothing whatever to apprehend. A

nation that has no navigation can have no mariners, and consequently, the navy of the Autocrat must continue to be tied up in ordinary, and to rot, for the want of hands to sail it. — Neither Austria nor Prussia have any war marine deserving of mention, — that of the former, according to an official statement before me, consisting of 3 frigates, 6 corvettes 7 brigs, 3 steamers, and 50 gun boats, and the latter of 1 corvette, 3 steamers (the "United States", "Acadia" and "Britannia") and a few small steam boats. — The steam navy of France is large, but it does not contain half a dozen first rate ships. It might be efficient in coast service, for which it was mainly constructed, but it seems to be ill adapted for the prosecution of long voyages. The experiment made with the four vessels, employed two years ago in trade intercourse with New-York, was singularly unsuccessful, on account of imperfection in construction and machinery.

+ With such facts before our eyes, if a coalition of the Continental powers, under the direction of the bold and energetic enemy of political freedom, be formed, no uneasiness need be excited for our safety. If we are favored with peace and continued prosperity, in a few years we shall be found in the possession of a steam commercial marine — which can be readily converted into war vessels — larger than that of all the world beside. Our almost interminable sea-board, and its trade, — our foreign navigation and commerce — under judicious

encouragement, will insure this result. The destiny assigned us is as high above the destiny assigned the Cossack's chieftain as Divine Light is above the regions of infernal darkness. — May we never lose sight of our true duty by becoming anarchists, monarchists, democrats, false philanthropists, socialists or communists. +

I have the honor to be,

Most Faithfully,

Your Obt. S.V.t.

A. Dudley Mann.

(Mailed at Bremen.)

No. 12. A. D. Mann. Vienna - 27 Sept. 18[illegible]

No. 13.

Paris, October 8, 1849.

Sir; —

I reached here yesterday. In my communications to you from Vienna, I deemed it prudent to avoid any mention, whatever, of the nature of my mission. My despatches were prepared with as much caution, in this respect — freely as I expressed my opinions and views on other subjects — as though they were to be submitted to the examination of the Austrian authorities.

I now rejoice, more than ever, that the President bestowed upon me the appointment of Confidential Agent; not that I shall derive, or am entitled to, the least degree of fame for the manner in which I have discharged my duties, but because I have reason to flatter myself, that I have been so fortunate as to commit no mistake, or imprudence, calculated to endanger the peace of our country. A more delicate or complicated mission, as I saw from the first, was never confided even to the most experienced and accomplished diplomatist. The smallest of the dangers attendant upon it, in the exasperated state of Austria and Russia, at the time of my repairing to Vienna

Hon. John M. Clayton.
Secretary of State.
Washington.

and subsequently were those personal to myself. Our Chargè was not at his post: He was represented by the tutor of his children, — a comparatively young and inexperienced Austrian — who had no other authority from his Chief than to verify passports. Nor had we a solitary Consul in Austria during a great part of my stay in Vienna.

At Berlin, on my route, I took the precaution to have the parcel, which I received from the Department, enclosed under the seal of the Legation of the U.S., without explaining however the nature of my duties, to the Legation of the U. S. at Vienna, and my son appointed bearer of despatches. Fortunately I possessed an old passport, authenticated at the Legation here more than two years ago, with the statement that I was charged by my government with diplomatic functions, and I was thus enabled to cross the Austrian frontier without detention, or more than a mere formal examination of my baggage. Upon entering Vienna, I proceeded, with my son, to the Legation and deposited there all my official papers. It is proper for me to add that I requested the representative of Mr. Stiles to open the parcel, in order that he might see that it contained nothing for Mr. S.; which, being done, it was re-sealed. I took occasion to remark

that the documents related to Hungarian affairs, and that it was of the utmost importance that they should be kept entirely secure from mortal eye. The correspondence of our Charge with the Department of State was afterwards offered to me for perusal, but, under the circumstances, I concluded to decline an examination of it. [Although the gentleman entrusted with the Legation made rather a favorable impression upon me I, nevertheless, was not free from fears that he might be induced to betray his trust, particularly as his first duty was to his Sovereign; but I had no alternative but to commit my papers to his care, inasmuch as they would be liable to seizure at any moment if they remained in my hands.

This Count

+ The government of Hungary had become an itinerant one before my commission arrived: In its retreat from Pesth it was without a fixed destination, locating itself in the first instance temporarily at Szegedin. I, consequently, determined, after getting to Vienna, to be guilty of no such indiscretion, unbounded as was my desire for the success of the Magyars, as to engage in an attempt which would inevitably prove abortive, to follow its uncertain movements. I conceived that my duties would be better discharged by standing still and watching minutely the effect of the events that were transpiring — for-

pered to act with efficiency at the first propitious moment — then by an imprudent risk, or premature disclosure in=tercourse with the Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, to furnish Austria and Russia with a valid excuse for a quarrel, and perhaps casus belli, with my country. It is my deliberate belief that during the uncertainty of the issue of the war, when the two autocratic powers were torment=ed by the sympathetic meetings, and other demonstrations, in England and in the United States, Nicholas and Fran=cis Joseph were anxious for a suitable pretext to terminate their amicable relations with us, — such as would have been afforded them by a knowledge of the existence of my appointment, instructions &c. The uniform poli=cy of our government in relation to nations struggling for freedom and independence, not unknown at St. Petersburg and Vienna, doubtlessly led the Czar and his youthful ally to contemplate the likelihood of such a mission as that with which I was charged, and to arrange their plans for preventing its execution accordingly. For what purpose was Mr. Bodisco stationed at Berlin and the Chevalier Huelsmann at Vienna, while hostilities were pending? Evidently to prevent, if possible, our moral intervention in behalf of Hungary.

I was disposed to proceed direct from Vi=

ence to Florence, and so informed you, but as soon as I ascertained that Mr. Stiles — whom I had been anxiously expecting for some time — would not resume his duties, and that the archives of the Legation were to be left with Mr. Schwartz, I resolved to re-visit Paris. + After what I had heard from reliable sources, together with that which passed under my own eyes, concerning this functionary, I was quite unwilling to place such documents as mine in his possession, and I deemed it hazardous to bear them with me to Tuscany. ++ Moreover, I was not sure that I would be permitted to reside in Florence, until I could hear from you, without satisfying the authorities that I was called there for an ostensible object.

Before closing my correspondence, in connexion with my mission, I conceived it to be proper to lay before you, as explanatory of the embarrassing position in which I was placed from the commencement, the preceding statements and remarks.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c.

Most Faithfully,

Your Ob't. S'v't.

A. Dudley Mann.

No. 13. A. D. Mann. Paris - 8 Oct. 1869 -

Recd 6. Nov 1849 Mr Markoe

No. 14.

Extract

Paris, October 15, 1849.

Sir: —

Before quitting Vienna I stated to you that the prospect was somewhat favorable for an early abandonment of the Tobacco régie system in Austria. I now proceed to detail such information in connexion with the subject as I suppose may be employed by the government with advantage in contributing to the accomplishment of an object so vastly important to our country's interests.

The Austrian Empire, it may be well for me to state at the commencement, contains at the present time, as nearly as can be correctly ascertained, 35,375,000 inhabitants, 15,000,000 of whom are embraced in Hungary (including Transylvania, Croatia, Sclavonia, the Military Boundary, and the Coast-land); 4,675,000 in Galicia; 4,250,000 in Bohemia; 2,300,000 in Moravia and Silesia; 2,400,000 in the Lower and Upper Arch-duchies of Austria proper; 1,000,000 in Styria; 900,000 in Tyrol and Vorarlberg; and 4,850,000 in Lombardy and Venice. This population is composed of 16,000,000 Sclaves; 7,000,000 Germans; 4,700,000 Magyars; 5,000,000 Italians; 2,000,000 Wallachians; 500,000 Jews; 150,000 Gypsies; 15,000 Armenians; 5,000 Greeks; and 5000 French and Swiss.

Hon. John M. Clayton.
Secretary of State.
Washington.

The annual average yield of Tobacco in Austria is estimated at 79,000,000 lbs. The plant is not permitted to be grown elsewhere in the realm, than in Hungary, Galicia, Tyrol, and Venice. In Hungary alone, it is free from the surveillance of the régie; and there, peculiarly favored by climate and soil, it is the leading agricultural staple,—the product amounting to 68,000,000 lbs. annually, one third of which is disposed of to the Austrian régie, another exported to foreign countries, and the other consumed at home. In Galicia the climate is too cold, and otherwise unsuitable, for enlarged or successful Tobacco growing. The product, all of which is purchased by the régie, is about 9,000,000 lbs per annum. In Tyrol and Venice the régie is so exacting of the cultivator, as to cause its officers to count every plant before the crop matures.

In the re-organization of the Empire — which from a destitution of homogeneous population has been miraculously preserved from dismemberment — it is a primary consideration, as I understand, with the government, to establish a system of commerce and revenue that will be uniform in its operations upon the different ci-devant Kingdoms, Archduchies, Principalities, Counties, &c. The want of such an one palpably contributed to increase the prejudices of one nationality against another, and to add to the just dissatisfaction of each, with Metternich and the Camarilla. The

continuance of the Tobacco régie presents insurmountable obstacles to the adoption of measures calculated to secure to the governed, equality in taxation and privileges. To place Hungary under the régie is admitted to be impossible, unless soldiers shall be quartered in the house of every planter. — From his habitual freedom to the use of his pipe the Hungarian, from time immemorial, has regarded Tobacco as indispensable to his existence: It is computed that male adults, in the aggregate, consume annually about 6½ lbs. each. The régie realizes a profit of 10 cts. on every pound of smoking Tobacco, and consequently, if its operations were extended to Hungary, each smoker would be subjected to a new annual tax — to say nothing of others — of 65 cents upon his Tobacco; thus causing a drain of $2,000,000 more, unless consumption should be diminished, than was required heretofore, for the sustenance of the monarchy. The value of an average Tobacco crop in Hungary, before it is conveyed from the estates producing it, may be stated at about $2,750,000. The industry engaged in the cultivation of the staple, is as amply remunerated for its labor as that employed in any other agricultural vocation.

Austria realizes annually a revenue from the Tobacco régie of $7,500,000, — less by one half than is derived from a similar source in France, and by two-thirds than

Great-Britain collects from import duties on Tobacco. This sum she cannot afford to lose, in the present state of her finances, or she would doubtlessly, at once, abolish the monopoly, inasmuch as it is excessively odious to the military. — In the States of the Zollverein of Germany, which contain a population of about 28,000,000, and which produce more than three-fourths of the quantity of Tobacco produced in all Austria, the receipt of duties upon unmanufactured Tobacco, under a specific duty of $3.35 cts. per 100 lbs., amounted in 1846 — the latest official report that I have seen — to $1,776,774, and upon "manufactured or in rolls", cigars, and snuff, under a duty ranging from $7 to $9.50 per 100 lbs., $541,948. In most, if indeed not all, the provinces of Austria the fondness of the people for the pipe equals that of those in the embraces of the Zollverein, while their ability to enjoy it, if the price of Tobacco were as moderate, is much greater. Therefore, even under such a Tariff in Austria as is in force in the Zollverein — supposing the cultivation to remain the same in Hungary, Galicia, Tyrol, and France, (and it is not likely to be increased) — the entire State, with a population one-fifth larger than the States composing the Zollverein, might calculate with certainty upon raising a revenue of $2,882,266 from the article. If to this be added the cost of maintaining the régie in its existing form the actual loss to the treasury would perhaps not exceed $3,000,000.

The question that will naturally suggest itself to the government of Austria in the event of a resolution for the discontinuance of the monopoly, is: under what import duty on Tobacco can the largest revenue be secured? This inquiry a well informed Chargè of the United States could unobtrusively assist in solving a task with singular benefit to his country, particularly in the deficiency of practical financiers and sound political economists at Vienna. The Zollverein tariff, as is admitted even by Prussian functionaries, is not the most favorable that could be adopted, as relates to Tobacco, for revenue purposes, while it is notoriously unjust in its operations upon our product, as may be elucidated by a single statement: A pound of Bale Tobacco, worth from $1 to $1.50 per lb., is submitted to no higher import than a pound of Maryland, Ohio, Virginia or Kentucky Tobacco, the value of which is from three to six cents per lb. — If we could influence Austria, by fair argument, to establish an ad valorem duty of 25 or at most 30 per cent. upon manufactured Tobacco, I am quite confident that she would not only be benefited herself, in realizing the highest attainable Custom-House revenue on the article, but that we should enjoy a vastly extended market in that Empire for our staple. The Hungarian Tobacco, which is only suited to the pipe, does not compete successfully with ours in any of the European markets, and if it were protected by a 25 or 30 per cent. ad val. duty, the

consumption of the yield of Maryland and Ohio would, notwithstanding, so universally popular is it with smokers, be upon an extended scale in Austria: It has, heretofore, been in general use in the free port of Trieste and the recent free port of Venice.

The contemplated financial and commercial system of Austria, if it shall be judiciously arranged, will, in all probability, be adopted, so far as it can be made applicable, in the Italian peninsula, Piedmont, and the German States. No one of the governments, in fact, which were convulsed by the revolutionary movement of last year, seems to have determined definitively upon its financial and commercial policy yet. — The King of Naples, the Pope, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany were represented before I left Vienna, as anxiously awaiting a demonstration on the part of Austria, in order to shape their system in conformity therewith. It is not only important to Austria that all nationalities within her limits shall be speedily obliterated, and her subjects in each division made to harmonize by like privileges, or like oppressions, extending over all, but it is also deemed necessary, in order to the establishment of durable order and its less difficult preservation, that the Italian and German subjects of Francis Joseph shall have no cause to complain that the subjects of Italian and German Princes are under gentler, or more just rule, than themselves. In the communications of this nature no conclusions

are designed for the governed. Though slight pecuniary ones, in some instances, may result from it.

Under existing circumstances it is scarcely possible that an accredited Agent to the government of Tuscany, could succeed in negotiating a Treaty with that Grand Duchy, to which the other States of the peninsula would accede, of an advantageous nature, but he could, perhaps, serve our interests as well by furnishing arguments to the Grand Duke which, from his generous commercial sentiments, he might be disposed to employ, in reference to our Tobacco interests, with Austria.

Our navigation in its intercourse with Austria, is on as good a footing as we could reasonably desire. We carry about 38 times as much to Austrian ports as Austria carries to our ports, while Austria carries about 35,000 tons more per annum to British ports than Great-Britain carries to Austrian ports. — The commercial marine of Austria measures about 225,000 tons, numbers 6,000 vessels and employs 27,000 seamen: 600 vessels, measuring 175,000 tons, are engaged in trade with foreign countries — chiefly with Turkey; 3,000, measuring 60,000 tons, engaged in the coasting trade, and 2,400 engaged in the home fisheries. The annual increase of tonnage, in the first class of vessels, is about 3,500 tons.

Austria imports from the United States 25,000,000 lbs cotton wool per annum, and from all other countries 16,000,000 lbs. She has 190 cotton spinneries, with 1,130,000 spindles, which give active employment to 25,000 hands, and produce annually 37,000,000 lbs. Twist. The duty on cotton wool is about 30 cents per 100 lbs.; on twist $5.50.

+ Austria as she now exists, can never consume largely of our products except cotton wool and tobacco. Nor should we have gained any thing, commercially, by the establishment of Hungarian Independence. The produce of the soil of the United States and of Hungary is quite similar, with the exception of the cotton plant and the sugar cane. ++ Hungary yields annually about 25,000,000 Lower Austria Metzen wheat, 20,000,000 rye, 30,000,000 oats, 23,000,000 barley, 17,000,000 Indian corn, 10,000 centners rice, 27,000 eimers wine, 68,000,000 lbs tobacco, as before stated, 50,000,000 centners hay, 350,000 centners wool, a few thousand pounds of silk, 11,000,000 cords (Austrian measure) wood: The mines yield 3,100 marcs gold, 69,287 marcs silver, 493 marcs quicksilver, 39,017 centners copper, 27,000 lead, 300 zinc, 425,000 iron, 9,000 antimony, 17,000 alum, 800,000 stone coal. When the last census was taken the number of horses was 1,000,000, of horned cattle 4,260,000, of sheep 17,000,000, of hogs 4,000,000. I know of no article that we could have sold to Hungary to advan-

tage, in its raw state, nor of any one that we could have bought from her. Most, if not all, of the manufactures, that she would have required, she could have procured elsewhere on better terms than in the United States. Her interest, as it seem, being exclusively agricultural, without manufactories of any description deserving of mention, she might have been an invaluable commercial ally to England. — I may add that Hungary proper contains not an inch of sea-board: Fiume, (an insecure harbor) Buccari, and Porto-Ré, are situated in Croatia; and Zara, Spalato, Ragusa, and Cattaro in Dalmatia. If the Magyars had been successful, even with Croatia and Dalmatia embraced in their national bounds, we could not, under the most favorable Treaty stipulations, have enjoyed an extended direct navigation with them nor a more profitable treaty one, proportionately, than we now enjoy with Austria.

I have the honor to be, &c &c

Most Faithfully.

Your Ob't. S'v't.

A. Dudley Mann.

No. 14. A. D. Mann. Paris. 15 Oct. 1849.—

Rec? 12 Nov. - 49 -

No. 15. Extract

Paris, October 25, 1849.

Sir: —

The copy of the "National Intelligencer," containing the French correspondence, transmitted to me by the Department, was received on the 18th instant.

I entirely concur in opinion with the President, as to the necessity which existed for the prompt dismission of the minister of France. This procedure was demanded by national self-respect: it was demanded as a salutary rebuke for palpable departures from diplomatic proprieties: it was demanded "to preclude opportunities which might be again abused" for manifesting intentional discourtesy to the government of the United States.

Whatever the efforts to restore the accredited functionary of France to his former position, the President, in my opinion, should resolutely decline a renewal of official intercourse with him. Were we to make the slightest concessions to France, in this instance, the representatives of impertinent and presumptuous powers, and even those of petty states, might avail themselves of the precedent to wantonly address, on the most trivial occasions, offensive statements and remarks to our government. While I am not a stickler for a rigid observance

Hon. John M. Clayton.
Secretary of State
Washington.

of diplomatic etiquette I am, nevertheless, desirous that our own correspondence with foreign nations shall be characterized by temperate, courteous, and dignified language. Nothing was ever gained in negotiations by the employment of disrespectful or reproachful terms: The suaviter in modo is invariably more effective than the fortiter in re. This is the first, and most important, of all lessons for those who go abroad to represent their country; and our own public servants should learn it well in order that we may not only increase our fame and our usefulness, but that we may also furnish no example hereafter, by inconsiderate endeavorings to irascible and inexperienced diplomats residing near our government.

+ The appointment of Mr. Rives, as I foresaw from the first, was an unfortunate one: To make any concession to the French government, for the purpose of securing his reception, would be to commit a serious blunder. Mr. de Tocqueville has, perhaps, prior to this, proposed to the President, that, before diplomatic relations can be regularly resumed between the two countries, Mr. Pozzis must be re-established in his position or another Minister accredited to France: that although Mr. P's. notes to yourself contained objectionable expressions, yet they were not really more offensive than the terms used by Mr. A in his correspondence with the Minister of Foreign Affairs of France in 1830: and that if the former rendered himself obnoxious to the gov=

ernment of the United States there is no reason, acting under simi-
lar considerations, why the latter should not be obnoxious to the
government of France. Thus, the recognition of Mr. Rives
would be consequent upon the re-recognition of Mr. Pouzin! —
Does the President decline the reception of Mr. R., upon conditions
so adverse to the elevated principle upon which he now stands in
the affair? Would he submit to a wrong after having nobly
sustained himself in a right? I cannot be mistaken, in
the event of such an issue, as to the course he would adopt.

Even had the relations of the French Minister with
our government continued perfectly harmonious, Mr. Rives could
neither have been a popular nor a successful Minister here: —
This was indicated to me, in a distinct manner, in a conversation
which I had with an intelligent country gentleman, in an adjoin-
ing department, as far back as May. He asked who, in
the change of administration, would be the successor of Mr. Rush.
I replied, Mr. Rives most probably. "Comment," inquired he,
l'homme qui nous a trompés et qui s'en est vanté ensuite?" — What,
the man who deceived us and afterwards boasted of it? — alluding
to the assertions contained in Mr. R's despatch to Mr. Livingston
of July 8, 1831. This despatch, I may add, is at present, the
subject of conversation in all well informed political circles.

It is proper for me to state, after having so frank-
ly expressed my views upon so delicate a matter, that I never

communicated with any one, touching the appointment of Mr. Rives, except a devoted friend of yours at Washington, to whom I wrote in June, and I request him, by the steamer which conveys this, to place my note before you for perusal.

I understand that the French cabinet complains of the publication of the correspondence, under the circumstances. This is natural enough, inasmuch as public men have rarely sufficient nerve to face their mistakes when clearly revealed to the world. The note of Mr. de Tocqueville to Mr. Rush is not calculated to win a reputation for the writer as a diplomatist. — Of one thing you may be assured: The notion of a war with the United States is no where entertained among the French. The government, whether it be nominally republican, or autocratic, will have quite enough to do to take care of itself, for the next five years, if not the next five hundred, without seeking a casus belli with a nation so peaceably disposed and friendly as the United States.

Yesterday I casually met with Count Teleki, the late accredited Minister of Hungary to France, for the first time. Clasping my hand between his, he exclaimed, "I cannot be mistaken in the supposition that there was one magnanimous nation prepared to acknowledge my dear country, as soon as circumstances would possibly admit." With a heart bleeding for the wrongs and sorrows of his

consultation I could reply in no other manner than by bowing af-
firmatively. From the day that my commission reached me
I studiously avoided interviews with the Magyars, resolving that
my first should be with their Secretary of Foreign Affairs. In
the first place, with all my sympathies wordinately excited for their
cause, I feared that I might be misled by their plausible enthusiasm.
In the second, if any calamity should befal me, in the prosecution of
my duties, I was unwilling that it should be attributable, in any
degree — to the prejudice of my government — to indiscreet inter-
course with, or inconsiderate zeal for the struggling patriots. IX

Austria and Prussia have conjointly established a
federal authority for Germany in conformity with the plan proposed
by the former, an outline of which I furnished you in my number 10.
The Archduke Alfred of Austria has been placed in command of
the fortress of Maynce, in virtue of this arrangement. The
King of Hanover, standing upon his reserved rights under the Trea-
ties of 1815, protests against an usurpation of power so dan-
gerous to the sovereignty of his realm. Frederick William
replies that, notwithstanding he considers that these Treaties are
still obligatory, the Germanic Act, which they provided for, has
lost its authority and it cannot be re-established.

I have the honor to be,

Most Faithfully, your Ob.t. S.vt.

A. Dudley Mann.

No. 16. A. D. Mann. Paris. 25 oct. 1849

Rec'd by Mr Mankee 21 Nov.

No. 16.

Paris, October 29, 1848.

Sir; —

Indings have just been received by me from Vienna which I consider entitled to credit, that Austria had given instructions to her plenipotentiaries who were about to repair to Frankfort for the purpose of adjusting definitively the question of the authority of the Confederation, to consent to an abandonment of her Tobacco Régie if it should be ascertained that it interposed any obstacles to the establishment of a Commercial Union between that Empire and the States which constitute the Zollverein and the German Coast States. My despatches must have prepared you for this agreeable intelligence, from my statements on the subject both before and since my return to Paris. The contemplated measure is more important than any that has occurred on the Continent for a number of years, as relates to American interests, and I need not remark that we should leave no efforts untried to consummate and turn it to the most valuable account.

The Austrian Empire, Prussia, and the German States, and the Italian States contain, in the aggregate about 87,000,000 inhabitants. If a Commercial Union be formed under the auspices of Austria, extending over her Provinces and the Sovereignties of Germany, the States of the Italian peninsula — such is the influence which the gov =

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ernment of France could exercise upon each — with perhaps Sardinia, will unite without unnecessary delay in a similar if not an identical system. By judicious management I think it likely that we may succeed in getting the import duty on Tobacco established in all the States designated at 30 per cent. ad val. The primary consideration in fixing the rate of custom-house import will be to realize the largest obtainable amount of revenue from the article; and I believe it is susceptible of demonstration that a Tariff of 25, or at most 30 per cent., will operate the most favorably for this object. With such a duty as the latter, even, we could safely calculate upon a consumption of our product of one and a half pounds per annum, or 130,500,000 lbs. — equal to 130,500 hhds. This would be within 5,262 hhds. of the entire export of our staple in 1847.

Cotton wool, in all probability, would be permitted to enter the Commercial Union duty free, while the duty on Twist, as a measure of protection for domestic industry, would be made to conform to the existing duty on the article in Austria. This would operate most injuriously to Great-Britain. It would deprive the Manchester manufacturers, almost exclusively, of the lucrative markets which they at present enjoy for 75,000,000 lbs. Cotton yarn annually.

The transit duties and river tolls would, as a consequence of the Commercial Union, be abolished on all our products, from the North Sea to the Adriatic and from the Lake of Constance to the Baltic.

France could not long resist the influences which might be brought to bear upon her for the relinquishment of the Tobacco monopoly, if Austria, Prussia, and the German States should unite in a commercial bond and establish a moderate Tariff upon the article. The government in future, whatever its form, can have no security for a day's existence except that which is derivable from the army. The army, therefore, must be favored whatever the cost. Now there is scarcely a soldier in its ranks who does not consider Tobacco essential to his ordinary enjoyments, and who is not conscious that the price of it is unjustly dear. I risk nothing in stating that if a manifestation should proceed from the military against the régie — such as would likely transpire if autocratic nations should abandon the traffic in the staple and substitute a moderate duty — France would be compelled to yield to its demands.

While I am quite confident that there is not a government in Europe which is disposed to make any amelioration in its system of duties on our products, in a sense of reciprocity for our liberal Tariff on its manufactures, I am, nevertheless, certain that we may furnish arguments to the advocates of commercial reforms which they may employ advantageously with their opponents, and, consequently, with benefit to our interests. The fact cannot be concealed, that there is a wonderful degree of ignorance concerning financial and commercial subjects in Continental Europe.

It may, possibly, be supposed, from the frequency

with which I recur to the matter that I attach an undeserved importance to an exclusion of the consumption of our early staple in Europe: — To remove such an impression, if it exist, I need only state that the plant is grown in every State and Territory in the Union: That its production as a staple, is confined to no section: That it nurtures as perfectly in the valleys of the Connecticut and Mushingum rivers as in those of the James and Missouri: And that its cultivation, with remunerating prices, may be largely augmented and with profit to all other industrial pursuits.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c.

Most Faithfully,

Your Ob't. Serv't.

A. Dudley Mann.

Paris, November 1, 1849.

Dear Sir; —

The Chambers of Tuscany are to convene on the 1st of January. Hence it is important, in the event of your having determined upon my mission to the Tuscan government, that I should reach Florence prior to that time.

Without being over confident that the tobacco monopoly will be abandoned by Austria, I cannot but regard the indications as highly encouraging that such a measure will be adopted. The opinions and views which, through my unknown instrumentality, were communicated to the public on the subject, during my sojourn in Vienna, were fortunately in season, and engaged, as I understood, the serious consideration of the cabinet.

If the coast states of Germany consent to join Austria in a Commercial League they will be disposed to insist on a low tobacco duty; and, as far as we could do so prudently, we should endeavor to influence them to be resolute in their demands. I should like to be at Frankfort when the question is taken into consideration. This will not probably occur until towards the beginning of June. By that time I could complete the duties of the proposed mission to Tuscany, Greece, and Switzerland.

Much credit would be due to the Administration if, through its agency it should succeed in abolishing the tobacco regie of Austria. Is it necessary that I should assure you of my willingness to work, incessantly, for the accomplishment of an object, promising so much immediate and prospective good, for our country? France would, doubtless, soon be forced to follow the example of her future autocratic ally; after which we could possibly operate upon Great-Britain to reduce, to a reasonable standard, her enormous import duty on

the staple. Energy and adroit informed diplomacy would enable us to succeed.

The continued uniformity of the French journals in the absence of silence in relation to the dismission of Mr. Poussin would indicate that they studiously avoid an allusion to the matter. This however is not the case! They are occupied with subjects of a graver nature. + A difficulty with the United States is not desired by politicians of any shade from rouge à bleue.

The position which the President assumed, on his account of the official importunence of the French Minister to yourself, will be as memorable in the annals of diplomacy, if it remain unchanged, as it is honorable to our government. It is a spectacle replete with beauties for courteous well-intentioned states to witness a young, self-governing nation rebuking in dignified language a power which before and since the days of Talleyrand has regarded itself as the diplomatic par excellence of the universe, for gross international discourtesies committed through her representative and his principal.

Mr. Rives favored me two days since with a visit of half an hour's duration. He was not communicative nor was I inquisitive with respect to his reception. — Mr. R. is admirably calculated to make excellent impressions every where, and eminently qualified to serve his country with ability abroad: But I cannot dismiss my fears that the sphere of his usefulness will be exceedingly contracted in France in the event of his recognition.

The letter of the President of the Republic to the President of the Assembly is virtually a proclamation of war against the majority of the Legislature. This majority headed by Thiers, Molé and Montalembert, has recently been actuated by but a solitary idea, — the Restoration of the Crown to the Bourbon family. It is understood that since time in Au-

quot last, the former antagonistic branches of the Bourbons came to an amicable understanding with reference to their pretensions to the Throne in the event of its reconstruction. Louis Philippe consented to relinquish his own right to it together with that of his sons and grand-sons, in favour of the Count of Chambord at whose death or abdication, it was to revert to the Count of Paris. Louis Napoleon, at the first intimation, arrayed himself against this scheme. To weaken the monarchical coalition in the Assembly, occasioned by the definitive arrangement between the Bourbons, he prepared his celebrated Ney letter, in which there was an abandonment of his Roman policy. The adoption by an overwhelming vote of the Report of Thiers, in behalf of the Pope, was considered as condemnatory of the principles expressed in that letter, and a great triumph for the Bourbonists. Louis Napoleon now falls back upon the vote of 10th December, as the test of the strength of the Bonapartists, and makes a direct issue with the majority, placing himself at the head of a ministry which harmonizes in all his views. He distinctly enough tells the Assembly what its duties are, and that they cannot be discharged unless it unite itself "in the national thought of which the election of the executive power has been the expression." A conflict between the executive and Legislature is, consequently, inevitable and speedy and the one or the other will have to succumb. I incline to the belief that Louis Napoleon will be triumphant, in which event he will be proclaimed Emperor of France.

I have the honor to be, most faithfully, your Obt Svt.

A. Dudley Mann.

Hon. John M. Clayton
&c. &c. &c.

a. D. Mann. Paris - 1 Nov. 1849 —

Rec'd 3 Dec. '48.

H. Barlow.

No. 17.

Paris, November 8, 1848.

Sir, —

Another great national crisis is evidently approach=ing in France. Nothing short of miracles, I fear, can now save the Republic. The early restoration of the Empire seems to admit of no reasonable doubt: Indeed, before this reaches its destina=tion the incumbent of the Élysée may be seated on an Imperial Throne. A suitable occasion — such as would be furnished by a vote of the Assembly adverse to a Ministerial measure — is alone required to in=sure a consummation of the event. This may not occur immed=iately but occur it unquestionably will sooner or later.

Paris and the fortresses in its environs contain more than 100,000 troops of the line. These troops, so complete is mil=itary rule, have the power of giving to France any form of govern=ment which they may designate. Louis Napoleon, from recent demonstrations, is their idol. With their affections thus warmly enlisted nothing is more easy than for them to concentrate, at a no=tice of an hour or two, in the Place Concorde, or elsewhere, proclaim him Emperor, conduct him to the Tuileries, and dissolve the Assembly. No formidable resistance will be made to a pro=cedure of the kind. In fact there is no force any where

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to offer physical opposition. The republican Europeans, from his singleness of honest purpose, commanded no strength: The Monarch, that which is left of it, is alike destitute of leaders and arms. The revolution, consequently, cannot be otherwise than an utterly bloodless one.

The re-action in Continental Europe commenced with the election of Louis Napoleon to the Constituent Assembly: the retrogression, the day that the Cossack's war-horse crossed the Hungarian frontier. The former has already, virtually, attained the goal which it was in pursuit of: To what point the latter will extend itself is a question which the most far-sighted statesman is incapable of answering. The bayonet has been made omnipotent. Justice bows to its heartless majesty: Reason submits to its unrighteous decisions: Mercy pleads in vain to its remorseless ferocity.

As sure as truth and light emanate from Divinity so sure will a day of retribution arrive for the hypocritical monarchs of France and the Potentates of those realms, who, installed by a restoration of authority, have deliberately caused multitudinous massacres for opinion's sake merely. But that day is apparently remote, and its dawn may not be hailed perhaps, until many of the more aged friends of rational political freedom shall have passed away from earth.

You may rely with entire certainty upon the forever-

vation of the general peace of Europe. There is not a speck of war, as far as my vision extends, upon the political horizon. The Autocrat, seeing his principles in the ascendant on the Continent, has nothing to fight for. His dispute with the Sultan, which from the first meant nothing, has been adjusted. Austria, Prussia, France, &c. have adopted, in all its vigor, his despotic military system, and could not if they would, engage in hostilities against him, or against one another. Great-Britain can no longer have a voice in the arrangement of Continental questions. Her influence is gone. She must confine her operations, henceforth, to the Seas and her Colonies.

The aggregate debt of the European States, with the loans proposed and likely to be contracted, is about $9.000,000,-000. The annual interest on this amount may be stated at $375,000,000, which has to be provided by a population of 235,000,000 inhabitants — more than $1.50 cts per head — in addition to the enormous revenue required for ordinary governmental expenses. Reduction, (which would result in anarchy) or continued tranquility, is thus imposed on powers which heretofore have been anxious for an excuse to draw the sword.

I have the honor to be, most faithfully,

Your Ob't. S. v't.

A. Lindsay Gaw.

N° 17 - a. D. Mann. Paris - 8 Nov. 1849. a

Recd 3 Dec. 49. Mr. Markoe.

No. 18.

Paris, November 15, 1849.

Sir; —

Austria continues to manifest an earnest desire to establish a German Commercial Union. She now proposes that a Congress of Delegates, selected by the different States, shall assemble at the earliest convenient period for the purpose. Should this occur we ought to be prepared to employ all the means at our disposal to secure the admission of our staples at low rates. We should find useful auxiliaries in Hanover, Oldenburg, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, and the Hanse-Towns. This

The Treasury of Tuscany appears to be in an exceedingly embarrassed condition. In his extremities to replenish it the Grand Duke proposes to pledge, as collateral security, for a loan of $1,000,000, the proceeds, as they may accrue, from the Tobacco régie. I still think, however, that the commercial system of Tuscany will be made to conform to that of Austria as soon as the latter is definitively arranged.

Metternich has removed from Brighton to Brussels. He is within ten hours of Paris, with which he can communicate twice a day. His departure from Brighton occurred about the time that the daily steam intercourse between that port and Calais was suspended! Another revolution in France, and the arch diplomat can return in triumph to Vienna. This revolution, under the counsels of an able head,

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he is hastening. He is now located on the direct line from this metropolis to St. Petersburg! But I was sufficiently explicit in relation to the potency of his voice at the Elysée in my number 12.

The last Liverpool steamer doubtless carried the intelligence across the water of the reception of Mr. Rives by the President of this Republic. I was not advised however of what had transpired until after I mailed my last number: in fact the interview took place only two or three hours before the post with the steamer letters started. — The speech of Mr. Rives upon the occasion appeared in "Galignani" "The Press" and other journals on the morning of the 9th, unaccompanied to my great surprise by any reply from the President. On the 11th the "Monitor" published a statement which may be considered official, and which certainly has not been contradicted, of the sentiments expressed by the Executive to our Minister during the audience which he gave to him. This statement will of course reach you through other channels, but as I have it before me I transmit it herewith.

I never examined any correspondence more carefully or more dispassionately than that between yourself and the two diplomatic functionaries of France, and I am entirely confirmed in the belief, as I have been all along, that the dismission of Mr. Poussin by the President was not only imperiously demanded by a due respect for our national honor but that every sentence contained in your notes to himself and Mr. de Tocqueville was eminently just and proper. Viewing the matter in this light I was amazed at the declaration of the President of

...DIEUX DE LOUIS KOSSUTH A LA HONGRIE.

« Orsowa, 15 août 1849.

» Adieu ma chère patrie, adieu patrie des Magyars! Adieu patrie des douleurs! Je ne pourrai plus contempler les cimes de tes montagnes; je ne pourrai plus donner le nom de patrie au sol où j'ai sucé, au sein de ma mère, le lait de la justice et de la liberté. Pardonneras-tu, ma chère patrie, à celui qui est condamné à errer loin de toi, parce qu'il a combattu pour ton bonheur? Pardonneras-tu, à moi qui ne puis plus appeler ici que ce petit carré de ton sol où je me trouve agenouillé avec ma famille et quelques fidèles enfants de la grande Hongrie vaincue?

» Mon regard se porte sur toi, ma chère patrie; je te vois accablée de souffrances, je le détourne vers l'avenir; l'avenir n'est qu'obscurité; tes plaines sont couvertes d'un sang rouge que l'implacable destruction bientôt rendra noir, comme pour porter le deuil des victoires que tes fils ont remportées sur les ennemis sacrilèges de ton sol sacré.

» Combien de cœurs reconnaissans ont fait monter leurs prières jusqu'au trône du Tout-Puissant! Combien de larmes ont coulé dans l'abîme pour évoquer la pitié même de l'enfer! Combien de sang répandu t'a prouvé que le Magyar aime sa patrie et qu'il sait mourir pour elle! Et pourtant, chère patrie, tu es esclave. Des entrailles de ton sol sortira le fer pour enchaîner tout ce qui est sacré et pour aider tout ce qui est sacrilége.

» O Dieu! si tu aimes ton peuple, à qui, après tant de combats, tu as permis de vaincre sous Arpad, notre aïeul héroïque, je te supplie, je t'implore, ne l'humilie pas!

» Vois, ô chère patrie, je te parle encore ainsi dans l'abîme de mon désespoir, sur la dernière hauteur de ton sol. Pardonne-moi, car un grand nombre de tes fils ont versé leur sang pour toi, à cause de moi. C'est que j'ai été ton ami, c'est que je t'ai protégé quand [illegible] avait écrit en lettres de sang le mot *perdu*. C'est que j'ai pris la parole quand on t'a dit : *Sois esclave!* C'est que je me suis ceint de mon épée et que j'ai pris une plume sanglante dans ma main lorsqu'on osait dire : *Tu n'es plus une nation sur la terre des Magyars!*

» Le temps a passé à pas pressés; le destin, sur les pages de ton histoire, a écrit, en lettres *jaune noir* : LA MORT! Pour y mettre le cachet, il a appelé le colosse du nord; mais le fer rouge de l'enfer fera fondre ce cachet.

» Vois-tu, ma patrie! pour toi qui as versé ton sang, il n'y a pas de compassion, car tes collines formées par les ossemens de tes fils la tyrannie découpe son pain.

» Vois-tu, ma patrie! l'ingrat que tu as engraissé de ton abondance, il a marché contre toi; il a marché contre toi, le traître à la patrie! pour te détruire de fond en comble.

» Mais, ô nation chérie! tu as supporté tout cela, tu n'as pas maudit ton existence, car dans ton sein, au dessus de toute douleur, l'espérance a placé son nid.

» Magyars! ne détournez pas vos regards de moi, car en ce moment mes larmes coulent pour vous, et le sol que mesurent mes pas s'appelle encore la Hongrie.

» Tu as succombé, ô la plus fidèle des nations! tu as succombé sous tes propres coups!

» Ce n'est pas le fer de l'ennemi étranger qui a creusé ta tombe; ce ne sont pas les canons des quatorze nations marchant contre toi qui ont effrayé ton patriotisme. Ce n'est pas la quinzième nation franchissant les Karpathes qui t'a forcée de mettre tes armes en faisceaux; non : tu as été trahie, tu as été vendue, ô patrie! ton arrêt de mort a été écrit, ô nation chérie! par celui dont je n'aurais jamais osé soupçonner le patriotisme.

» Dans l'essor de mes pensées audacieuses, j'aurais douté de l'existence de Dieu plutôt que de croire que lui, il pourrait jamais trahir sa patrie. Tu as été trahie par lui, dans les mains de qui j'ai déposé il y a quelques jours à peine le gouvernement de notre grande patrie, qu'il a juré de défendre jusqu'à la dernière goutte de son sang. Il est devenu traître à la patrie, car la couleur de l'or a été pour lui plus séduisante que celle du sang versé pour sauver la patrie. L'ignoble métal a eu plus de valeur à ses yeux que sa patrie et son Dieu, qui l'a quitté, comme il l'a quitté lui-même pour ses alliés de l'enfer.

» Magyars! chers compatriotes, ne m'accusez pas d'avoir été forcé de jeter mes yeux sur cet homme, de lui céder ma place. Il le fallait, car le peuple lui avait donné sa confiance; l'armée l'aimait, et il s'était acquis une position dont j'aurais pu être fier moi-même. Et pourtant cet homme a menti à la confiance de la nation, et il a répondu à l'amour de l'armée par la haine. Maudit soit le sein qui, ayant voulu le nourrir de son lait, n'a pas séché.

» Je t'aime, ô la plus fidèle des nations de l'Europe, comme j'aime la liberté, pour laquelle tu as si fièrement combattu. Le dieu de la liberté ne s'effacera jamais de ma mémoire. Sois bénie à jamais!

» Mes principes n'ont pas été ceux de Washington, et mes actes n'ont pas été ceux de Guillaume Tell. J'ai désiré une nation libre, libre comme l'homme ne peut être créé que par Dieu, parce qu'il est mortel, mortel comme le lys, pour pous-

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...ver l'année prochaine des fleurs plus belles; tu es morte, car ton hiver est arrivé; mais il ne sera pas aussi long que celui de la compagne, acis ...sous l'air glacial de la Sibérie. Non! quinz... tions ont creusé ta tombe, les bataillons de ... seizième arriveront pour te sauver.

» Sois fidèle comme tu l'as été jusqu'à présent, conforme-toi aux saintes paroles de la Bible; fais la prière des morts, et n'entonne ton hymne national que lorsque tu entendras les tonnerres de la nation libératrice gronder sur les montagnes.

» Adieu, chers compatriotes. Que la pensée de Dieu et les anges de la Liberté soient avec vous. Ne me maudissez pas : vous pouvez être fiers, car les lions de l'Europe se sont levés pour vaincre les rebelles. Je vais vous présenter au monde civilisé comme des héros, et la cause du peuple héroïque sera protégée par le plus libre des peuples libres.

» Adieu, ô sol marqué du sang de tant de braves: ces marques, il faut les garder pour qu'elles portent témoignage devant la nation qui t'aime.

» Adieu, jeune roi des Hongrois! n'oublie pas que ma nation ne t'est pas destinée, et Dieu me donne la confiance qu'il viendra un jour où tu en trouveras la preuve sur les ruines même des murailles de Bude.

» Que le Tout-Puissant te bénisse, ma nation chérie! crois, espère et aime! »

France that it was but just to admit that wrongs were committed on both sides, and still more amazed that the accredited representative of the United States should cordially approve — even in its connexion — of such declaration. I conceive the expression of the President of the French to be quite as gratuitous as those employed by Mr. de Tocqueville in his celebrated note to Mr. Rush, and really more objectionable on account of its emanating from a higher authority. This

I enclose Kossuth's farewell address to Hungary. You will find that it corroborates the opinions which I advanced respecting Görgey in my despatch of September 27. It is touchingly beautiful and cannot fail to cause every generous reader of it to heave a sigh and shed a tear for the exiled patriot. — Kossuth seems to have hoped on to the last that Turkey, backed by France and Great-Britain, would engage in hostilities with Russia and Austria, and that in consequence his country would rise again. For this reason he was unwilling to quit Widdin, until a few days since.

I have the honor to be,

Most Faithfully,

Your Ob't. S'v't.

A. Dudley Mann.

Le Président de la République a reçu jeudi dernier, en audience particulière, le ministre des Etats-Unis avec lequel les rapports avaient été interrompus à la suite du différend survenu entre M. Poussin et le ministre des affaires étrangères du cabinet de Washington. Le président de la République a déclaré au ministre des Etats-Unis que, malgré des torts dont il était juste de compte de part et d'autre, il saisirait volontiers le premier pas pour rétablir la bonne harmonie entre les deux grands pays, qu'une susceptibilité naturelle peut-être, vis à vis d'une monarchie, ne lui paraissait pas avoir de motif sérieux vis-à-vis d'une république aînée.

Il a ajouté que, dans l'intérêt qu'il devait être de l'honneur de la France, il avait une très haute opinion des lumières et du [illegible] du général Taylor, pour hésiter un moment à convenir de la peine qu'il éprouverait de voir des sentimens d'amitié et [illegible] à l'égard du sujet d'un [illegible] sans [illegible].

[illegible] l'ambassadeur des Etats-Unis a remercié [illegible]

No 18. A. D. Mann, Paris - 15 Nov. 1849 —

Rec'd 12 Dec. 49.

Mr. Barbour

No. 19.

Paris, November 22, 1849.

Sir, —

Many of the European States will be prepared by the 1st of January to engage in the indirect carrying to and from the ports of Great Britain on the terms provided for by the Act of Parliament of last session. Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Hanover, Oldenburg, and the Hanseatic Republics will, unquestionably, assimilate the British flag with their own in this branch of navigation: Indeed in several of those States discriminating duties are not levied at present, nor have they been heretofore, upon the vessels or their cargoes of any foreign country. Austria and Russia will also reciprocate with Great Britain, and possibly Belgium. Holland, it is presumable, will not be disposed to change her existing navigation and commercial system, as such a procedure would impair the revenue which she derives from her Colonial possessions and result otherwise injurious to her interests. Her Indian products are conveyed to Amsterdam and Rotterdam exclusively in her own bottoms, where they are brought into market under governmental regulations, and from those places exported to other countries in such vessels as are entitled by Treaty stipulations to carry them. Holland claims to be the country of growth of that which is grown in her

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and monopolizing the traffic in the staples of that Island, she will hesitate long before she will consent to let coffee be carried from Batavia to New-York in a British ship. At this time there are no valuable indications that France seriously contemplates a change of her Navigation Laws. The President, it is true, has repeatedly spoken and written of commercial "anglomanias", which he designed, but his statements contained nothing of a distinctive nature upon the subject: He will not probably be more specific in his views until a change of the form of government is consummated... --

The liberal provisions of the British Navigation Act are calculated to create an impression adverse to a revision of our own legislation, with reference to foreign Navigation, and may contribute to the defect of an object so much required for a more complete development of our prosperity--as pointed out in one or more of my despatches. I think that Great-Britain committed precisely such a mistake as we committed ourselves in permitting illiberal States which have virtually no ports, and but little legitimate commerce, to trade with her from all parts of the world for the mere privilege of having her vessels and their cargoes placed on an equality with those of their own in inaccessible or unfrequented ports. But this mistake will not operate so injuriously to British interests as the one which we made operates injuriously to American interests. Our products are from the soil and consequently perishable: Those of Great-Britain are from the work shop and principally light. The Sound tolls of Denmark such

the transit duties of France affect us considerably while they are scarcely felt by the British. Moreover, 100 lbs of raw cotton pays yearly more toll at Glasgow than 100 lbs. cotton twist!

The second section of the Act of Congress approved May 24, 1828, ought in my opinion to be so amended as to read as follows: "That upon satisfactory evidence being given to the President of the United States by the government of any foreign nation that no discriminating duties of tonnage or import, and no canal or river tolls whatever, are imposed or levied in the ports of the said nation upon vessels wholly belonging to citizens of the United States, or upon the produce, manufactures, or merchandize imported in the same from the United States, or from any foreign country, and that no transit duties are levied or collected in such nation upon articles the growth, produce, or manufacture of the United States or their fisheries, the President is hereby authorized to issue his proclamation, declaring that the foregoing discriminating duties of tonnage and import within the United States are, and shall be, suspended and discontinued as far as respects the vessels of the said foreign nation, and the produce, manufactures, or merchandize imported (if they be the build of said foreign nation or of the United States) into the United States in the same, from the said foreign nation, or from any other foreign country, the said suspension to take effect from the time of such notification being given to the United States, and to continue as long as the reciprocal exemption of vessels belonging to citizens of the United States, and their car-

goes, as aforesaid, shall be continued and no longer; provided always that he the President, shall be satisfied that no staple product of the United States imported into said nation is considered or employed by the government thereof, as a legitimate article from which to realize revenue." — The Acts of Congress of 1817 and 1824 should be repealed, in the event of an amendment to that of 1828, similar to the aforegoing. By such legislation, and subsequent judicious diplomacy, I am quite confident that we could within a comparatively short period remove the most restrictive existing fetters upon our commerce in Europe.

It is more clear to my mind than ever, that the modification of the British Navigation Laws will work adversely to British Navigation, much as British manufactures will be benefitted by the Act. Should the opinion which I have formed be a correct one, an effort to repeal the law of last session may succeed a year or two hence. In the mean time I trust our government will contract a reciprocity Treaty with Great-Britain and for the longest possible term. It should be careful to confine the British, and indeed every other power or state with which we may treat, to the vessels of their own build and the build of the United States in their intercourse with our sea-ports. This would be calculated to multiply our ship-yards and to give profitable employment to mechanical labor.

I have the honor to be, most faithfully, your Obt. Svt.

A. Dudley Mann.

Rec'd 19 Dec. 49.

M. Barbe.

No. 20.

Paris, November 29, 1849.

Sir; —

The Nicaragua question, notwithstanding the positive manner in which Lord Palmerston has expressed his opinions, creates no uneasiness in the peace-loving circles of Western Europe. It is confidently believed that it will be adjusted by negotiation, as have been all disputed points between the two countries for the last four and thirty years. I entertain no fears that my government will insist upon any thing that is not just. I am quite satisfied that it will submit to nothing that is manifestly wrong.

The pretensions of Great-Britain to the Protectorate of the Mosquito Shore were peremptorily asserted in 1845 to the Prussian cabinet. Prince Charles of Prussia, brother of the King, contemplated the planting of a German colony on this Shore, under the patronage of the government, and he despatched a commission in 1843, composed of a farmer, a mechanic, and a physician, to examine its suitableness for the purpose.. This commission, contrary to general expectation, made, upon its return, a very favorable report; and arrangements, thereupon, were about to be commenced for embarking the first expedition of emigrants, when Lord Westmoreland notified the minister of foreign affairs

Hon. John M. Clayton.
Secretary of State.
Washington.

of Prussia that such a proceedure would not be permitted by Great Britain, in consequence of which the project was abandoned.

I presume that the British government then — as now — took a view of the subject that was not warranted by the treaty which she concluded with Spain in 1786, still in force as concerns Nicaragua. In that treaty Great-Britain obligated herself to "evacuate the country of the Mosquitos, and the Continent in general, and the adjacent Isles, without exception, situated beyond the frontier line of the Belize or British Honduras;" thus formally renouncing every shadow of claim to the Protectorate which she desires to exercise. — The scheme of Prince Charles found but little favor in Germany from the first except at Berlin, on account of the remoteness of the position selected, and the known unhealthfulness of the climate, and it was abandoned without an investigation of the validity of Great-Britain's right to interfere, as she had done, in the matter.

Lord Palmerston I am disposed to believe must either recede from the stand assumed by him in relation to Nicaragua or retire from the ministry. Perhaps he may be constrained to do both; for a mistaken diplomacy on his part with the United States, after his numerous blunders in European questions, would be viewed with no indulgence by the reflecting portions of the British. Except as a measure obviously of self-preservation I have long been per-

needed that Great-Britain will never consent to draw her sword against America. To suppose that she will fight about Nicaragua is to suppose that her treasury is overflowing and that she has more customers for her manufactures, exclusive of ourselves, than she can supply.

Nothing of importance has transpired on the Continent since the date of my last. The London journals it is true, report that a misunderstanding has arisen between Austria and Prussia of so grave a nature as to seriously endanger the peace of Europe. Such statements are entitled in my opinion, to no credit whatever. You may rely upon it that these two powers are acting in entire concert: The one is just as autocratic in its notions as the other. Austria may have protested against the proposed Erfurt convention, as is asserted, but as like as not in doing so she was actuated by motives of tenderness for Prussia, which had been placed a few months ago at the head of this movement and could not withdraw voluntarily from it without giving offence to the states which announced their willingness to follow her lead. — The commissioners of Austria and Prussia charged with the administration of the German central authority until a new Bundesversammlung, similar to the old Diet, shall be definitively established were installed in office at Frankfort a day or two since.

No. 20. A. D. Mann. Paris. 29 Nov. 1849.

The question of the Duchies I conceive to be almost as good as settled. It is scarcely possible that hostilities will be resumed after the expiration of the armistice. Schleswig must be aware that she cannot contend single-handed against Denmark power, and the German states will not be disposed to re-engage in the conflict, even if they shall not be restrained from doing so by the Frankfort commission.

I have the honor to be,

Most Faithfully,

Your Ob't. S'v't.

A. Dudley Mann.

ce 2 Jany. 50.

Mr. Bowlin.

Colombie South Mary Dept.

No. 21.

Paris, December 13, 1849.

Sir; —

In your Letter of Instructions to me, of June 18, you remark: "Peace and Commerce are the noble aims of our "happy land: The former by God's blessing we enjoy. Let "us omit no exertions to secure the most liberal and beneficial "extension of the latter." May I add, to sentiments so patriotic and enlightened, that Peace is the principle, Commerce the agent through which the grand destiny of that "happy land" is to be accelerated?

Peace is indispensable to a salutary dissemination of the beauties of the Gospel; to an enlarged and pure state of morality; to a proper development of our boundless resources; to the attainment, by our national family, of a thorough knowledge in the science of self-government.

Commerce multiplies our domestic enjoyments; brings us in contact with the most distant points of the universe; contributes to influence benighted nations to emulate the precepts of Christianity; carries innumerable blessings to suffering humanity; familiarizes the world with our character as a people and with the superiority of our political and religious institutions. ✓✓

Hon. John M. Clayton.
Secretary of State.
Washington.

"Peace and Commerce"! Let us inquire in what manner we can best preserve the one and augment the other.

The Letter of Sir Charles Napier to Lord John Russell, relative to the past and present condition of the British Navy, — which I herewith transmit, lest it may not reach you as soon through other channels — abounds with useful instruction for our government. By a perusal of it, it will be seen that the Navy estimates between the years 1821 and 1849 amounted to £156,975,858 ($784,879,290) — a sum equal to one-fifth of the present enormous debt of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland — from which disbursement but comparatively few practical benefits have been derived. — According to the opinion of Sir Charles, nearly the whole of the sailing vessels are so defective, in one way or another, as to be entirely unfit for the service for which they were intended, while it has been ascertained that no less than 30 iron steamers are utterly valueless because of their incapacity to resist a discharge from heavy guns or to carry necessary weights!

From the important discoveries which science is successfully making in the economy and power of steam, together with the improvements in the mechanical arts, I hazard but little in asserting that a more effective navy for the purposes of war, which could be employed in peace in moving the products of the industrial classes from the ports of one country to those of another, than that of Great-Britain, might be constructed within the next five

years by our government for the amount of twelve months legal U. S. interest on such a sum as the above mentioned. + By an expenditure of $45,000,000, judiciously, between this and the first day of January 1855 on our navy, I am confident that we could girdle the earth by steam, which, while carrying the "olive branch" to every nation in one hand would carry an unsheathed sword in the other for the intimidation of such as might otherwise be disposed to create obstacles to the proper discharge of the duties attendant upon our benign mission. ++ $45,000,000 would build at the lowest computation ninety steam-ships of the class of the "Mississippi." It would build one hundred and fifty of superior capacity for running and carrying, of the size of the "Washington."

The modification of the "British Navigation Laws" will facilitate the revolution, on account of the wide field of enterprize which the measure throws open, which steam is destined to occasion in navigation. I believe that before a quarter of a century elapses, a long voyage ship will be quite as rarely seen on the ocean highway as a barge upward bound, propelled by boatmen, is at this time on the Mississippi river. The foreign carrying navigation of the different nations of the earth cannot fail to rapidly diminish when fairly subjected to competition with bottoms which move onward, speedily and majestically, regardless of head winds or mountain waves.

The carrying by steam will be conducted by two

nations, — those which speak the language of Milton and Shakespeare. — No other power or state, little Belgium excepted, can engage in it successfully because of a destitution of coal, iron, &c. For a time, Great-Britain may divide with us the ocean transportation, but she will not be a prosperous rival long, if we are mindful of our interests and "omit no exertions to secure the most liberal and beneficial extension" of our commerce. Nature has been infinitely more liberal in the bestowal of her valuable favors upon us than she has been upon the once "proud mistress of the seas." Exclusive of California and Oregon we have 133,000,000 acres of coal field while Great-Britain has but 9,000,000 acres.

In order that we may preserve honorable peace we should show to presumptuous powers, without however making an ostentatious or unnecessary display of our meritime strength, that we are not unprepared for the protection of our rights and interests. In what manner can this be accomplished so well as by establishing lines of powerful steamers to connect with the most important ports of Europe? Our naval officers and seamen, it is presumable, are desirous of obtaining as practicable a knowledge of steam in ocean navigation as possible; for it is perceptible to them that we shall never lay the keel of another sailing men-of-war as a cruiser. The former perhaps except those far advanced in years

are solicitous of more constant and active employment, in order that they may increase their usefulness to their country. Even when in service in distant seas they frequently grow weary of port life. Animated, as they are, by a noble ambition to make their manly profession, in peace as in war, redound to the honest fame of the Republic, the Republic should withhold from them no advantages calculated to extend their professional knowledge.

It appears to me, from the aforegoing and other considerations which I shall express in a subsequent part of this despatch, that it is obviously the true policy of our government to commence, at its earliest convenience, the building of a sufficient number of steam-ships, of such construction as would admit of their ready conversion into vessels of war, so as to open a direct semi-monthly communication between New-York and Liverpool, New-York and Havre, New-York and Bremen, New-York and Lisbon, New-York and Genoa, and New-York and Trieste. At Havre a steamer would be required, in the execution of this project, to connect with the ports of Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Antwerp: At Bremen one to connect with Cronstadt, Stockholm, Gothenburg, Stettin, Wismar, Copenhagen, and Hamburg: At Lisbon one to connect with Marseilles, Barcelona, Malaga, Gibraltar, and Cadiz: At Genoa one to connect with Palermo, Naples, Civita Vecchia, and Leghorn: At Trieste with Odessa Constan-

one to connect ~~with~~

Gibraltar, Leghorn, Corfu, Palermo, Leghorn, Fiume or Porto-re, Venice and Ancona. — This service could be performed with twenty-nine ships, allowing four for each line and five for the branches. The cost of this number, of a build sufficiently substantial for effective use in a belligerent engagement, would probably not exceed $10,000,000: I mean for such ships as the better "Cunards", with such improvements as may from time to time be developed before their construction. They should be officered throughout from the navy, and should be manned and run at the expense of the government. The passenger, freight, and parcel carrying should be let to contractors, bona fide citizens of the United States, not more than one line, or one branch, to a contractor. Approved vouchers, and quarterly payments, should be exacted. The mails would be conveyed by the government under the superintendence of its agents. The proceeds from them with the amount realized from the contractors would return to the Treasury, in all probability, a sum of $3,000,000 in the aggregate, for a period of five years, annually. Should this result be obtained, the first step would be taken in the direction of making the navy a self-supporting establishment, and we should, consequently, find it to our interest to increase from time to time the number of our steamers connecting with the ports of the East-Atlantic and with the North, Baltic, Mediterranean, Adriatic, and Black seas, but we would also engage, and eventually on a much larger scale, in a similar service with the far more distant foreign ports of the Pacific.

A large steam navy without commercial employment would be the canker worm to eat out our substance. It would make such requisitions upon the Treasury for its sustenance as to lay the foundations in a few years of a debt like that which bows Great-Britain down, crippling her energies and impairing her usefulness. Unless threatened with an immediate war I should question the policy of ever having more steamers in commission at once, than a number equal to those which we have at present afloat and upon the stocks.

While existing contracts with individuals for the transportation of mails to foreign countries should not be infringed, no new ones ought to be entered into. As a measure of encouragement to American citizens disposed to build steam-ships to be employed in trade with foreign countries, our government, after a deduction of two and a half per centum, should agree to pay the ordinary postage on the mails which they might convey.

If the government should determine upon adopting the system thus proposed it would become necessary to secure by Treaty stipulations, with each of the states embraced, the privilege of carrying from and to our vessels, at their respective stations, in the branch steamers to and from the ports designated, upon the same terms as though the importations and exportations were made direct. This I think could be readily accomplished if negotiations were properly conducted.

No. 21. A. D. Mann. Paris - 13 Dec. 1849

Dupl.

"Peace and Commerce." Children of Public Virtue and Public Wisdom! Properly nourished by us, all Thrones will ultimately fall under their influences and the most benighted barbarians brought within the pale of civilization.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

Most Faithfully,

Your Ob.t. S.v.t.

A. Dudley Mann.

SIR CHARLES NAPIER ON THE NAVY.

The following is the conclusion of Sir C. Napier's letter to Lord John Russell :—

Twenty-four ships of 28 guns, commonly called "Donkeys," were built after the war; one has been cut down to a corvette, and answered much better, the rest have all disappeared but ten; and six converted into store and receiving ships, and a new class of 28-gun frigates, pierced for 3[illegible] guns, were brought forward by the late Surveyor, much superior to the "donkeys," but much inferior, I think, to the old ships from 42 to 46 guns, the greater part of which have disappeared, as I have already shown. Some of the "donkeys" were built by amateurs, but were not much better. Two of them—the Challenger and Tyne—were so cranky that had they engaged each other with a press of sail, the shot of the weather ship would have gone under the keel of the lee one, and the shot of the lee ship over the trucks of the weather one. Of vessels under 20 guns there were no less than 328. The best class of these vessels were the 18-gun brigs; we used to think them perfection, but the Admiralty of the day thought otherwise, and built a set of corvettes longer than the brigs. They were soon discarded as being bad vessels and unsafe. Lord Spencer's Admiralty built a whole lot of flat and useless gun-brigs, and named them after his Lordship's hounds. They could neither sail nor keep to windward, and were in consequence ill adapted for blockade an enemy's ports; they are all gone, and that class will never again appear on the list of the navy.

Of the 18-gun brigs there are none left; some of them were turned into ships at an expense of £800 or £900, and did not answer. They have disappeared, together with all the small craft of every description; their place has been taken by a number of 16-gun brigs, built by the late Surveyor, and I believe they are considered much superior to the 18-gun brigs both in weight of metal and sailing. Before they were built a class of sloops were brought forward by different builders; they are not bad vessels and still in existence, but much inferior to the three corvettes of the late Surveyor.

Another class of vessels was built—I mean the 10-gun brigs; they were begun in 1808, when no less than 36 were built. I suppose they were intended to take the place of the flat brigs, and they seem to have been built with the same precipitation. After the war was over we continued building—though for what purpose God only knows—and launched no less than 64: 4 foundered at sea, and 260 men perished; 6, turned into packets, were lost with 168 men, besides passengers; 7 were reduced in armament, and top-hampered; 35 have been broken up or sold; 12 turned over to the Coast-Guard or breakwaters. I have before said that a number of 16-gun brigs have been built on the plan of the late Surveyor, to take the place of the 18-gun brigs; and a class of 10-gun brigs, far superior to the old ones, took their place.

To sum up the whole, we have got rid, in various ways since 1815, of 13 three-decked ships and 2 receiving ships, 153 two-decked ships and 22 receiving ships, 21 50's and 44's on two decks and 9 receiving ships; and 180 frigates (from 30 to 50 guns), and 17 receiving ships; 65 frigates under 30 guns; 418 vessels of all descriptions, under 20 guns and 20 receiving ships. We have built 14 three-decked ships; 49 two-decked ships, one of which has been turned into a troop, one into a store ship, two into convict hulks, one into a lazarette, one into a coal depôt, one burnt, one broken up, one disappeared in Canada—leaving 40; 73 frigates from 30 to 50 guns; 39 frigates, under 30 guns; 161 vessels of all descriptions, under 20 guns, not including small craft and steamers.

In addition to the expense attending breaking up ships and building new ones, thousands of pounds have been spent in altering ships' sterns and magazines. No less than 28 ships had their sterns altered on Sir Robert Seppings' plan, by a return of the 24th of April, 1846; but the expense was not stated. I suppose they were ashamed of it. 26 ships of different sizes, by the same return, had their sterns altered on another plan; some of them twice, and the Boscawen three times; some also that had been altered by

[illegible] been our trade? whe[illegible]

gazines altered—one of them three times, and [illegible] twice. The expense, I suppose for the [illegible] was, "that returned; but the reason given in [illegible]. The same return there was no means of ascertaining 8 three-deckers, 14 two-gives all the ships cut [illegible] corvette. How many more have been deckers, 10 frig[illegible] since I have no Parliamentary return to guide [illegible]; but your Lordship may form an opinion of the total expense when it cost £52,839 to repair and cut down the Dublin.

From 1815 to 1820 the navy cost the country £26,262,783; in this are not included the wages and victualling, which do not appear in the estimates. From 1821 to 1849 the estimates amount to £156,975,858; of that the dockyards have absorbed £44,396,050, and the half-pay and pensions £47,422,378.

The navy estimates last year amounted to £7,008,130, of which only £2,079,063 went for wages and victuals, while the dockyards and materials cost no less than £2,568,977. It is in this branch that we ought to economise, not in the effective of the navy. Let us employ fewer men and expend fewer materials [illegible] pieces since the peace. Our ships could not have worn out so fast. We built bad classes of ships, and have been getting rid of them as fast as possible. We built bad steamers, and have been obliged to build others, and we are still in a wrong direction. We built 33 iron steamers that are useless. We built four or five pair of engines that the steamers could not carry, and we have been obliged to build smaller ones that they can carry; there is where the waste is. The Admiralty costs £136,303—£4,500 of which goes to a First Lord who knows nothing.

I shall say nothing about what is expended in the improvements of yards, because that was necessary; but we went too fast, particularly at Plymouth.

The half-pay and promotions amount to £1,395,072—about two-thirds of the effective force. That would diminish if they would let it alone. Her Majesty has only the power of granting pensions of £1,200 a-year. The First Lord of the Admiralty can grant more than that in a day in the way of promotion. I do not want to stop promotion; but I would limit promotion to one for every two removals—this to include every thing. At present it is nominally one in three; but there are all sorts of ways of evading that, and it is evaded. The Government must look things in the face—begin in time to economise, and show that they are serious. There must be no more taxation—there must be reduction, or there will be no more income-tax.

Naval officers, who are in the habit on board a ship of watching the working of the artificer, and who are obliged to be economical in the expense of stores, as few are supplied, know full well that we do not get the work that we ought to do, and all naval officers know the destruction attending the paying off ships. A ship when first commissioned requires many arrangements that it is impossible for the dockyard to do. The captain puts her in order, and there is a pride amongst officers to excel each other in the order and beauty of their ships; their storerooms are magnificently fitted, the stores of every description are stowed away with the greatest care. After a service of between three and four years the ship comes home and is paid off with the utmost despatch, her rigging, that would have lasted a year or two longer, goes to the lot-yard, sails are condemned and cut up, the storerooms are denuded, and the small stores bundled on shore and no more heard of. What an enormous expense would be saved if ships were kept longer in commission; and, if they required great repairs, another ship was brought forward, and all her stores turned over to her to be worn out without going into that fiery furnace, the dockyard. I have commissioned ships and paid them off, and speak from experience, when the system of paying by measurement was in force; everything that paid well was sure to be destroyed in an incredibly short time. When I commissioned the Galatea, which had been in commission three years, and was well fitted, it was all to begin again.

A Portuguese frigate that brought me home from Lisbon was ordered to be repaired to a certain extent by our government. The destruction that took place was nearly as much as the government allowed, and the Portuguese paid the rest of the bills. Bad as their own system was, ours was worse. Our dockyard people have no idea that there is either waste of time or materials in their work; all naval officers are quite aware of it, but we are told we are no judges. Alterations cost an enormous sum of money, and so do the whims of captains who have interest to get alterations made. The dockyards are paid by the day, and more than that alterations cost money, and if those alterations were fewer and more work done, fewer men would be required and fewer materials necessary. When a man builds a house he weighs well his plan beforehand, because he knows full well what alterations will cost him. The superintendents have too much to do; they ought to have under them, for dockyard duty only, an active captain, who should be constantly in the yard, with no office work. The superintendent ought to have the entire power of entering and discharging men when he thought proper. If he jobbed the Admiralty could punish him; but if the Admiralty job, and they are the greatest jobbers, there is no one to punish them. The "leading men" have not authority sufficient over the men under them; they are only paid a trifle more; they move in the same condition, live, perhaps, next door to each other; their wives and families meet constantly, and zealously enter into the feelings of their husbands and parents. How then can it be expected that a leading man will choose to find much fault and injure his neighbour? Instead of leading men there ought to be well paid officers at the head of each gang, so that he would never come into contact with his men except on duty. Some sort of comparison might be made of the work done by different gangs, and those who work the most and destroy the least should be rewarded. There are too many heads of departments; they interfere with each other, and the responsibility is not well defined; and there is too much office work for the heads of departments, and they have not time sufficiently to superintend the various gangs employed in different parts of the yard. When a ship is under repair, the carpenter of the ship, or some one interested in her, ought to have more power and some check over the expense. And if a ship is preparing for commissioning, the captain ought at once to be appointed to her to superintend her fitting. If she is an advanced ship, he ought to go on board immediately, and so ought the officers and men. No hulks should be allowed, and not a single man from the dockyard employed upon her, except to wedge her masts. But I very much doubt whether we have a ship at any port so completely ready as to be able to receive men. We are now very properly taking the masts out of the advanced ships because they decay. But I may ask how they came in? The fact of decay was ascertained 10 or 15 years ago, the masts were removed, and it was found we had hardly a sound mast in the yard. A new Admiralty comes into office, and they try the same experiment that was found defective by their predecessors. I have said that I would very much reduce the dockyards, but that should be done gradually by suspending entries, and I very much doubt the propriety of bringing up apprentices. They learn to be *riggers* early in life, and never get the better of it. It would be much wiser, when men are entered, that they should be chosen from merchants' yards, where they are better looked after and obliged to work more, and waste less than in her Majesty's establishments. There are many other ways of reducing our overgrown establishments if we were inclined, but we seem to be going the other way, and are establishing steam factories, and if we make engines there will undoubtedly be a great addition to the expenses, and an end to improvement. We have a factory established at Portsmouth, with a staff that no private yard could support. The factory and machinery cost about £100,000, and I hope Parliament will move for a return of the work they do, and compare it with what is done in private yards. I believe in that factory we employ 180 boilermakers alone. We had much better limit ourselves to repairing engines and boilers, and let new engines and new boilers be made by private engineers. If a strict hand is not kept on our engineers in the factories

take every beam [illegible] hands. To prevent that as much as [illegible] most true, whether just to employ our sea-going engineers, when a steamer [illegible] to be I should retain all the engineers and the [illegible] the engines be repaired by them; they would do it much better and much cheaper, and will only do what is necessary. Put them under an engineer if you please, but let him be an engineer who has been at sea, and has no interest in unnecessarily pulling the engine to pieces.

We have already begun to make steam boilers at Portsmouth, and if they are not stopped we shall soon have the yard as full of useless boilers as Woolwich is now. My opinions relative to the steam navy have been so often made public that it is unnecessary to repeat them. I shall merely observe that we are still working in the dark and blundering on. Four steam frigates of 400-horse power have been laid down by the present board; they will prove, I fear, much too shallow for frigates, will not have a clear deck, and I doubt whether they will have stowage. I have only seen two of them, neither of which have their stern battery properly arranged, and singular as it may appear one steam frigate is fitting at Portsmouth in a part of a yard to hold [illegible] in another part of the same yard with only 4½ feet between the stern ports, much too close to fight them with effect.

With respect to the screw steamers, as yet we have not been very successful. The line of battle ships, as far as speed goes, have done very well; but the stowage is almost entirely taken up with machinery. The Amphion has been a long while in hand, and I hope will do well. The Termagant with a full power of 620-horse, has no deck for her crew (they are on the gun-deck), only stows 370 tons of coals, and steams about eight knots and a half; mounts 24 guns, and has very bad stowage. The Arrogant, with an auxiliary screw, is much better, has more room, and goes nearly as fast. The Dauntless is lengthening, and I hope will improve; and I think we have arrived at a certainty that the screw can only be used with effect as an auxiliary, and must be compared to a man sculling a boat. This will give more room, and the ships will be more efficient for all purposes. The Reynard and Plumper sloops are much too small. The former was not safe with heavy guns, but that is now improved with a light armament. I shall say nothing of Encounter, as she has not been reported upon, but she, like all the rest, carries much too little fuel. With respect to the iron vessels, by a return laid before Parliament, dated January 25, 1847, we had launched, and are building, no less than 33. They have already cost £376,798. With respect to their efficiency for vessels of war, I shall leave the late Board of Admiralty to settle that question with the present Board, who seem to disapprove of them altogether, and are fitting them out for troop ships, for two reasons: first, because they do not consider iron as a proper material for ships of war, as it has been proved that shot knock them to pieces; and secondly, because they could not on trial carry their weights. The Blenheim, Vulcan, and Megara come under that category. They have been fitted with smaller engines, and so has the Simoom; and so totally ignorant are we of what we are about, that we have put into her smaller engines, though she is more capable of carrying what was first intended; and they have put into the Greenock the engines that were first intended, though she was incapable of carrying them. She has engines of 564-horse power, can only stow 349 tons of coals, and her main deck port is little more than four feet out of the water, and is to be made a troop ship of. What these iron vessels will cost I do not know, but I hope some member of Parliament will move for a return. I think I have shown that what Captain Rous stated in Parliament is not far wrong—that a great part of the national debt has been incurred in building ships and pulling them to pieces.

I now take leave of your Lordship with a recommendation that you should alter the composition of the Board of Admiralty. How, my lord, is it possible that the affairs of the navy can be well conducted by four naval officers, with a civilian at their head, who knows nothing, and a civilian at their tail who knows less than nothing, all working in different rooms, and not knowing what each other are about? Depend upon it, if you do not, the country will take it out of your hands. The navy is a favourite profession, and no one wishes to see its efficiency improved, but no one will countenance the extravagant manner in which it is conducted. I have been blamed for writing and publishing my letters. My answer has invariably been that I have tried all other ways in vain; little or no attention is paid to the suggestion of officers, and as a proof of it, I shall observe that I have attended the fitting of the Sidon, in which ship it is natural that I should take an interest, and on seeing things done to her which I disapproved of, and which I represented to the Admiralty, they did not even condescend to give a reply till I came to town and mentioned it, and then it was too late. I have no view, my Lord, in writing to you but to correct the evils that weigh down upon the navy and the country. Your Lordship must be quite aware that my observations cannot be agreeable to men in office, and will most probably bring down on me their wrath; but I have too high an opinion of your Lordship's good sense and love for your country to suppose for a moment that an officer telling your Lordship the wholesome truth will displease you. I have the honour, etc.,

—(Times.) CHARLES NAPIER.

antinople. This is not all; the Rus
e, of from 20 to 30 sail of the line
on our coast and dictated to us what
th regard to Turkey; we were power-
submitted—or, where would have
been our trade? where would have been our funds? and even, I may ask, where would have been the capital of Great Britain? Had they thought proper to have played a more prudent game, they might have sent their fleet to the Mediterranean, where they would have found friendly ports, and satisfied themselves with the settlement of the Turkish question. Had our Channel squadron been kept up—and had the three flag ships been efficient ships, as they ought to be—they would soon have been manned, formed the nucleus of a squadron, and have kept Russia in check till our fleet was ready. And here I may ask for what reason are the three flag ships inefficient? That system was once tried before and given up as improper, and now we are trying it again. These ships should be constantly ready, and in the event of emergency the admirals and their staff turned over to three other ships to get them ready, and captains, officers, and men appointed to those they had left. So much, my lord, for the first part of my text. I think I have shown we have anything but a well-manned navy. I now come to the second.

On the 1st January, 1815, the list of our navy was as follows:—

Three-decked ships . . .	22
Two-decked ships . . .	159
50 44-gun ships, on two decks	26
Frigates of 30 guns and upwards	162
Ditto under 30 guns . . .	50
Ships and vessels under 20 guns	328

Showing a total of 747 ships of all descriptions, not including ship building, store ships, receiving ships, etc. I shall now see what has become of them. Of the twenty-two three-decked ships there remain four fit for sea; two for harbour service, one Seamen's Hospital ship, and one gunnery ship. All the rest have disappeared, and two prison and hospital ships besides. Whether they were all worn out, or made away with to be replaced by larger ships, I am not prepared to say. Six were built between 1765 and 1788, four between 1793 and 1800, and nine between 1801 and 1814; they have been replaced by nine ships of 120 guns, one of 116 guns, and three of 104. After the long experience we had during the war, the country had a right to expect that the three-decked ships built since should have been perfect, particularly as we had one ship, the Caledonia, allowed by all hands to be faultless; but the Admiralty of the day thought otherwise; at an expense of £92,000, she was converted into a ship which sails badly, and carries her ports lower than before. Lord Exmouth asked as a favour that she might not be spoiled, in vain. Britannia is said to be after Caledonia before she was altered; but that cannot be, as she is very crank; Howe and St. Vincent, by the surveyor of the navy, very crank; Nelson, Neptune, Royal George, Royal William, and St. George, are said to be after the Caledonia, and I hope they are so; but if they are like the Prince Regent, which was likened to the Caledonia, but so crank that she was cut down, it is not saying much for them; Trafalgar and Waterloo after Caledonia, enlarged—the former is a good ship, but does not sail; the latter I suppose will be like her; Camperdown was built after Impregnable, and is good for nothing as a three-decker; Princess Charlotte and Royal Adelaide after the lines of Victory—the former is a good ship, though small; the latter I know nothing about; all the ships of three decks that have been yet tried say very little for the acquirements of those who built them. We shall now see what the new system has produced. The Queen is certainly a good ship; I have tried her in fine weather, and I never saw a three-decker equal to her. She went through several alterations, it is true, but I speak of her as I found her. In light winds and the sails slewed up with a moderate swell, the St. Vincent, by clinometer, rolled 60 times in the hour, 12 deg. to leeward and 4 deg. to windward; the Queen 201 rolls, 14 deg. to leeward, 11 deg. to windward; the Canopus 278 rolls, 15 deg. to leeward, 9 deg. to windward; Albion 480 rolls, 15 deg. to leeward, 10 deg. to windward. I must however observe that the St. Vincent is a particularly easy ship, and Sir Baldwin Walker, a much better judge, says in bad weather the Queen is perfect. Royal Frederick, Victoria, Prince of Wales, Royal Sovereign, Windsor Castle, and Marlborough are, I believe, built after the Queen, and I hope they are so, as in general our attempts at improvement have turned out failures, and certainly the Admiralty took an odd manner to get information, for when a committee of reference was appointed the instructions were as follow:—"In the event of any nautical difference of opinion between the surveyor and the committee thus constituted, the report of the surveyor is to be referred to the committee, and that of the committee to the surveyor; who are to state, after having duly weighed the arguments in favour of their respective views, whether or not they still adhere to their respective opinions." I wonder whether the surveyor ever attended to such an absurd instruction; I should think not; and the committee of reference has been abolished. The San Josef is now broken up; she was a good ship, but being a foreigner was never copied. The Royal Albert, by Mr. Laing, is larger than the Queen, and there I hope we intend to stop, for unless we can produce a larger class of men they never will be able to furl the courses. If more two-decked ships are required, we had much better cut down our bad three-deckers, and replace them with new ships. Prince Regent was worthless as a three-decker, but makes a powerful 90-gun ship. This is certainly an expensive means of getting good two-decked ships, by first building them up as three-deckers and cutting them down; but as we have made blunders we had better acknowledge them.

I now come to the two-decked ships; they have been cut up without mercy. At the end of the war we had 159 ships of two decks, not including those on the stocks; 23 prison ships, receiving ships, powder magazines, etc. Of the 159 four have been turned into bad steamers; 11 cut down to frigates; 18 turned into convict ships, lazarettes, receiving ships, etc., and 111 have disappeared altogether, and all the prison ships, depots, etc., except one. Several two-decked ships have been broken up, cut down, or converted, without being at sea, as follow:—The Redoutable, built in 1815, costing £86,042, was broken up in 1841. The Anson, built in 1812, costing £88,762, turned into a convict ship in 1843. The Vindictive, built in 1813, costing £81,540, was cut down in 1832, and was then put out of sight on the upper part of the harbour for 10 years, because Mr. Blake, who cut her down, contrived to get six guns a-head, in a line with the keel, which no other builder had thought of. She has been at sea two commissions, has been highly spoken of, and is now ready for a third. Since 1815 we have launched 40 two-decked ships. The Minotaur, costing £76,652, has been converted into a convict ship without being at sea; so has the Black Prince; and Defence, costing, I suppose, as much. Two which have been at sea have been turned into store ships and coal depots; one into a trooper, and one burnt: two of them were only built in 1819; there now remain 49. Of the war two-decked ships which have disappeared, seven were built between 1765 and 1780, 20 between 1783 and 1793, six between 1796 and 1800, and 31 between 1800 and 1814. Of the immense number of ships taken from the enemy during the war, the Canopus and Implacable alone remain. 22 convict ships—receiving ships—have disappeared also. It is not possible that all these ships should have been worn out. The Canopus, taken in 1779, and the Implacable, in 1805, are still in existence; what year they were built in I do not know, but as 11 have been converted into frigates it is presumable that others were fit for the same purpose. We know the Tremendous was sentenced at Woolwich to be broken up, but was saved, became a frigate, has has been to the Pacific, and is now ready for sea. We have now, in addition to the war line of battle ships, two-decked ships of various builds. Sir Robert Seppings introduced the 92-gunned ships, on two decks, the same tonnage as the large three-deckers. Of that class we have three. The Rodney is the only one tried; she is a fine warlike ship, but is not a very superior sailer. The late Surveyor launched two 90-gun ships and nine 80's; there are various opinions about them; in smooth water I believe they sail well when not overloaded; but when deep under a head sea they lose much of their sailing qualities, and if the reports laid before

made against the late Surveyor is most true, whether just or not I cannot say; and we all know how difficult it is to get at the truth. My own opinion is that we plunged into a new system with too much precipitation, and have abandoned it without being certain we have adopted a better. The present plan, I believe, is to give more length, reduce the breadth, and flatten the floors of the late Surveyor's ships that are not too far advanced; and I do trust they will try one before they go headlong into this new system.

No shipbuilder of the old school has as yet produced anything remarkable as a line of battle ship, and it is singular that the best two-decked ships we have for all purposes are those built after the Canopus, which ship Sir George Cockburn very properly brought forward and saved from destruction. The 70-gunned ships that take the place of the 74 have not been tried. There are two of them, and we seem to have quite forgotten that there are such seas as the North Sea and Baltic, where small ships on two and three decks, with a light draught of water, are indispensable. There are also many places where the like qualification is necessary; and I well recollect that during the siege of Cadiz we were obliged to look up all our old 64's, with a light draught of water, so that they might lay clear of the enemy's shells. Another thing we seem to have forgotten, that all the work of the war was done by the 74's, and that the large ships did not stand the blockade so well as the small ones. I shall be told, no doubt, that our 74's are not fit to go into the line, as other nations have increased the size and calibre of their ships. That is quite true, but there was no necessity for letting them go to decay and breaking them up. Some have been turned into 50-gun frigates, and we are now building frigates of 60 guns. Had the upper deck guns and poops been removed from the small 74's, as was done with the Elephant—which, by the bye, was broken up afterwards without being at sea—they would have made very good 60-gun frigates till they were worn out. Then, and not till then, should we have built frigates of that magnitude, if it was found they were good ships at sea.

The 50-gun ships and 44's on two decks, 26 in number, are all gone. We persisted in building these ships many years after the youngest boy in the navy knew they were useless. The last, I think, was the Isis, and she was converted into a frigate. I blame those who continued to build them at a great expense, and I think those who got rid of them would have shown more judgment had they converted them into receiving-ships, coal depots, etc., instead of many tolerable two-decked ships. The greatest slaughter of all was the frigates, from 30 guns and upwards. At the end of the war we had 162, besides store and receiving ships. The large frigates were thought perfection till the American war proved they were totally incapable of contending with the large American frigates; but notwithstanding that and the number we had on hand, I find by a Parliamentary return dated the 24th of April, 1846, since the year 1815 we built no less than 45 from 42 to 46 guns, only 13 of which have been to sea.

I shall first examine what has become of the war frigates and afterwards what has become of the 42 and 46-gun frigates built since 1815. It appears by the *Navy List*, published by authority, and also by other official documents, that all the 162 frigates have disappeared, except 7 fit for sea; 3 have been cut down to corvettes and 1 turned into screw steamer; 25 have been turned into coal depots, receiving ships, and lazarettes; 2 into troop ships, and 125 have disappeared altogether. Of those built since 1815, 12 have been turned into depot and coal hulks; 4 cut down to corvettes; 3 into screw steamers; 1 paddle steamer; 1 burnt; 1 lost. 23 remain as frigates. Several of the depots have never been at sea. The Amphion, screw vessel, had her bows altered twice, at an expense of £6,928, and was two or three years in the hands of the engineer, and I don't know if she is ready yet. The Illustrious has had her stern fitted for a screw in an extraordinary manner, but has not yet been tried; nor have the other three. Twenty-two out of the 45 built since 1815 remain frigates; generally speaking, the 42 and 46 gun frigates were good ships. Six frigates of 32 guns, 12-pounders, built during the war, were useless. I commanded two of them; they were very crank, and could neither fight nor run away. Of those cut down without being at sea, the Amazon, built in 1821, cost £42,920, was cut down in 1844; the Dædalus, built 1826, cost £35,009, cut down in 1844; Brilliant, built in 1814, cost £49,803; Thames, built in 1823, cost £37,051; Bacchus, in 1817, cost £34,691, and Hebe, in 1826, cost £32,484, were turned into hulks. In addition to these, the Trincomalee and Amphitrite, costing, I suppose, as much as the others, were cut down to corvettes, and the latter had her bow lengthened, without doing her any good. Tigris and Statira, on the stocks, well advanced, were pulled to pieces, and their materials converted to other purposes.

The line of battle ships and frigates built since 1815, and broken up, cut down, and converted without being at sea, cost £619,700, and I dare say the cutting down, converting, etc., did not cost less than £200,000, if I may judge by the expense of cutting down and repairing the Dublin, which amounted to £52,839. I think it was after the first commission an attempt was made to break her up, and an estimate of the repairs necessary was sent, it amounting to £40,000. This rather alarmed their lordships; they ordered her to be re-surveyed, the estimate was reduced to £10,000, and it actually cost £8937 15s. 10d. The expense of [illegible] Amphitrite and Trincomalee I have no return of, but [illegible] it could be not less than £70,000, besides the [illegible] down and lengthening. We have now on the *Navy List* four frigates of 60 guns building, 27 frigates of 50 guns including those cut down; 10 building; 38 from 30 to 36 guns; one building—all, I believe, good ships, though few in comparison with what we had at the end of the war.

Of frigates from 20 to 30 guns we had, in 1815, 50, many of which never ought to have been built. Six, I believe, mounted 22 carronades; one of them and a corvette were taken by an American frigate; they sailed too badly to escape, and their shot could not reach their opponent. They were much worse than the old 28, such as the Hinde, which ship might have been copied if it was thought necessary to build such small frigates; but the opinion was then, as now, that no frigate-built ship should be under 30 guns. The ship sloops of 16 guns, but nominally 22, were converted into frigates by Mr. Yorke's Admiralty—which class of vessels was persisted in long after all practical men thought them useless. They have now all disappeared except the Perseus receiving-ship in the river.

(We shall give the conclusion of the gallant officer's letter in another number.)—(Times.)

SIR CHARLES NAPIER ON THE NAVY.

The following letter has been addressed by the gallant Admiral to Lord John Russell on the past and present state of the British navy:—

My Lord,—Mr. Tierney said in the House of Commons, "Give me a well-named navy and a full exchequer, and I will defy the world." Captain Rouse said, "A great part of the national debt has been incurred in building ships and pulling them to pieces." I shall take these two observations for my text, and examine whether they are correct or not.

When Lord Auckland came into office in 1847, he got up a Channel squadron, consisting of five sail of the line and [illegible] many steamers. This was done, I presume, in consequence of the disagreement with France about the Spanish marriages. Lisbon was the head-quarters of that squadron, which varied from six to four sail of the line, as it became necessary to relieve the ships on foreign stations. When the revolution broke out in France in February, 1848, one three-decked ship was sent to the Mediterranean, and one to Madeira for the Queen Dowager, and two and a frigate, with a proportion of steam-vessels, to Cork, to be in readiness to check any revolutionary movement in Ireland, and I have reason to believe very much tended to prevent an outbreak. Shortly after this Bellerophon was ordered to the Mediterranean, Blenheim and Amphion were laid up, and the Powerful, which had been lying at Spithead, half manned, for nearly a year, took Bellerophon's place. The squadron, now composed of St. Vincent, Prince Regent, Powerful, Orestes, Rifleman, Plumper, Reynard, and Stromboli, then sailed for Lisbon, where they arrived after a very long and very boisterous passage on the 4th of January. It was intended to cruise as far as the Canary Islands and return to Lisbon; but a dispute having arisen with the Emperor of Morocco, the squadron, joined by Harlequin, left Lisbon and went to Gibraltar, where they anchored at night on the 27th of January, and were joined by Sidon and Polyphemus. The appearance there of the squadron, which was reinforced by the Rodney and Vanguard on their way home, settled the Morocco question in a satisfactory manner. The latter ships were ordered home, Regent and Powerful to the Mediterranean, Orestes to the Cape, and shortly after the squadron was broken up, ordered home, and paid off. Seven thousand men were turned adrift as fast as possible; and two half-manned ships—one at Portsmouth and one at Queenstown took the place of the Channel squadron, which I believe was as efficient as any squadron that ever swam the seas. The breaking up of the squadron was to please Mr. Cobden and his friends; and, may I ask, what economy has it led to? Russia made an unreasonable demand on Turkey; we became alarmed—the two half-manned ships were completed, the very steamers that were paid off have been brought forward, and several vessels of different descriptions been commissioned, and, had things turned out serious, we were at the mercy of Russia, the 7000 men that had been turned adrift were nowhere to be found, and nothing left but to fall back on the coast blockade.

The Turkish question is now settled, the Baltic frozen, and we are safe; but, my lord, let me ask your Lordship where we should have been had the Emperor of Russia persisted in his unjustifiable demands? His Black Sea fleet would have been in the Golden Horn before ours could have been in the Dardanelles; and when there we had not steam-

No. 22.

Extract

Paris, January 10, 1850.

Sir; —

It is announced that the Chambers of Tuscany are to convene in the beginning of February. The subject of the long contemplated Commercial Union of Italy will, doubtlessly engage their early deliberations. The preliminaries of this Union had been definitively arranged, as far as concerned Sardinia, Rome and Tuscany before the commencement of hostilities between Austria and Sardinia. The compact signed by their respective plenipotentiaries is still regarded as obligatory. Whether or not the intended object will be perfected I am incapable of forming an opinion, upon which reliance could be placed. In view, however, of the possibility of such an occurrence and of the modification of the British Laws relating to Navigation, I conceive it to be plainly our interest to contract a Treaty of Navigation and Commerce with Tuscany — containing a stipulation that any one or all the Italian states may accede to it — securing the privilege for a term of ten or twelve years of carrying to and from the ports of that grand Duchy. We would assuredly be the party most benefitted by a Navigation Treaty of extended reciprocal liberality with the Italian

This

Hon. John M. Clayton,
Secretary of State.
Washington.

states. It would rarely happen that one of their vessels would arrive at a port of the United States with a cargo from a third country, while we might do a large portion of the carrying between British and other foreign ports and Leghorn, Civita Vecchia, Naples, &c. In the Treaty contracted in 1845 with the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies the President, if I am not mistaken, was desirous of bestowing the right on that state to trade indirectly with the United States for permission to enjoy a like right, but the government of Naples refused to entertain the proposition. It is a matter of really more importance for us to obtain this privilege now than it was then. — With reference to concessions of Customs duties on our staples in Tuscany &c. I have heretofore, repeatedly given you my views, and I should but trespass on your patience and time by adverting again to the subject.

More than ever do I consider it to be our interest to strengthen our ties of friendship with Greece. If the Czar ever crosses the Bosphorus, as probably meditated by him, he might be inclined, in the plenitude of his power, to circumscribe our intercourse with the ports of the Levant, the Ionian Isles, and the Grecian Archipelago. Lest this may occur I think the policy of establishing a Legation at the metropolis of Greece is not a questionable one. Before proceeding to do so, however, it might be well to inquire

minutely into the condition of affairs in that Kingdom, and to ascertain whether a desire exists for an augmentation of intercourse with us, and also whether a treaty more favorable than that whose stipulations are at present in force between the two countries, could be negotiated by us.

Switzerland is encompassed by serious difficulties if not absolutely menaced with national obliteration. It is stated that the Autocrat of the North has issued a decree prohibiting the entrance into his realms of citizens of the Helvetian Republic. This is striking at the genius of our government through a kindred but feeble state. Under such circumstances I regard it just as imperative upon us to take the initiatory step for opening diplomatic relations with Switzerland as it was for recognizing the independence of Hungary in the event of its establishment.

I see with regret a disposition manifested in certain quarters in the Union to suspend all diplomatic intercourse with Austria. Such a procedure, if consummated, would be productive of no good while incalculable evils might ensue from it. No one of my countrymen has witnessed the Hyena like ferocity, the demoniacal perfidiousness, of the Austrian authorities towards the Hungarian patriots more distinctly or with more pain than myself: No one of my countrymen can be more indignant at the

enormous outrages of Austria against civilization and humanity than myself: In a word no one of my countrymen has the same, or a greater, cause for deadly hate of the Austrian rulers than myself. Yet I am not for a measure that would gratify Haynau and cause the victories of freedom to destroyed in Austria. The noble-minded of every country, irrespective of sect, have pronounced a verdict of condemnation against the Cabinet of Vienna, but no government has undertaken to make the atrocities committed under its direction a <u>casus belli</u>. If the United States are prepared to engage in hostilities with Austria for grossly violating in the outrage of the Magyars all the usages of civilized warfare let them terminate their relations with her, but until they are thus prepared it seems to me that it would be the most inconsiderate act of all inconsiderate acts ever committed by an enlightened deliberative body, for Congress to withhold the necessary appropriation for the continuance of our Legation at Vienna. If we desire to be instrumental in redeeming our species from political bondage and misrule, we must rely upon the force of our example made apparent by the peaceful dissemination of the benign practical workings of our doctrines. Commerce, our mighty agent for doing good to the world must be unfettered our navigation must thoroughly plough every sea, moor in every

haven. Would we be acting in a sense of right to the liberalists of Austria — of crushed Hungary — to shut out our light from them, and thus abandon them to their hard fate, in order to express our contempt for their scourges? Assuredly not! Our government, in my opinion, should not only preserve formally its relations with Austria and other merciless Continental powers and states, but it should also adopt a system, similar to that proposed in my despatch No. 21., for the purpose of augmenting its influence throughout Europe. Our mission on earth, if it be not wofully mis-directed by governmental blunders, cannot fail to eventuate in the political regeneration of the most despotic states. Let "Peace and Commerce" "with all nations, entangling alliances with none," be our "noble aims", and right, with its noiseless blessings, will follow our march as justice follows truth. ++

I have the honor to be, &c. &c.,

Most Faithfully.

Your Ob't. S'v't.

A. Dudley Mann.

No. 22. A. Dudley Mann, Paris Jan.y 10. 1850.

Rec'd 14 March.

R. Clarke.

No. 23.

Paris, February 19, 1850;
19 Boulevard Montmartre.

Sir; —

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 1st inst., together with the Letter of credit on Messrs. Baring Brothers & Co. for $150.

As it is my present intention to return to Washington between this and the 1st of September, I will delay, with your permission, the making up of my account with the Department until I arrive there. Of the $1000 advanced me at the time of my appointment to Hungary I paid about $922 for travelling and other necessary personal expenses while I was absent from Paris on my mission; a part of which sum, however, I cannot properly — justly as I might do so — charge to the government. — I conceive that on account of unavoidable disbursements, attendant upon the discharge of my official duties, the amount due me is not much below $750. Of this I should like to realize — at your earliest convenience — as large a portion as you may consider yourself justifiable in advancing, prior to a final settlement, on an additional credit on Messrs. Baring Brothers & Co., of London.

Hon. John M. Clayton.
Secretary of State.
Washington.

As I have had no agency either direct or indirect in influencing the call for the correspondence relating to Hungary, so I shall have no regrets on account of the publication of my despatches. These despatches, from the peculiar condition in which I was placed in Austria, were not written under a belief that they would be communicated to the public; yet nevertheless, as well as I recollect, (for I have not copies of more than two or three) there are only a few sentences in the whole of them, which I would change even at this time.

The newspapers will furnish you with accounts of the exciting events in Greece and Switzerland. As I am not known to the President personally I fear he may have supposed that I was selfish in that which seemed to him an inordinate desire on my part to be accredited to Tuscany, Greece, and Switzerland. I foresaw long since, and so expressed myself to you from Vienna, that the two latter countries were to become the theatre of important occurrences. I should have deemed myself unworthy of the confidence of the Executive had I adverted less frequently, or manifested less solicitude, with reference to a temporary mission to those States, that I have done. As your countryman, as a citizen of a nation who glories in its name because it loves right for right's sake, let me implore you to urge the appointment of a Confidential Agent to the governments designated, forthwith. Last my claims, (those to which you

have so kindly alluded) for the first aide, if necessary, and commission some one else.

Notwithstanding non-intervention is the principle upon which we act, we cannot watch too closely the political movements of the different European States. The "Commonwealth of Europe" may be perfected at no very distant day, when an injury done to one member of the family will be resented as an injury to all. That this is the design of the Autocrat I am more clearly convinced than ever. I see his hand distinctly in all that is transpiring on this side of the Atlantic. The states of the old Germanic Confederation have 900,000 troops in readiness for active service. Austria and Prussia demand an exclusion of the time stipulated for the termination of the <u>interim</u> commission at Frankfort: — To this commission Austria has communicated a plan for a Customs Union, embracing that Empire, Prussia, and the other German States.

I have the honor to be,

Most Faithfully,

Your Ob't. S'v't.

A. Dudley Mann.

No. 23. A. D. Hearn. Paris - 19 Feb - 1850

Paris April 11, 1850.
19 Boulevard Montmartre.

Sir; —

I take the liberty of transmitting to you herewith an extract from the address of the President of the National Council of Switzerland, upon the occasion of the opening of that body at Berne, on the 5th instant. I cannot but regard it as most unfortunate for the cause of self-government, humanity, and civilization, that the administration declined to act promptly upon the suggestion which I made to the Department in August last — and subsequently urged from time to time to its consideration in my late correspondence — to open diplomatic relations with the Helvetic Republic. Such a procedure would not only have encouraged the friends of freedom to persevere against their cruel, brutal oppressors, but it would also have caused the Absolutist Crowned Heads to pause in their unhallowed purposes. The Czar is too well advised not to know how to estimate our strength as a nation, and the influence of our example on the Continent: He is perfectly aware that we are not a Republic in name merely, but one in fact and in truth, capable of performing great and noble deeds; and if he had seen us warmly greeting the

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hand of our feeble ruler, as dangers multiplied around her. He would have attributed the circumstance to an abiding desire on our part for the preservation and extension of our principles abroad, and, with his accustomed prudence governed his ambition accordingly. I adhere faithfully to our policy of physical non-intervention in European affairs, but I conceive that we fail to do our duty in standing aloof, presenting a cold aspect to our Swiss brethren at such a time — manifesting an utter indifference to their destiny. Do not understand me as intending to cast reproaches on the administration: I am aware that grave and important questions have claimed its attention, — such as would admit of no postponement.

This year is to decide the destinies of Europe. I tremble for the result. I wish I could feel that we "have no bark on the sea — no son in the slaughter." If the national republicans of Switzerland, of France, of Germany, of Austria, of Italy, shall be politically obliterated, an alliance will be perfected at no distant day, having for its covert object whatever may be its ostensible one, the prostration of that, which a monarchical journal designated a few days ago, as the "greatest of all earthly nuisances," — "the government of the United States of America." Russia will be permitted to establish Navy yards in the ports

of Austria and Greece; and Cuba, subsequently, through the influence of the Pope and the Catholic states, transferred to her for a sum sufficient to satisfy the English creditors of Queen Isabella. Do not suppose, whatever the demonstrations to the contrary, that Great-Britain and the Colossus of the North will seriously quarrel on any account. Look at the present tone of the London press. It is of an Autocratic character, with reference to Continental matters, as though its enunciations were from the mind of Nicholas.

This is not a time for our country to be convulsing itself with impracticable internal questions. We may have a powerful foreign enemy, now apparently in embryo, to face soon, whose Chief and his satellites are looking with rapturous delight on the angry discussions in the Councils of the Union, which may imagine forebode our speedy dissolution. Let us contemplate a separation of the States with Cuba under Russian dominion! What would become of American liberty, of American greatness, of American prosperity? Ah! my head turns in the attempt to prepare an answer.

The affair between G. Britain and Greece, as reported, is as good as arranged. Again let me conjure you to take immediate steps for opening relations with the Hellenic kingdom. We have large interests in that region. — I still believe that something beneficial can also be done in Turkey.

Germany is going just as I predicted it would in my despatch of September 27. The Erfurth Convention will prove an abortion. The King of Prussia, for about the 99th time has deceived his subjects. His mask is now off. —

The republicans of France are becoming more and more practical in their notions. The Socialist portion of them have consented to accept of the virtuous old patriot, the man who could not be seduced by Louis Philippe (Dupont de l'Eure) as their candidate for Paris! This is a symptom of returning health to the body politic: But Napoleon does not despair of the restoration of the Imperial Throne. The last number of his avowed organ boldly stated that if universal suffrage returns members to the Assembly at the next trial, more of the 28th, inst., universal suffrage must be abolished. — Metternich is still at Brussels. Mr. Talleyrand, French Sec. of Leg. at Vienna, stopped yesterday, en route to Paris, with despatches for his government and had a long interview with him.

Receive assurances of my continued estimation, and believe me, most faithfully, your Obt. s'v't.

A. Dudley Mann.

I hear nothing more of the Resolution of Mr. Douglass. If it should pass, my opinion is, that the President should communicate the correspondence in open session.

25 July.

W. Marcy.

No. 1.

Paris, July 6, 1850.

Sir; —

The Swiss National Council assembled at Berne last Monday, and was organized on that day. To-morrow morning I shall proceed by the most direct route and expeditious conveyance to my destination.

A definitive Treaty of peace has at length been concluded between Denmark and Prussia. A Russian fleet, consisting of 8 ships of the line and a number of frigates, with a few steamers, has just anchored in the Danish waters. This display is intended by the Czar, no doubt, as a new demonstration to intimidate the friends of freedom in Germany.

A rumor, originating at Brünn in Austria, is in current circulation, that the Emperor of Russia has resolved to abdicate in favor of the Cesarowitch on the 1st of December next. — The Autocrat has always indulged in most of the superstitious notions of his illiterate subjects, and if this report should prove true, it is evident that he fears to encounter the popular prejudice in his realm, to a longer reign than 25 years. It will be recollected that Nicholas ascended the Throne on the 1st of December 1825. We shall see, when the star of absolutism is

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Washington.

apparently in the ascendant in Continental Europe, whether he will sacrifice his ambition to his personal safety.

Nicholas is at Warsaw and Nesselrode at Dresden, endeavoring, it is believed, to arrange Germany to harmonize in all respects with the Russian system of government.

An active correspondence is said to be going on between the Elysee and the Autocrat. Since the passage of the "dotation bill," by which the pecuniary fortunes of Louis Napoleon have been made to assume a brighter aspect, it is whispered in well informed circles, that the President has private aspirations for the hand of a Russian Princess, and that he is not without hope that he will succeed in winning a niece of the Czar. He has recently had the palace of St. Cloud refitted up and handsomely furnished, where he resides at present. — I still believe that in the event of the restoration of the Throne, the chances are decidedly in favor of Louis Napoleon as Sovereign. If the statement be true that the Duchess de Chambord is enceinte her chances will be increased, because if the would-be Henry the Fifth should be favored with an heir, no reconciliation could be effected between the elder and younger branch of the House of the Bourbons. This would contribute greatly however, to strengthen Sovereigns and to uproot Republics, and, perhaps, render the re-establishment of the Throne impossible.

I take the liberty of calling your attention to the

following article which I have had translated from the Español of Madrid: — "Our correspondent informs us that the Duke of Rota- "mayor, Ambassador of Spain to France, has had repeated interviews with "the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the French Republic in order to "enter into a Treaty with all nations interested, the objects of "which would be to put an end to the acts of piracy that might "in future be committed under the shadow of the uncertain legisla- "tion of the United States on that point. The French Minister "acknowledged the fitness of the observations of our Ambassador and "the results that might be obtained by so useful a Treaty, and "fully entered into his ideas: They decided upon inviting Eng- "land to unite with France and Spain in order to put into exe- "cution so important an affair." The London Times of Thursday, the advocate of the autocratic powers, has a somewhat significant edi- cle upon the same subject. It says, "Spain may not be in "a condition to resent such an outrage on the part of citizens "of the United States. Though she manfully repelled the attack "on Cuba; but which such acts as these are committed in the "light of day, and on the high seas, a Government which has "failed to prevent them is but one shade less culpable than "the Government by which they have been attacked. Some one "must be held responsible and no line of distinction can be "drawn between war committed by private citizens and the war "of a nation. The American Government has already shown

N: 1. A. Dudley Mann, Paris, July 6. 1850.

"an honorable disposition to act in conformity to the principles
"of this responsibility for the conduct of its citizens, but if these
"means of repression fail, there is a growing feeling on the
"part of several European states to take measures for the com-
"plete protection of their colonial rights against such unau-
"thorized attacks in distant parts of the globe."

+ I regard an European alliance now, as I have done all along, headed by Russia as certain, as soon as re-action has attained its object. That alliance will be our implacable enemy and to be prepared for it, let us make fast friends of the republicans of Europe, as your policy in reference to Hungary, Switzerland &c. will assuredly do. ++

I have the honor to be most Faithfully,

Your Ob't. S'v't.

A. Dudley Mann.

Rec'd 3 Aug.t 50.

No. 2.

Berne, July 13, 1850.

Sir; —

I delivered my Credentials yesterday to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, President of the Executive Council of the Swiss Confederation. The interview was decidedly the most interesting one that I ever enjoyed with a public functionary abroad. Instead of the festivities usually observed, on similar occasions, my reception was fraternal, cordial, kind in the extreme. A short time before I withdrew, the President, unable to control his emotions, caught and pressed my hand, remarking: —

"Every member of the government, every "Swiss citizen will justly appreciate the honor which your "illustrious President has bestowed upon my country by open- "ing diplomatic relations with it at this time. I re- "ceive you not as I would the representative of a Sove- "reign but as the representative of a great nation endear- "ed to us by all the ties that can bind kindred people, de- "voted to the cause of popular government, to each other."

To-day the President visited me at my apart- ment and informed me that he had communicated the nature

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of my mission to his colleagues and that they had, unanimously, requested him to make known to me immediately the joy with which they hailed my arrival.

How strange it appears to me now — when I behold so distinctly the inflexible public virtue and generous sentiment of Switzerland — that we should not long since have established a Legation here. But the delay will be forgotten in the act which terminated it. The hour of adversity is the hour of test to friendships; and the Swiss people will invoke blessings on America, in the abundance of their gratitude, for the special mission to them during one of the gloomiest epochs in their history, — when autocracy threatens to lay hold of the pillars of the old temple of liberty in Continental Europe.

We must not suffer the obliteration of the Helvetic Confederation, if such an occurrence can be prevented by any efforts on our part short of a resort to the ultima ratio of nations. To say that we have no interest in its perpetuity is to say that we have no interest in the perpetuity of liberal institutions beyond our territorial limits. No true American is prepared to make an admission of this kind and no pseudo one has the temerity to do so. With the internal affairs of foreign states I trust my country will never intermeddle: But when Emperors would-

be-Emperors, and Kings under the guise, and in behalf of that which they denominate "Order", cross their own frontiers and hunt down with the ferocity of blood-hounds, those in whose bosoms generous opinions abide, we should be faithless to ourselves if we did not boldly express our disapprobation of such cruel outrages. We should frown indignantly upon all attempts at brutal repression by Potentates, and cheer by our smiles all of our species who believe, like Milton, that: "Men "are born with a better title to their freedom than any Mon"arch ever had to his Throne."

Do not consider me vain-glorious, (no one can be vain glorious of such a country as that of which I have the honor to be a citizen) when I assure you that the United States are now in the act of taking their stand at the very head of the nations of the earth. This, perhaps, results not so much from their numerical population and extraordinary resources as from the admiration, entertained in every land, for the grandeur of their institutions in accomplishing all the objects of government, by such as feel degraded by and are tired of being ruled "by right Divine." — The different Cabinets of Europe clearly perceive the honorable position which we occupy. The notion of any power fighting us because we sympathize with liberal movements and liberal states is an absurdity. The fearless manner in what

we express our sympathy, as in the instances of Hungary and Switzerland, weaken the enemies of self-government precisely in the same ratio that it strengthens us. Thus while the instructions attendant upon the mission to Hungary and the message of the President communicating the correspondence to the Senate were excessively offensive to Austria and Russia neither of them ~~had~~ had the nerve to make the expressions contained therein a cause for a suspension of diplomatic intercourse. The nations which have been indulging the hope that the hour was near at hand for the subversion and partition of Switzerland will pause, will shrink from their nefarious purpose, when they learn that we are quite as solicitous for her preservation as we were for the establishment of Hungarian independence. However deeply wounded their amour propre, they will not mistake their true policy, of remaining silent under the circumstances. I conscientiously believe that we shall be instrumental in saving this old Republic, and this opinion you will find expressed elsewhere at no distant day.

The Hungarian Message and the Instructions are appearing in all the leading journals. They will make the circuit of the Continent, in all intelligent circles - The "Imperial Gazette" of Vienna contains them. That paper announces that "the Chargé d'Affaires of Austria at

Washington has received orders to protest against the policy of the President of the United States during the war with Hungary." "Protest" forsooth! It is stated that the "protest" was deemed necessary, inasmuch as the re-production of the documents in the "Gazette", by which their contents had been communicated to the Austrian public, had excited the susceptibility of the Cabinet of Vienna."

In a few days I shall prepare the out-line of the Convention which I desire to negotiate with the government of Switzerland. I am now endeavoring to make myself thoroughly acquainted with the commercial system and statistics of the country.

I have the honor to be, &c - &c -

Most Faithfully,

Your Ob't. S.v.t.

A. Dudley Mann.

No. 2. A. Dudley Mann, Ben 15th July. 1858.

rec'd 10 augt.

Mr. Mahoe.

No. 3.

Berne, July 22, 1850.

Sir; —

The President of the Helvetic Confederation enclosed me the accompanying Note on Friday last, with a request that I should transmit it to its destination.

The official Federal Gazette published, a few days since, your Letter accrediting me to the government of Switzerland, and it has been re-produced in nearly all the journals of the Republic. The National Assembly, after a session of 18 days adjourned on the 20th instant. The following is an authentic Report of the proceedings, at its last sitting, of the Chamber of Representatives:

"Session of the 20th July."

"Yesterday Mr. Schaller addressed an interpellation to the Federal Council, requesting it to make a communication to the Federal Assembly, respecting the arrival of an American Minister in Switzerland. This proposition was taken up to day and discussed. — Mr. Schaller remarked, that the arrival of an American Minister was an event of the greatest importance for the Confederation. Switzerland was in the enjoyment of an extended commercial intercourse with the United States: She had projects for establishing Colonies in America. It was there-

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fore imperative upon the Federal Council to negotiate immediately with the representative of that great nation. "The United States by their rapidly increasing power cannot fail to play an important role in the affairs of Europe. It was of primary interest to Switzerland that they should have a Minister here. — In conclusion Mr. S. considered the new Mission as destined to have a happy and powerful influence upon the fortunes of all Europe and of Switzerland in particular, and such considerations he deemed sufficient to cause the Federal Council to make a communication to the Federal Assembly upon the subject."

"Mr. Fiver, in behalf of the Federal Council, replied that the Letter which had just been published in the newspapers relating to the American Mission, was authentic and even official, for the Official Federal Gazette had announced the reception of the Minister and subsequently published his Letter of Credence by authority. The Federal Council is also of the opinion that this event augurs well for Switzerland, and it certainly did not fail to receive the representative of the United States with all the regard that was due to a friendly nation. — But the Federal Council does not participate in the opinion, entertained by Mr. Schaller, that all political events, or information in its possession, ought to be laid before the Federal Assembly. Such a course was not observed by the Federal Council heretofore, and it will not be observed, until there is a decision of the Assembly

upon the subject. — With this explanation Mr. Schaller declared himself satisfied, having obtained the information which he desired."

+ "In the chamber of States, on the same day, in reply to the interpellation, respecting the Mission, President Brüel stated: "As the papers have already correctly announced, America has sent to the Swiss Confederation, not a Minister with a Legation, but a Special Envoy possessing full powers. The Federal Council considers that the arrival of a representative of the United States, (in a political point of view) is a most fortunate event for Switzerland. It must be regarded as a new testimonial that Switzerland can maintain a good understanding with all nations, and that she has the kindest relations even with such as are beyond the Atlantic. The Letter of Credence of the Envoy of the United States is conceived in friendly and dignified terms; and the interview of the Envoy with the President of the Federal Council was of so cordial a character as to leave no doubt that America desires to strengthen the bonds between the two Republics." ++

I have thus given you a statement, and a fair translation, of the proceedings of the Executive and Legislative Departments of this government, connected with my mission. +A degree of importance has, perhaps, been attached to my arrival here which never was attached before to that of a Foreign functionary. ++ I confess I was at first, somewhat astonished at the publicity given to your introductory Letter; but I ceased to be so when I reflected that this

to a thoroughly republican nation, where the people conceive, and I will not say unjustly, that they have a right to be made acquainted with all that concerns their welfare, which comes within the knowledge of the agents whom they have entrusted with the administration of their government. Popular opinion, at last, is the most powerful ruler of the earth: It controls our own country and shapes its mighty destiny: It controls Switzerland effectually, and through Switzerland causes adjacent Thrones occasionally to quake and tremble to stand terror-stricken: And I have an abiding confidence, vastly strengthened since I left you, that, in the Providence of the Almighty, it will eventually prostrate all Monarchs and cast their system of government into eternal infamy.

† It is frequently asserted that populous countries are adverse to the salutary workings of liberal institutions, and consequently European states can never become practical Republics. This is certainly an erroneous view of the matter, as is susceptible of demonstration. †† In the Canton of Geneva there are 704 ½ inhabitants to the square mile; in the Canton of Berne (the habitable part of it) 663; in the Canton of Bazel 486; in the Canton of Aargau 485; in the Canton of Zurich 462. In Wurtemburg the population to the square mile is 292; in Baden 291; in Tuscany 237; in Sardinia 221; in the Roman states 215; in France 215; in Austria 190; in Prussia 183; in Bavaria 141. Thus while France with

215 inhabitants to the square mile is not suited, as is alleged, for a republican form of government, because of dense population, the "Republic of Geneva", a Canton as sovereign as one of our own free states, manages its internal affairs with the highest degree of credit and benefit to all concerned with a population more than three-fold as numerous, proportionately, as that of France. Basle, for the same reason, is not favorable to the operations resulting from republican institutions; yet Basel which adjoins this Grand Duchy and France, has upwards of a third more inhabitants to the square mile than herself. Basel is not only famous for orderly government but for the prosperity of its industrial interests. — Such facts as the foregoing require no comment. They explicitly explain themselves, and show how easy it is for opinions, inconsiderately formed, to obtain currency. + France and the German states are as capable of governing themselves as the Swiss are, and Austria and the Italian states as capable as either. ++

The political atmosphere of Berne is altogether congenial to my feelings: It is as pure as the natural one of the surrounding mountains. How agreeably it contrasts with that of Paris! Here there is an entire absence of Princely pomp — of stiff, official etiquette — of haughty, military display. You behold a President, or acting chief of the state, like our own — plain and unaffected in his bearing, accessible to all, and faithfully working to advance the commonwealth. No me-

well soldiery escorts him from place to place nor sentinels his door. Belonging to the people the people constitute his body guard. A blow directed at himself, his colleagues, or any public function-ary, would be repelled as a blow aimed at all.

Many of the Swiss Cantons, in their sovereign character formerly contracted with foreign states to supply them annually with a stipulated number of soldiers. This cus-tom, to the honor of Switzerland, has been strictly prohibited by the new Federal Constitution. There are still a few Swiss troops in the army of Naples, but they are returning daily to their native land. Since the year 1447 one million two hundred thousand Swiss soldiers have been employed in Foreign service! Most of them fell in battle or died with diseases incident to the camp.

Switzerland at no period of her history was ever more united than at present. The terrific attitude assumed by the Sonderbund influenced the different Cantons to desire a closer embrace with each other, as indispensable to their permanent securi-ty, and in September 1848 they adopted the existing Constitu-tion. The Cantons, like our own states, will probably con-tinue to be jealous of their rights, but they are now thorough-ly nationalized as a whole, and will, I do not doubt, co-operate harmoniously. Indeed, heretofore, whenever the honor, the safety, or the interests of the Republic were endangered they val-

lied to a man to the support of the common cause. In the success of Louis Philip, attended by a belligerent demonstration upon the question of the expulsion of Louis Napoleon they were as united as they were resolved — prepared to act as soon as emergency might demand.

Let us now turn to Austria for a few moments. The statement is, at length, abundantly corroborated that the military Hydra has been caged. This procedure was deemed necessary for the safety of the Crown of Francis Joseph. In his valedictory address to the army Haynau remarks: — "It is true, peace now reigns: It alone can heal the deep wounds which have penetrated the heart of our great fatherland by a rebellious party of disorganizers of unprecedented strength. But peace is not yet durably established: dark thunder-clouds are still lowering over the horizon of nations and states, which may suddenly burst and occasion disasters more terrific than the recent ones."

In reply to an attack of the Reichszeitung, the organ of the Vienna Cabinet, Haynau takes occasion to say: "In the endeavor to cast reflections upon the honor of a man, who like myself laid hold of the revolution at its very root, I can discover nothing but an attempt to play into the hands of the democracy and to again endanger the existence of the monarchy." This is intended, of course, for the Schwarzenbergs

Ministry. But Austria has other atonements to make for her enormous transgressions than the dismissal of the bloody instrument of her guilt in Hungary. This, even though it be accompanied by the eleventh hour entirely grant, will not save her from the inevitable doom which awaits her.

The notion of a protest by the Camarilla concern, which assembles at Schönbrunn, against the United States on account of their generous desire to recognize Hungary, provokes merriment every where. The following is a specimen of the remarks in which the journals in Switzerland, and elsewhere, indulge on the subject: "The documents which have just been published con-
"cerning the Hungarian Mission plainly indicate that had the
"Magyars succeeded in establishing their Independence, President
"Taylor would have immediately acknowledged their government.
"The Austrian Cabinet has now addressed an energetic Note to
"the United States in which — let the world hear and laugh at
"its presumption! — it solemnly "protests" in the name of
the law of nations against the conduct of the U. States!!!"

I have the honor to be,

Most Faithfully,

Your Ob't. S.v.t.

A. Dudley Mann.

2 at Marshfield Oct 17 & 1850.
Rec'd 11 Nov.

No. 4.

Berne, September 26. 1850.

Hon. Daniel Webster,
Secretary of State.
Washington.

Sir; -

Shortly after the date of my No. 3, addressed to your predecessor, I transmitted to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Swiss Confederacy an outline of the Convention which I conceived myself authorized to conclude by my Instructions of June 15. The Minister informed me that he was compelled, very reluctantly, to postpone the consideration of the subject until the return of the Head of the Department of Commerce. This functionary was expected to resume his official duties on the 1st instant, but the state of his health would not admit of his quitting the Spa of Germany, where he was sojourning, until a few days since. He has at length arrived, and to-day I had a long conference with the President and himself at my apartment. We discussed one by one

the stipulations which I proposed to contract, on the part of the United States, but without arriving at a definitive result. The matter is now to engage the deliberations of the Federal (Executive) Council of which the President is the Chief, and the Secretary of Commerce a member, and I am assured that its decision will not be unnecessarily delayed.

I avail myself of this occasion to inform you that I have not been absent from this metropolis a day since I first entered it, and that I have left no exertions untried, which I could make without indelicacy, to accomplish the object of my mission as speedily as possible. Trusting that my duties will be completed, at the furthest, by the fifteenth of October,

I have the honor to be, &c. &c.

Very Respectfully,
Your Ob't Svt.

A. Dudley Mann.

N: 4. A. Dudley Mann, Septbr. 26., 1850. (Berne.)

No. 5.

Berne, October 7, 1850.

Sir; —

To the republican statesman Switzerland presents at this time an exceedingly interesting spectacle. No longer restrained by the guardianship of the Treaties of Vienna, which parcelled out Europe, she now occupies a distinct position of national independence. In the adoption of her Constitution of 1848 she entered upon a new existence. Although even since threatened with obliteration, because of her devotion to free principles, she swerved not a line from her honest purpose. Standing nobly erect, with an increasing confidence in her might, she seems to speak to the oppressors of humanity who are incessantly plotting her downfall and dismemberment, in the spirit that dictated the reply of Leonidas to Xerxes. She resolutely disregards the unjust complaints of haughty monarchs and indignantly resists their stealthy approaches. The tide of re-action, which recently appeared to be on the point of inundating her, she has rolled back with such extraordinary force as to create fresh alarm, among those most concerned for the security of adjacent thrones.

The Republic of the United States has cause to be proud of a sister departing herself with so much propriety and dignity as the one in Central Europe. Switzerland reflects the highest degree of

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Secretary of State.
Washington.

credit upon the system of self-government, and thus encourages struggling patriots to persevere in effecting their deliverance from the yoke of merciless rulers. She is at present, unconstrovably, the most orderly and the most prosperous nation in Europe. Entertaining no utopian notions of government, she exemplifies, from day to day, to the European world, the practical beauties of our own institutions. Under the salutary influence of her example, the people of the more enlightened States of the Continent cannot fail to become confirmed in the belief that "resistance to tyrants is obedience to God."

The history of Switzerland abounds with invaluable instruction for the citizens of the United States. It should teach them that too high an estimate cannot be placed upon the Union as long as it proves faithful to its original purposes. As it may not be sufficiently understood, I will narrate, as succinctly as possible — from the most authentic sources — the important events of the last half century: —

After the destruction of the old Confederacy by the French, and the formation of the Helvetic Confederation in 1798, Switzerland, dissatisfied with the exactions of the French soldiery and with the then existing government, became involved in a distracting civil war. When Napoleon grasped the helm of State in France, the Swiss, having lost confidence in one another, looked to him as their deliverer from impending anarchy. The Ferst Consul, after consulting deputies representing all parties, from each of the Cantons, submitted to them a Constitution (the "Act of Mediation") which was so favorably received as to quiet

internal commotions. The people, now no longer ruled by an hereditary line of sovereigns, entered upon a prosperous career. As soon as the Emperor's fall became inevitable, the Cantons of Berne, Soleure, Fribourg and Lucerne, ambitious to regain their power and the privileges attendant upon it, by the restoration of the old Confederacy of the thirteen Cantons, with their separate possessions, on the territory of which six Cantons were afterwards erected, abolished (1814) the "Act of Mediation" and thus dissolved the Union. Scenes of discord similar to those witnessed at the commencement of the present century speedily ensued. Canton stood in martial array against Canton, and citizen against citizen. — Meanwhile the Congress for the settlement of Europe assembled at Vienna and the Sovereigns and their Plenipotentiaries proceeded to arrange the questions which convulsed Switzerland. After a lengthened deliberation on the subject they decided, on the 20th March 1815, to guaranty the Federal Constitution adopted by the majority of the Cantons on the 8th September previous, and to confirm the admission into the Confederacy of the additional Cantons of Geneva, Valais, and the then recognized "Principality" of Neuchatel. The Swiss diet, agreeing to the conditions thus proposed, Austria, Spain, France, Great-Britain, Portugal, Prussia, Russia and Sweden then guaranteed the perpetual inviolability of Switzerland in future wars between potentates. But this adjustment failed to remedy the imperfections of the old system. The Central Government continued destitute of that power which was indispensable for the advancement of the national welfare. The Cantons, in their sovereign character, could of themselves accomplish nothing valuable,

- and they were all too exclusive and jealous of their own rights to unite in measures calculated to promote the common good. They were each governed by a small number of ambitious hereditary chiefs who were ever ready to carry out the wishes of foreign Princes, when there was a prospect of their receiving pecuniary or other benefits. The press was subjected to a rigid censorship; several of the schools were controlled by the Jesuits; and there were many more grievances to agitate the public mind.

When the revolution of July 1830 occurred at Paris, the Swiss, disgusted with their rulers and animated with a desire to become free, independent, and united, resolved boldly to assert their rights. They demanded an entire change in the political institutions of the different Cantons, and the work of reform progressed so rapidly that before the beginning of the year 1832 Liberal Constitutions had been peacefully adopted and were in operation in thirteen of them. During the general excitement the people of the "Principality" of Neuchatel rose in arms and demanded the abrogation of the authority of the King of Prussia, and the construction of a free Cantonal Constitution. But the Swiss Diet, (anti-republican in its principles) being asked for aid, to suppress the popular movement, sent a sufficient force to the spot to restore order. — Shortly after this the town party of Basel commenced hostilities against the country party of that Canton, nor could tranquility be re-established until a separate government was formed for each. A large majority of the Cantons now evinced a disposition to remodel the Federal Constitution. Stimulated by the re-action-

ery junto of the town of Basel, representatives from four cantons had a conference and declared their determination not to send delegates to the National Convention, about to convene at Zurich to deliberate upon a new Constitution. A mediation was effected between the contending factions but it failed to terminate happily. . . Lucerne rejected the proposed Federal Constitution, and thereupon revolutions transpired in Schwyz and Basel, which had to be quelled by the arms of other cantons. Tranquility at home was but barely restored when the Confederation was drawn into angry discussions with its monarchical neighbors.

Fugitives and exiles from their native land had sought an asylum in Switzerland, and regardless of the hospitality which they enjoyed, they endeavored to revolutionize neighboring kingdoms. The conspirators, most of whom were Poles, concentrated at Geneva in 1834 and selected Sardinia as the field upon which to begin operations. The expedition was equally unsuccessful. It entered Savoy, but not meeting with a cordial reception by the inhabitants, it retreated without encountering an enemy disposed to resist its march. The aristocratic factions of the different cantons, ambitious to recover their former privileges, availed themselves of this abortive affair. They asserted that Switzerland was becoming the general rendezvous of revolutionists, and that without a timely intervention of foreign States the security of her neighbors would be constantly endangered. To such statements potentates were but too willing to listen. Sardinia first complained and then Austria. Relying upon their vast supe-

riority of strength, they demanded in categorical terms the banishment of the disturbers of European peace. Notes making similar requisitions were soon after transmitted from Wurtemberg, Baden, Bavaria, the Germanic Diet, Prussia, Russia and Naples. This occasioned a high degree of excitement from the Saône to the Baltic. The pride of the nation was awakened as it had never been before. While there was an abiding disposition to observe, in good faith, the obligations of European law there was a resolute purpose not to obey the imperious summons of Princes. The guilty fugitives had promptly been declared unworthy of the rights of hospitality, but the Monarchs interested were not satisfied with this act. Their armies menaced the Swiss frontier on the North and on the East, and in fact suspended all intercourse with it as effectually as though war actually existed. At this critical juncture Louis Philippe consented to receive back the Poles whom he had forced to quit France, and the contemplated attempt at invasion was abandoned. — No sooner, however, was the foreign question disposed of than a spirit of insubordination was again manifested in a number of the Cantons.

In 1835 a change was perceptible, for the first time, in the deportment of the King of the French towards Switzerland. In his desire to strengthen his dynasty that Sovereign was prepared to see an unoffending country sacrificed, which had sheltered and fed him in his exile and adversity. Many of the fugitive Poles whom he had taken back, at the time referred to, returned to Switzerland

and formed an association with a view to an armed descent on the Grand Duchy of Baden. The Swiss Diet, having been apprized of their intention, determined to drive them away, and asked permission of France, as a matter of humanity, for them to pass through her territory. The King consented but evidently with reluctance. The answer, as conveyed through his Ministers, was so discourteous as to produce an universal outburst of indignation from the Swiss. The Diet, emboldened by the popular enthusiasm on the subject, despatched a Note to the Tuileries in which was expressed the unanimity that prevailed in Switzerland for the preservation of her freedom and independence. The dispute, chiefly through the instrumentality of the French Ministry, assumed so serious an aspect that Louis Philippe stationed large bodies of troops near the Swiss border and caused a suspension of intercourse, for a time, between the two countries. The difficulty at length was adjusted by negotiation.

A new and more dangerous enemy than any which Switzerland had yet contended with, now discovered itself in the incumbent of St. Peter's Chair. The Jesuits had long since introduced their order into the Cantons of Freiburg and Valais, and they endeavored incessantly to suppress generous sentiment, and to widen the breach between Catholics and Protestants. They waged a perpetual war against liberty and progress. The Priesthood, under such auspices, soon had the temerity to array itself openly against the civil authority. This properly created pain-

ful foreboding among the Protestants for the future, and they selected deputies, in a number of Cantons, to define the rights of the State and the duties of the Church. As soon as their proceedings were published the partizans of Rome loudly remonstrated against the decision which had been made, — the Pope himself expressing his unqualified disapprobation of it. The Priests at once advocated, from the pulpit, open rebellion; and notwithstanding the Cantonal governments succeeded in stifling many revolts, yet they had so artful an enemy to contend with that their advantages were not durable. The Jesuits did not relax their exertions to excite the inhabitants of the Liberal Cantons against their governments, and to increase religious intolerance throughout the valleys of the Alps.

In the summer of 1838 Switzerland was again embroiled in an angry controversy with France. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, after the affair at Strasburg, returned to the Canton of Thurgovy of which he was an adopted citizen. Louis Philippe immediately demanded his expulsion, alleging that he was engaged in planning new conspiracies for the overthrow of the Throne of France. Thurgovy declared its intention to protect its citizen in his rights: The Swiss Diet approved, after some delay, almost unanimously of this determination. The King of the French, provoked that his request was not unhesitatingly complied with, attempted to terrify the Swiss into obedience by sterling a large armed force on the direction of the Jura. No sooner was the fact an-

nounced in Switzerland, then Geneva and Vaud, the two Cantons most exposed to attack, commenced taking up arms and in a few days 25,000 men were ready to enter the field. A conflict seemed unavoidable when, fortunately, the pretender informed the Swiss Govt that he intended forthwith to absent himself from the country. This intelligence was communicated to France and thereupon she withdrew her army from the frontier of Switzerland.

The comparative harmony which had prevailed at home during the pendency of the external question, was again interrupted. The Canton of Zurich had long been in a state of political effervescence, occasioned by conflicting sentiments among the members of the Protestant Church, and its government in endeavoring to re-establish tranquility had recourse to measures so injudicious as to result in its overthrow. This was regarded as a favorable demonstration for the liberal cause, and the example was imitated in the Cantons of Valais Tessin, Aargovy, Soleure, and Bazel. The government of Aargovy, after having quelled an insurrection which originated in the cloisters of that Canton, decided upon abolishing them forever. This measure was violently resisted by the Catholics and a long period elapsed before it was carried into effect.

Although the party of the Pontiff had experienced many disasters, it nevertheless continued indefatigable for the consummation of its object. At last it was successful in revolutionizing the Canton of Lucerne,— abolishing the liberal Constitution and adopting one

in conformity with its own notions, which it transmitted to the Holy See for acceptance. This achievement of the Jesuits seemed to strike a fatal blow at Swiss nationality. The people were divided into two hostile camps, over which the banners of "Catholicism" and the "defenders of Liberty and Union" were unfurled. —

It now became apparent to every intelligent mind that the Jesuits by their intrigues and conspiracies operated as a canker-worm upon Switzerland, and the question uppermost with all reflecting persons was: "In what manner shall we rid ourselves of an order so fatal to our repose?" The Liberal Canton of Aargovy came forward with the answer. It forcibly demanded of the Swiss Diet that the order should be abolished henceforth and forever. But the timidity of the other Cantons prevented them from supporting this requisition. Its failure gave Lucerne fresh courage and led (1844) to the introduction of the Jesuits into that Canton. The uncompromising friends of freedom in the Liberal Cantons, becoming exasperated at so startling an act, raised an expedition against Lucerne, but as it was composed of raw volunteers and hastily arranged, it accomplished nothing. The enthusiasm increasing, a second one proceeded to Lucerne, but it was also repelled and with the loss of many troops, who were made prisoners.

In the mean time the seven Catholic Cantons had been strengthening the bonds of Union and fortifying themselves with a view to ulterior results. The nature of the reformers schemes

which they were maturing, though conjectured, were not generally understood. Finally the veil was thrown off in the deliberations of the Grand Council of Freiburg, on the 9th June, 1846. The Sonderbund (separate Union) treason, with all its enormities, was on that day formally disclosed to the public eye. Lucerne, confident in the success of the project, unequivocally expressed its desire for the dissolution of the Confederacy. Zurich immediately appealed to the Swiss Diet to take energetic measures for the suppression of the treasonable aims of the Catholic Cantons, which had been so publicly avowed, but the majority of the members could not be prevailed upon to act at the time.

In the summer of 1847 the *seven Cantons, without attempting to disguise their object, began to make preparations for hostilities. They established a Council of War; provided large quantities of arms and ammunition, and appointed a Commander-in-Chief of their forces. They not only counted upon disaffection in the opposing 15 Cantons, but also upon large pecuniary and other assistance from abroad. The Cabinets of Paris and Vienna commenced raising money and men to sustain the Sonderbund: The French Minister notoriously exerted himself actively in favor of the conspiracy.

The Swiss Diet met at Berne in July. Upon its acts depended the preservation of the Confederacy. Never before had it been prepared to perform its duty so vigorously. On

* Lucerne, Zug, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Freiburg, Valais.

the 20th of July it declared the dissolution of the Sonderbund. The conspirators were ordered to suspend military operations without delay: The Cantons favorable to Jesuitism were notified to abolish the detestable order and to consider it as forever prohibited. The Diet then adjourned to await the effect of its decisions. — The people of the seven Cantons, fanaticized by their unprincipled priestly leaders, determined with singular unanimity not to recede from the position which they had assumed. The Diet re-assembled on the 18th of October, and aware of the responsibility resting upon it, sent, before proceeding to extremities, messengers of peace to the revolting Cantons; but its proposals were treated with scorn. No alternative was now left to the Confederacy but to perform its painful duty. The Diet caused an army of 50,000 men to be levied forthwith, avowedly for the suppression of the rebellion. The seven deputies from the Sonderbund declared this act to be a declaration of war, and accordingly they dissolved their connexion with the national government.

The troops of the Confederacy speedily increased to the number of 90,000, which were divided into six corps-d'armée, each excellently equipped, with 260 pieces of heavy artillery. — The Sonderbund had already mustered all the men in its service at its disposal, and had secured the aid of several experienced foreign officers. Since the days of the crusade such a degree of wild enthusiasm had not existed as was observable in the

ranks of the Jesuitical party. The time for action having at last arrived, General Dufour, the Commander of the army of the Confederacy, caused an attack — after placing a sufficient force near the six other rebellious Cantons to prevent communication between them — to be made upon Freiburg, the strong-hold of the enemy. In three days this city was compelled to capitulate; to open its gates; to send away the Jesuits; and to form a liberal provisional government. The Canton of Freiburg was now severed from the Sonderbund. After this event the main army of the Confederacy marched upon Lucerne. At the dawn of day, November 23, Gen. Dufour commenced an attack upon that city. The concentrated strength of the Sonderbund was arrayed against him, and a long and sanguinary conflict ensued. The army of the Confederacy, however, slowly but steadily advanced, storming one barrier after another, until 5 O'Clock, P. M., when they were all carried. The next morning Lucerne surrendered unconditionally, — the Director and other members of the government of the Sonderbund, together with the Jesuits, having taken to flight. The smaller Catholic Cantons, finding that the insurrection had been crushed at the points where it considered itself impregnable, offered no further resistance to the national army, and at once abandoned their hopeless cause.

The fall of the Sonderbund produced a mighty sensation throughout Europe. The brilliant victories of Swiss freemen, over the invaders foe to their Confederacy, became the watch-word of liberty and

progress in Germany, France, Italy and Hungary. Autocrats and Constitutional Monarchs soon began to tremble for their own safety and, in their desperation, to impose additional restraints upon the rights of their subjects. Austria created an asylum for the fugitive Jesuits: Pius IX uttered bitter reproaches against the conquerors of the Sonderbund: An eloquent voice was heard in the French Chambers (Montalembert) pronouncing Switzerland unworthy of being classed with civilized States!

A trial of nearly fifty years duration had now shown conclusively that a stronger central government was requisite for a satisfactory administration of public affairs in Switzerland, and there was a general desire, long cherished by all patriots, to form a new Constitution. This was opposed, as usual, by the reigning houses of the Continent. A circular was addressed to the Swiss Diet by a number of potentates, stating: "We have guaranteed a Constitution for you "by the Treaty of 1815. Therefore, without our consent, and that "of the 22 Cantons, nothing in its provisions shall be changed." — To this the Diet answered: "Switzerland is not the vassal of a Foreign State; a free people may be permitted to make laws for itself." — Regardless of the authority of surrounding Princes a committee was formed of deputies, representing each of the 22 Cantons, to arrange the provisions of a new Constitution; and the work was commenced just one week before the abdication of Louis Philippe! This latter event produced so much consternation among Sovereigns that their

opposition to the change which Switzerland proposed to make in her national system of government, was not renewed. On the 12th of September 1848 the existing Constitution was proclaimed and went into effect; having been previously ratified by voters representing a population of 1,897,887 inhabitants or five sixths of the nation.

By the provisions of this Constitution the 22 sovereign cantons viz: — Zurich, Berne, Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Glarus, Zug, Freiburg, Soleure, Basel, Schaffhausen, Appenzell, St. Gall, Grisons, Aargovy, Thurgovy, Tessin, Vaud, Valais, Neuchatel, and Geneve constitute the "Swiss Confederation."

The object of the Union, as expressed, is to maintain the independence of the country against the invasion of foreign states; to preserve peace and order at home; to protect the liberties and rights of the Confederates; and to promote the general welfare. The Cantons retain their sovereignty, reserving to themselves all power that is not delegated to the general government. — Official intercourse between Cantons and foreign States is conducted exclusively by the Federal Executive Council. — A regular standing army shall not be maintained by the general government, nor shall any Canton, without the consent of the general government, have more than 300 regular troops. In case of disagreements between Cantons the general government shall act as umpire. The army of the Confederation is formed by the contingents of the Cantons, to which each must contribute when called on, in the ratio of 4 % men for every 100 inhabitants, besides a reserve

equal to half of the army marched into active service. When danger-
threatens, the troops of each Canton are subject to the orders of the general
government. — The entire management of the Customs belongs to the
general government. All articles imported for manufactories, as
well as the necessaries of life, are taxed lightly: Those of luxury may
be submitted to a heavy duty. — All toll-gates on the highways are
abolished, — The Cantons are recimbursed, for the losses which they sustain
on this account, from the Customs. — The Post-Office establishment
is under the control of the general government. — The right of coining
money, of regulating the value thereof, and of establishing weights and
measures, as also that of manufacturing and vending gunpowder, be-
longs exclusively to the general government. — Every citizen of a Can-
ton is a citizen of Switzerland, but he cannot exercise his rights in
more Cantons than one. — Liberty of conscience to all professors
of the Christian religion is guaranteed, and likewise the liberty of the press,
the right of petition, and the right of peaceful meetings. — The Judicial
decisions of one Canton shall have effect throughout the Confederation. — Po-
litical officers shall not be punished with death. — The general gov-
ernment is authorized to banish foreigners who endanger the well-being
of the nation. — The order of the Jesuits, and all orders affiliated with
it, are prohibited.

The "Federal Assembly" exercises the highest authority of
any department in the government of the Swiss Confederation. It
consists of two bodies: The National Council and the Council of States

The former is composed of representatives chosen in the ratio of one to every 20,000 inhabitants, and is elected for a term of three years. Elections for representatives are direct. Every Swiss citizen, recognized as such in the Canton wherein he resides, over 20 years of age, who is not a clergyman, is at liberty to vote. Every voter is eligible to a seat in the National Council. — The Council of States consists of 44 members. Each Canton is entitled to two members who are compensated for their services out of its own treasury. — The "Federal Assembly" has power to pass laws and resolutions for the execution of the provisions of the Constitution: To establish Offices and regulate the salaries thereof: To elect the Federal Council, the Supreme Court, the Chancellor, and the Commander-in-Chief of the army: To recognize and establish relations with foreign states: To ratify Treaties: To declare war: To conclude peace: To grant amnesties: To provide for the instruction of the militia: To create Coins: To exact money in times of peril from the Cantons: To revise the Constitution in conformity with the provision for that purpose therein contained. The Federal Assembly meets once a year, and more frequent if required by the Federal Council. The sessions are open to the public.

The "Federal Council," consisting of seven members, constitutes the Executive Department. The Federal Council is chosen — on joint ballot — by the Federal Assembly for the term of three years. Not more than one member can be taken from the same Canton.

The President of the Confederation (Chief of the Executive Department) is chosen by the Federal Assembly, from the members of the Federal Council, for the term of one year. He presides over the Federal Council, and is Secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs. Each Councillor serves as the Head of a Department, and each may take part in the discussions of the Federal Assembly. All Treaties are negotiated by, or through the agency, of the Federal Council, and all nominations to offices are made by it. It presents annually a message in writing to the Federal Assembly upon the state of the nation and proposes bills for the consideration of that body. During a recess of the Federal Assembly, in cases of extreme danger to the repose of the country, it may levy troops and direct their movements. — There is a Chancellor of State chosen by the Federal Assembly for the term of three years, through whose hands all official acts pass. — The Judicial power of the Confederation is vested in a Supreme Court, which consists of eleven members chosen by the Federal Assembly for the term of three years. The President and Vice President of the Supreme Court are chosen by the Federal Assembly from the eleven Judges for the term of one year. The jurisdiction of the Supreme Court extends to cases arising between Cantons, between the Confederation and a Canton, between the Confederation and a corporation, and in important cases (where its opinion is required by either party) between citizens. In all criminal cases the trial by Jury is observed. — A republican form of government is guaranteed to each of the Cantons.

Such are the outlines, hurriedly drawn, of the Constitution of the Swiss Confederation; — a Constitution whose benign operations are realizing the brightest anticipations ever indulged by its friends, while they are silencing the clamors of its most violent assailants. What an eulogy upon the wisdom of the founders of our system — that the same form of government should have been adopted, as far as applicable, after a lapse of sixty-one years, by the oldest self-governing nation in Christendom! The former Swiss Confederacy bore a marked resemblence to that which existed in the United States prior to the ratification of the present Constitution. The central government was too feeble to enforce an observance of its measures, and too little respected to enjoy the confidence of the Cantons. It wields now a salutary power over the 22 sovereignties which, under its direction, act upon the principle of <u>all for one and one for all</u>.

The Neuchatel question will, perhaps, be agitated again by the Chief of the House of Hohenzollern, if a propitious period shall ever arrive. In the year 1707, the reigning family of Neuchatel having become extinct by the death of the Duchess of Nemours, the Seat of the Principality was called upon to elect a Prince, and it chose, from numerous aspirants, the King of Prussia. This circumstance shows that Neuchatel was regarded as a Sovereign State inasmuch as her right to dispose of herself was not doubted by any European Prince. As has been seen This right was confirmed

by the Congress of Vienna. That body, in the stipulations which it agreed to respecting Switzerland, decreed; Article 1st that, "The "Sovereign State of Neuchatel is admitted into the Swiss Confederation as "a Canton. This admission is made upon the express condition "that all engagements contracted by the State of Neuchatel, as a Sovereign "State, shall be faithfully complied with. The participation of "the State in the deliberations of the general affairs of Switzerland, and "the ratification and execution of the resolutions of the Diet, belong "exclusively to the government located at Neuchatel, no ulterior rat= "ification or sanction being requisite."

From 1814 to 1848 the position of Neuchatel was an anomaly in the political world: That Canton was a member of the Swiss Confederacy of Republics and yet necessarily controlled by a Crowned Head! The Executive Council consisted of a Governor and a Coun= cil of State of 8 members, who were appointed by the Prince. Of the Grand Council the Prince appointed 22 members who served for a term of twelve years, while the people, restricted in their suffrage, were entitled to elect one member for every 500 inhabitants. — When the sup= pression of the Sunderbund was determined upon by the Swiss Diet, the government of Neuchatel, acting on the policy of its Protestant Prince, obstinately refused to provide either troops or money to aid in the consummation of the object. This caused every patriot in the Canton to detest the motives of the disobedience of Frederic Williams IV, and when the tidings arrived of the overthrow of the French

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Neuve, the republicans assembled from all parts, and on the 1st of March (1848) took possession of the Capitol, without unsheathing the sword. On the 30th of April following, a free Constitution was proclaimed. which terminated, practically, princely rule in the Canton of Neuchatel. The Prussian Minister immediately protested against the proceedure in the name of his royal master, but was answered by the Swiss Govt:- "According to treaty arrangements Switzerland knows nothing of a "Prince of Neuchatel."

There is a disposition, I am led to believe, on the part of this government, to allow a liberal sum to the King of Prussia for the property which he claimed in Neuchatel, but he is not likely to consent to any settlement short of a restoration of his government, while there is a hope, however faint, of the establishment of absolutist principles on the Continent. Since Hungary fell, the more despotic Sovereigns and Warriors have been constantly endeavouring to annul all the Constitutions which resulted from the revolution of February. In a number of States they have already been successful: In others they meet with a resistance not expected when they were first flushed with victory. — If Poesy shall prevail over the civil authority in Sardinia; if the Presidential term shall be prolonged in France; if the Potsdam Union shall be perfected in Germany. Then will the claims of the Hohenzollerns to the Canton of Neuchatel be revived and made a cause of belligerence with Switzerland.

The Swiss Union, as it now exists, has been virtually

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acknowledged by the high contracting parties to the Treaty of Vienna, no interruption having occurred in their relations, respectively, with the government upon the occasion of the proclamation of the Bonaparte Empire.

I sincerely regret that I am not yet prepared to announce to you, that my duties at this metropolis have been completed. I had another conference with the Secretary of State two or three days since, and was assured by him that the Federal Council was engaged with the examination of the Treaty stipulations which I had communicated for his acceptance, and that he expected to be authorized to make a definitive report to me upon the subject very soon.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c.

Very Respectfully,

Your Ob't. S'v't.

A. Dudley Mann.

No. 2. A. Dailey Manor, Bern, October 7. 1850.

Protocole (N: 1) d'une conférence tenue au Foreign Office, le 24 Mai 1852.

Présens:
Les Plénipotentiaires
d'Autriche;
de France;
de la Grande-Bretagne,
de Prusse, &
de Russie.

Le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Majesté Britannique, sur la demande du Ministre de Prusse, a invité les Représentants d'Autriche, de France, et de Russie, à rechercher, de concert avec lui, les moyens de replacer la Principauté de Neuchâtel dans la situation définie par le Traité conclu à Vienne, le 9 Juin 1815, lequel, tout en sanctionnant la réunion de ce territoire à la Confédération Helvétique en qualité de Canton, a reconnu à Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse des droits antérieurs de souveraineté dont l'exercice se trouve aujourd'hui suspendu.

Le Ministre de Prusse, en réclamant le concours des quatre autres Grandes Puissances, pour régler cette question à l'amiable, a déclaré que, si l'on procédait à la signature d'un Protocole dans lequel les droits de son Souverain seraient solennellement rappelés, et qui poserait le principe des ouvertures à faire en commun à la Confédération Helvétique, l'existence d'un tel acte dispenserait Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse de revendiquer ces mêmes droits par l'emploi d'autres mesures. Il a ajouté que l'accord ainsi établi entre l'Autriche, la France, la Grande-Bretagne, & la Russie, n'impliquerait pas la nécessité d'une action immédiate de leur part, mais leur laisserait, au contraire, le temps de se concerter de nouveau sur l'opportunité et la forme des négociations à entamer avec la Confédération Helvétique.

Les Plénipotentiaires soussignés se sont empressés de rendre hommage aux sentimens de modération qui ont déterminé Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse à choisir, dans cette

circonstance, la voie d'une intervention diplomatique pour atteindre le but qu'Elle se propose, et ont unanimement reconnu les droits que Leur appartiennent sur la Principauté de Neuchâtel et le Comté de Valengin, selon la teneur des Articles XXIII et LXXVI du Traité de Vienne, et qui ont coexisté de 1815 à 1848 avec ceux qu'l'Article LXXV du même Acte confère à la Suisse.

Ils ont en conséquence exprimé, au nom de leurs Gouvernemens, le désir de répondre à l'appel que Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse a fait à leur co-opération, en convenant que les quatre Puissances s'entendront aussitôt que faire se pourra, pour accomplir les démarches les plus propres à amener la Confédération Helvétique à tenir compte des stipulations internationales en vertu desquelles la Principauté de Neuchâtel a été admise, sous la garantie de l'Europe, à devenir l'un des Cantons de la Suisse.

(signé) Bunsen
a Walewski
Malmesbury
Bunsen
Brunnow.

Rec'd 16 Dec.

Mr. Mantoe.

No. 6.

Berne, November 25, 1850.

Sir; -

After encountering, since the date of my No. 5. many unforeseen obstacles in the negotiations, I have now the honor to inform you that I have just concluded a Convention with the government of the Swiss Confederation, and I hasten to transmit, by post, the only copy as yet prepared, to our despatch Agent at London, in order that it may be forwarded next Saturday by the Liverpool steamer, to Washington. A week hence, I will send you a duplicate, accompanied with a Report explanatory of the different articles.

I have the honor to be,

Very Respectfully,

Your Ob't Sv't,

A. Dudley Mann.

Hon. Daniel Webster

Secretary of State

Washington.

N: 6. A. Dudley Mann, Bene, 16 December, 1851.

No. 7. (Copy of sec. p. 9).

Berne, November 30, 1850.

Sir:

Trusting that my No. 6, with its accompaniment, arrived at its destination in due course, I have the honor to transmit to you herewith another copy of the convention concluded here on the 25th instant.

By my instructions of June 15, I was required to negotiate with the government of the Swiss Confederation for the mutual surrender of fugitive criminals. A treaty for this purpose had been concluded at Paris on the 15th September, 1846, by our able minister near the Court of the Tuileries at that time. This treaty was ratified by the Senate of the United States, in executive session, March 3, 1847, with the exception of the following concluding words of the first article: "with the distinct understanding, however, that in no case shall the high contracting parties be required to deliver up their respective citizens."

Mr. King, as may be seen in his correspondence with the Swiss plenipotentiary, quite reluctantly assented to the stipulation objected to by the co-ordinate branch of the treaty-making power. In his note to that functionary, dated "Paris, September 11, 1846," after stating his reasons for desiring an unconditional surrender, he remarked: "Still, as this reservation is invariably made by Switzerland in its conventions for this object, and is, moreover, made a sine qua non by some of the cantons, I deem it my duty to agree to it rather than abandon a negotiation which promises other important advantages." In his despatch of September 15, 1846, informing the Secretary of State of the conclusion

of the treaty, Mr. King said: "I shall merely add here that I yielded with reluctance the reservation that neither party should be required to give up its own citizens; but, having convinced myself that this point would be insisted upon, and that it was the invariable policy of the Confederation, as illustrated in its treaties with France and Austria, I determined to agree to this modification rather than abandon a negotiation which promised important advantages. From its position, natural features, and complicated jurisdiction, Switzerland is not an unfrequent resort of fugitives from justice, and it is no small matter to have stipulated for the delivery of all such as are not citizens of the confederacy."

You will have perceived that the object with which I was specially charged by President Taylor, and to which the distinguished statesman whose opinions I have just quoted attached so much importance, has been fully accomplished, and in such a manner as to embrace the expressed views of the Senate on the subject. To such conditions, in her solicitude to have all her citizens abiding in her territory tried before her own tribunals, Switzerland never subscribed before. In justice to Mr. King I may be permitted to state that, in my opinion, no diplomatist could have obtained more at the time than was obtained by himself. It was not until after the commencement of the session of the National Assembly, when an opportunity had been afforded them to ascertain the sentiments of the representatives of the people, that the Federal Council yielded definitely to the condition which I resolved from the first not to modify.

I was instructed to combine with the convention of extradition such stipulations of a commercial character as might be "deemed just and liberal, and best calculated to strengthen the bonds of friendship and alliance between the two sister republics." This trust I have endeavored to discharge so as to completely attain the purpose for which it was so implicitly confided. Happily, I found the government of the Swiss Confederation disposed to establish cordial and equitable commercial and social relations with us; to place us upon a basis that it places no other nation; to assimilate our privileges, in every sense but a political one, upon Swiss soil, with those of native citizens; to cherish our system of polity, national and State, as that most conducive to the welfare of humanity; and to emulate the benign workings of our free institutions.

I have given to Switzerland nothing, if I am not greatly mistaken, that we have not, at one time or another, given to nations less entitled to our good will and to the enjoyment of our liberality than herself. In return for the commercial favors which we obligate ourselves to bestow upon her -- and which our laws at present bestow indiscriminately upon all countries -- Switzerland covenants to grant no favors in commerce to States not embraced within her present limits which shall not immediately become common to ourselves. This will prevent her from being drawn into a commercial league with the Zollverein, France, Austria, or Sardinia, on terms adverse to our interests. Whatever product she may admit duty free from any country beyond her frontier-- however great the concession to her from that country

for such admission -- she must likewise admit duty free from the United States. It was a paramount consideration with me to avoid an insertion of the usual clause which runs thus: "If a commercial concession shall be made to any nation by one of the contracting parties, the same shall be enjoyed freely by the other if the same were freely made, or on allowing a compensation as near as possible if the concession was conditional." It is scarcely possible that a voice will ever be raised in the Union to advocate the adoption of differential duties which would operate injuriously to so good a customer for our products as Switzerland. We may, as I believe we will, find it indispensable, at no distant day, to establish retaliatory duties against nations which make a convenience of one or more of our principal staples for raising revenue; but while we keep this republic free from the commercial embraces of its neighbors, we shall, I am very confident, have no cause to direct our legislation against it. We could not reasonably desire a more moderate tariff on our products than that now levied by the Swiss Confederation. For instance, grain of every description pays a duty of 1 batz* per centner, rice 1, salted provisions 25, lard 25, dried vegetables 1, whale oil 2, whalebone 15, tobacco 15, raw cotton 2, cotton twist 15; wool, raw and combed, 2; pot and pearl ashes 2, rosin 2, tallow candles 2. Articles of importation are divided into nine classes, and are uniformly taxed by weight. Those of the first class pay 1 batz per centner; of the second, 2; of the

* The batz is equal to two and three-quarter cents United States currency; the centner, 110 lbs.

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third, 5; of the fourth, 10; of the fifth, 15; of the sixth, 20; of the seventh, 25; of the eighth, 50; of the ninth, (which include luxuries of all kinds,) 100. By a provision of the Swiss constitution raw materials required by manufacturers, as well as the necessaries of life, are to be admitted at the lowest possible rate of duty, while the highest impost that they will bear to advantage is authorized upon articles of luxury. Tobacco is considered in England, France, Austria, and the Italian States as an article of luxury, and is taxed accordingly. Switzerland, although she may so consider it, does not so tax it, but permits 100 pounds of the article to enter her territory for one-half the amount of duty that Great Britain charges for the entrance of a single pound. The government of France, which monopolizes the entire traffic in tobacco, realizes a clear profit on every pound it sells of about 12 cents -- one-third of the Swiss duty on 100 pounds. As a consequence resulting from the legislation of the three countries upon the subject, France, with a population of 36,000,000, consumes annually of our staple 18,000 hogsheads; Great Britain, with a population of 27,000,000, consumes 22,000 hogsheads; Switzerland, with a population of 2,500,000, consumes 5,000 hogsheads.

In addition to the good that cannot fail to be derived by our industrial pursuits from the securing, for a term of eleven years, such a commercial ally as Switzerland, our countrymen who shall visit the Old World may find a home in its centre where they will be as well protected in their persons and their property as if they were residing in their own native land. To say nothing of the material interests which are to be mutually

benefited, the convention will assuredly exercise a salutary moral and political influence upon the two republics, and also upon other countries.

Since the introduction of her present national system, Switzerland has concluded no general convention with a foreign government except that with the United States. In fact, before the adoption of the constitution of 1848, the central authority was precluded from entering into such engagements unless the consent of all the cantons had been previously obtained. Each sovereignty had its own custom-houses -- the aggregate number amounting to 360 -- its own post and military administrations, and paid its own member to the Diet. There was no national treasury. The patriotism of the citizens, rather than the constitution and laws, rescued the country, from time to time, from the dangers which threatened its subversion. The Union existed more by courtesy than by just pretension. It had no head to plan, no hand to direct.

It is necessary, perhaps, that I should submit to you a few more explanatory remarks respecting the convention. The insertion of "reciprocity establishments" in the title, was made at the request of the Swiss plenipotentiaries. It was believed that the employment of these words would contribute to strengthen the affections of the Swiss for America, placing her always uppermost among the nations of the earth in their minds, and thus popularize more and more the new constitution under whose benign operations such privileges were for the first time formally granted.

Religious disqualification to citizenship does not extend to all the cantons of Switzerland. This intolerance

is confined only to a portion of them, while each has the right to abrogate it whenever it thinks proper. Any canton may permit an Israelite to become a citizen upon the same conditions as a Christian; and, consequently, one hailing from the United States, to establish himself and trade as though he were a native -- a privi lege which I am assured will never be denied. In enlightened States the spirit of persecution against man's conscience is fast disappearing, and nowhere with more rapidity than in this republic. It was more than thirty years, if I rightly remember, after the adoption of our constitution, before the Israelites were fully affranchised in Maryland. So long a term will not have elapsed under the new system of Switzerland until every canton is religiously free, as is clearly indicated in all that transpires. Indeed, the existing remnant of the test is maintained more as a precautionary measure to the material well-being of the cantons concerned, than as a demonstration against certain religious tenets. It is considered a safe-guard against the immense itinerant population of Alsace.

The Droit d'Aubaine articles, in preference to those concluded at Washington May 18, 1847, were forcibly urged to my consideration by the Swiss plenipotentiaries. I saw nothing in them of an objectionable nature, or that was not in conformity with one of our recent treaties on the subject.

I know of no stipulation in the convention that is not calculated to operate advantageously to our country; but if the President or the Senate should entertain a contrary opinion, I doubt not but that the government of the Swiss Confederation would accede to any amendment

which might be proposed, not inconsistent with its duties.

The establishment of a legation here by our government, and the appointment of a faithful and capable representative, would, in my opinion, be attended with valuable results to the Union. It is reasonable to calculate that we shall never cease to be interested in the destinies of a republic which -- constituted, like our own, upon the E pluribus unum principle -- has nobly erected and resolutely maintained an altar to freedom in the midst of frowning monarchies. A representative of the United States, if he were personally worthy of it, would be likely to enjoy the confidence of the Swiss government to a greater degree than the representative of any other nation; and, consequently, opportunities would be frequently furnished him for imparting useful intelligence to his country that could not be obtained through diplomatic channels elsewhere. I am warranted in stating to you that if a permanent mission should be established at this metropolis by the United States during the next session of Congress, Switzerland would establish one of a similar grade at Washington when the National Assembly convenes, in March. The two republics would be thus placed in a position to fortify and extend their common principles, and to advance their respective interests.

Fulfilling faithfully her international obligations, and sincerely disposed to maintain good neighborhood, Switzerland desires perpetual peace. She is resolved to give no just excuse to any nation to involve her in a state of belligerence. While she offers an asylum, and supports, at a cost of hundreds of thousands of francs annually, those who seek refuge from the hangman and

the headsman of merciless tyrants, she acts upon our policy of suppressing every expedition that may be raised or planned within her limits against a foreign State. If, with such honest, upright intentions, she should hereafter be attacked by an external enemy, it will be attributable solely to the circumstance of her being free. The aggression would be that of inflated autocracy upon unoffending liberty. In such an event we could not fold our arms and console ourselves with the reflection that "we have no bark on the sea, no son in the slaughter."

The convention will be communicated on the 3d proximo, to both branches of the National Assembly, for ratification. A wish has been expressed in several quarters that I should remain here until it was acted upon, and I conceive that I have no alternative but to comply with it. This will probably prevent me from reaching Paris before the 12th, and I have accordingly fixed upon that day, even if I shall be delayed longer, for the termination of my mission.

If the department shall have occasion to write to me, it will please direct its despatches to the care of the United States despatch agent, London.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

A. DUDLEY MANN.

Hon. Daniel Webster,
Secretary of State,
Washington.

(Copy made Oct. 29. '98 from Conf. Doc. 31st Cong. 2nd Sess. } Ex. Hing)

Rec 17 Feb? 51.

Mr. Barton.

No. 8.

Paris, December 26, 1850.

Sir; —

I stated in my No. 7, that I expected to be enabled to reach here on the 12th instant, and that I should consider my mission as terminating at that time. After protracting my stay at Berne until the 13th, I concluded that I could leave there without causing dissatisfaction in any quarter at such a procedure, and accordingly made my arrangements for my departure; but just as I was preparing to start I received a note from the President of the Republic of which the following is a translation: —

"You have been kind enough to ask me upon several occasions whether I believed your departure before the Federal Assembly had deliberated upon the Treaty between the United States and Switzerland would leave an unfavorable impression in the Confederation. I still think that in Switzerland your leaving here would not be unkindly interpreted, but, nevertheless, I feel it to be my duty to state to you that your presence at Berne until the ratification of the Treaty by both Houses of our Congress would be witnessed with a high degree of pleasure, and the impression thus conveyed will be the more favorable inasmuch as the Treaty

Rec Washington 4 Jan 9. 1851

Hon. Daniel Webster.
Secretary of State.
Washington.

will be very probably, I may say certainly, ratified in the course of next week. And, if I were allowed to presume what will be thought at Washington of the prolongation of your sojourn in the Swiss Metropolis I imagine that it will be more readily approved of than your departure upon the eve of the action of the Federal Assembly upon the Treaty.

I beg you to excuse this intervention of mine, which might be considered indiscreet, but the confidence with which you have always honored me encourages me in transmitting to you the above considerations and in expressing the wish that they may determine you to undergo for a few more days the bitter frosts of Helvetic.

I joyfully seize this opportunity to beg you to receive the reiterated assurances of my high consideration and of the sentiments of friendship which unite the two Republics.

(Signed.) H. Bruce."

"Berne, December 13."

On the 16th, the Convention was unanimously ratified by the popular branch of the National Assembly; on the 17th with like unanimity by the Senate or Council of States; and on the 18th, the approval of both Houses, by acclamation, was formally communicated to the Federal (Executive) Council. Should this Convention receive the confirmation of the Senate of the UnitedStates — as I trust it will, and without a dissenting voice — the Federal

Council of Switzerland will be prepared at any time to exchange the ratifications. I may remark here that I deemed it nothing more than a matter of courtesy to consent to the exchange of the ratifications at the place where the Convention was negotiated. I presume that the government of the United States will not hesitate a moment to send a Minister to Switzerland to establish a Legation there, when it learns that a Swiss Minister is to be commissioned to reside near the government of the United States. Our Minister could bear with him the ratified copy of the Treaty to Berne and the Swiss Minister could then convey the ratified copy from Berne to Washington.

Under the circumstances of my detention beyond the period which I designated in my last despatch I conceive that I am entitled to my salary up to this date, inclusive, but I shall not realize it upon my letter of credit, after the 12th inst., until a sufficient time elapses for you to convey to me your own opinion upon the subject. I will then prepare my accounts for final settlement with the Department.

By last Saturday's Liverpool steamer I had the honor to transmit to you two copies — one in French, the other in German — of the message, written by the President, with which the Federal Council accompanied the Treaty to the National Assembly. This paper, as you will have perceived, gives a lengthened history of the negotiations and explains minutely the object of the

various stipulations contracted between the two Republics. On several points the Swiss plenipotentiaries seem to have misunderstood my remarks, but they are too unimportant to deserve mention, with the exception of the statement that "it was customary with the United States in their Treaties with other nations to insert the words "not embraced within their present limits." On the contrary, those words were for the first time introduced, as far as I am aware, in the Treaty just concluded, and, as I took occasion to say, expressly for the purpose of protecting the interests of the United States in Switzerland, against the formation of a Customs Union by that Republic with the German States, or with France, or Piedmont or Austria. I also proposed the words "Nation or Union of Nations" to which the Swiss Plenipotentiaries added "State or Society." It is proper for me to add that I did not see the message of the Federal Council until after it was laid upon the Clerk's desk in the Assembly. The document is as creditable to the heart and the head of its author and to the free country from whence it emanated, as it cannot fail, particularly its preface, to be gratifying to ~~American citizens~~. I was furnished with sixty copies of it, and as there is no longer any secrecy upon the subject of the Convention, I shall forward a portion of them next week to our Senators in Congress. In a former despatch I informed you that all the deliberations of the National Assembly of Switzerland are in open session.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c. &c.

Very Respectfully,

Your Ob't. S'v't.

A. Dudley Mann.

No. 8. A. Dudley Mann, Paris, 26 th Dcbr. 1850.

Rec'd 18 Jan? 51.

M. Marhoe.

No. 9.

Paris, December 27, 1850.

Sir; —

I avail myself of the steam-ship "Franklin" which is about to proceed from Havre to New-York, to forward to you a packet containing a copy of the Message of the President of the Swiss Confederation, communicating the Treaty just concluded to the National Assembly of that Republic, for each member of the U. S. Senate.

Herewith I send you the Reports, in German, of the Committees of both Houses of the Swiss Congress relative to the Treaty. These Reports were adopted by acclamation. Copious extracts from them have already been published in Switzerland, Germany, and elsewhere.

I also transmit with this, the Note of the President of Switzerland, a translated copy of which I embodied in my Despatch of the 26th instant.

I have the honor to be, &c

Very Respectfully,

Your ob't. s'v't.

A. Dudley Mann.

Hon. Daniel Webster.
Secretary of State.
Washington.

No. 9. A. Dudley Mann, Paris 27th Febr. 1850.

Monsieur l'Agent Spécial,

Vous avez eu l'obligeance de me demander quelque fois si je pense que votre départ aurait que l'Assemblée Fédérale ait délibéré sur le Traité entre les Etats-Unis et la Confédération Suisse, produise un effet fâcheux dans la Confédération. Je continue à penser que, du côté de la Suisse, votre départ ne sera pas mal interprété, mais je dois vous dire aussi que votre présence à Berne jusqu'à ce que le Traité soit satisfié par les deux Chambres de notre Congrès sera bien avec beaucoup de satisfaction. L'effet sera d'autant meilleur que le Traité sera très-probablement, je puis dire sûrement satisfié dans le courant de la semaine prochaine. Et s'il m'était permis de présumer ce qu'on pensera à Washington de la prolongation de votre séjour au Siège Fédéral Suisse, je suis porté à croire qu'on approuvera cette prolongation plus volontiers que votre départ à la veille de la votation de l'Assemblée Fédérale sur le Traité

Votre Excellence voudra bien excuser

cette

A Son Excellence

Burdett. Mann, agent Spécial des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, près la Confédération Suisse

Berne

cette intervention peut-être indiscrète de ma part; mais la confiance dont vous m'avez bien voulu m'honorer m'enhardit à vous soumettre ces considérations en exprimant le voeu qu'elles puissent vous déterminer à saisir quelques jours encore les journaux helvétiques.

Je saisis avec empressement cette occasion pour prier Votre Excellence d'agréer l'expression réitérée de ma haute considération et de mes sentimens d'Amitié qui unissent les deux Républiques Soeurs.

Le Président de la Confédération Suisse.

Berne, le 13 Décembre 1850

H. Druey.

BERICHT

der

Kommission des Ständerathes

über den

Vertrag mit den Vereinigten Staaten

von

Nordamerika.

Tit.

Der Vertrag mit den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika nebst der denselben begleitenden ausführlichen Botschaft des Bundesrathes ist Ihnen gedruckt zugestellt worden.

Ihre Kommission kann sich deshalb in ihrer Berichterstattung kürzer fassen, um so mehr da deren Aufmerksamkeit in jeder Beziehung mit derjenigen des Bundesrathes und der nationalen

nördlichen Kommission, namentlich auch mit Rücksicht auf den Schluß der Barriere der letzteren zusammentrifft.

Der Vertrag behandelt namentlich folgende Punkte:

A. Niederlassungs- und Freizügigkeitsverhältnisse.

B. Handelsverhältnisse.

C. Auslieferung von Verbrechern.

In allen drei Beziehungen offenbart der Vertrag denjenigen freundschaftlichen und liberalen Geist, welcher allein in den Beziehungen zweier Republiken herrschen darf, zweier Republiken, von denen die eine, jünger nach der Zeit ihres Bestandes in der neuen Welt in verhältnißmäßig kurzer Zeit den Völkern die großartigsten Wirkungen der Freiheit mit Rücksicht auf Vermehrung von Macht und Größe, Nationalreichthum, Bildung und Gesittung vor Augen führt; während die Andere aller dem Lande eine mißgestaltete Geschichte aber nicht nur, der Lebensfrische und Verjüngung in Europa bewährt, daß mit vor Glück, Gemeinbesitz, Genügsamkeit und männliche Thatkraft mit der Freiheit Hand in Hand gehen. Die Schmach, die allen Schranken, welche dem Absolutismus die Pflanzstätte der Freiheit selbst in einer Zeit, als Amerika für Europa noch ein Land, Vaterland war, seit gleichzeitig jüngster Zeit von ihrer Schmach in Amerika vielfach gelaufen und sich den politischen Einrichtungen der Letzteren sehr genähert. Um so günstiger und geeigneter ist der Moment, nun endlich in einem gemeinsamen Akt den Ausdruck gegenseitiger Hochachtung, gegenseitiger Sympathien laut werden zu lassen.

Aus diesem Grunde ist der Vertrag entstanden, der Ihrer Ratifikation unterbreitet wird. Auf demselben sollen die Angehörigen der beiden Republiken mit Rücksicht auf

Niederlassungs-, Klage-, Erbzugriffsverhältnisse behandelt werden, ungefähr wie nämlich bei uns die Angehörigen des einen Kantons im andern behandelt werden müssen, also (mit Ausnahme allerdings des politischen Stimmrechts) wie Bürger eines und des nämlichen Staates. Was wir bei uns selbst zu thun, erst in neuester Zeit durch den neuen Bund den ganzen Kantonalismus vollständig abgethan haben, bietet uns die Amerikanische Union. (§ 11 u. 5 entfällt bezüglich der Erbzugriffsverhältnisse Einschränkungen, die zur Zeit als eine Kunst bestehender Verhältnisse und Anschauungen müssen hingenommen werden)

Mit Rücksicht auf Handelsverhältnisse nähern sich die beiden Republiken gegenseitig den Raum der bezüglichen Verpflichtungen. Artikel 8 u. 9 und der Artikel 10 sagt noch im weiteren:

„ Um den im Art. VIII ausgesprochenen Zweck besser zu er-
„ reichen, verpflichtet sich jeder der kontrahirenden Theile
„ seiner Nation, seinen Nationalgewässern, seinen Häfen
„ und seiner Gesellschaft bezüglich des Handels eine Be-
„ günstigung zu gestatten, ohne dass der andere Theil nicht
„ auf unmittelbare in den Genuss derselben gesetzt würde."

Es braucht nicht näher angeführt zu werden, wie manch wohlthätigen Folgen für den schweizerischen Handel diese Bestimmungen werden können und jetzt schon sind.

Der dritte Punkt, Ausdehnung von Verbrechen, scheint die Kommission gleichfalls von hoher Bedeutung, zumal in der letzten Zeit gerade jene Klasse von gefährlichen und neuen, gegenseitigen Verbrechen der Gemeinschaft durch die Flucht nach Amerika zu entgehen suchte.

Wir hätten Anfangs nur mehr Anerkennendes gegen das Eigentliche gewünscht, nehmen zur Zeit mit Freuden das Zugestandene an, und mit Rücksicht auf die Gesinnung beider kontrahirenden Staaten dürfen wir hoffen, dass eine loyale Vertrags-vollziehung aber auch dasjenige als beschränkend einwirken wird.

Es braucht wohl kaum erinnert zu werden, dass alle diese Vertragspunkte, soweit die faktischen Verhältnisse das möglich machen, auf dem Prinzip der Gegenseitigkeit beruhen.

Wenn aber namentlich bezüglich der Meistbegünstigung, Reziprozitäts, und wohl auch grossentheils rücksichtlich der Handelsverhältnisse die bestehenden thatsächlichen Zustände ins Auge gefasst werden, auf welchen wohl mit sämtlichen schweizerischen Angehörigen in Amerika die Wohlthaten des Vertrags zu stehen kommen werden, als eingetreten, so dürfen wir offen und ganz den Nutzen des Vertrags und das freundschaftlichste Entgegenkommen in dieser Angelegenheit der amerikanischen Union zuerkennen. Die Kommission empfiehlt Ihnen einmüthig und mit grossem Vergnügen die Ratifikation des vorliegenden Vertrags mit der Nordamerikanischen Union.

Die Mitglieder der Kommission:

sig. Kappeler.

" Weber.

" de Rivaz.

Bericht

der Kommission des Nationalrathes über den Vertrag mit den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika.

Tit.

Sie haben uns beauftragt, Ihnen über den Vertrag, welchen der h. Bundesrath mit Herrn Dudley Mann als Special-Agenten der Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika abgeschlossen hat, Bericht zu erstatten.

Indem sich Ihre Kommission dieses Auftrages hiemit entledigt, fühlt sie sich zum Voraus gedrungen, ihre hohe Freude darüber auszusprechen, dass der erste allgemeine Staats-Vertrag, welcher die neue Eidgenossenschaft abzuschliessen im Begriffe steht, ein Freundschafts-

Vertrag mit einem fremden Volke, mit der souveränen fremden Nation jenseits des Ozeans ist. Während nun uns für die fürstlichen Bündnisse schlossen, um ihre Ehe zu befestigen, wissen sich hier, vermittelst des Thrones zur Genehmigung von, gelegten Vertrages, zwei freie Planten die Bundesband, von dem einzigen Wunsche beseelt, für das Wohl ihrer Bürger neue Grundlagen zu gewinnen. Dieß, Lil, ist der Grund, gedanke, von dem uns Ihre Kommission den vorliegenden Bestätigungsgegenstand auffaßt und uns Sie, Lil., fühlen sich gemiß durch die gleiche Idee getragen und gehoben.

Nachdem in der Botschaft das Bündnerwerk, welches in Ihren Händen liegt, bereits jeder Artikel der Vertrag seinen Kommentar gefunden hat, nachdem überdieß die vorstehenden Artikel für sich selber sprechen, erlaubt sich der Berichterstatter nur noch wenige kurze Bemerkungen.

Der Vertrag soll, wie es in seiner Einleitung heißt, ein allgemeiner Vertrag der Freundschaft, der gegenseitigen Niederlassung, des Handels und der Schiffahrt der Vertrag sein; – er soll dazu dienen, die Bande der Freundschaft, welche glücklicherweise zwischen beiden Republiken bestehen, zu erhalten und immer enger zu knüpfen.

Ueber die Zulässigkeit eines solchen Vertrages, wird es wohl, Lit. keiner Erörterung bedürfen. Was die Zweckmäßigkeit desselben betrifft, so wird sich dieselbe bei der Betrachtung der einzelnen Hauptheile, zu der wir übergehen, in das gehörige Licht stellen.

Der erste Hauptheil, aus den Artikeln 1 bis 4 bestehend, handelt von der Niederlassung, welche auf Grundlage vollständiger Gegenseitigkeit und Gleichberechtigung für die beiderseitigen Bürger festgestellt wird. Amerikanische Bürger sollen

sich demnach in jedem Kantone der Schweiz unter den gleichen Bedingungen niederlassen können, wie Bürger oder Angehörige anderer schweizerischer Kantone, z. B. also im Kanton Bern, Luzern, Tessin u.s.w. unter den gleichen Voraussetzungen, wie Angehörige des Kantons Aargau, Zürich, St. Gallen u.s.w. und ebenso genießen sinsichtlich der Niederlassung Schweizer in jedem Kanton der Union dieselben Rechte, wie Bürger aus andern Kantonen derselben.

Diese gegenseitigen Rechte wenden aber dahin gründlich, daß sie sich lediglich auf die Niederlassung, nicht aber auf den Genuß an Gemeinde- und Korporationsgütern und auf die Ausübung politischer Rechte beziehen und hinsichtlich der Niederlassung in der Schweiz wird in Uebereinstimmung mit unserer Bundesverfassung die Bestimmung aufgestellt werden, daß die Niederlassung in der Schweiz nur christlichen Bürgern der Demokratischen Kantone unter den verhältnißmäßigen Bedingungen gestattet werden muß, ohne daß jedoch die Kantone gehalten sind, von dem Rechte der Ausschließung der Nichtchristen Gebrauch zu machen.

Ferner wesentlich sind in diesem Abschnitte die Bestimmungen über die Befreiung der Niedergelassenen vom Militärdienste, über deren gleichmäßige Besteuerung mit den Bürgern des Kantons, wo sie wohnen, und über den ihnen zu leistenden Schadenersatz im Fall eines Krieges oder im Fall der Expropriation zum öffentlichen Nutzen.

Es genügt gewiß, Sie, Herr Ministerpräsident auf diese Punkte zu richten, um Sie auch von deren Zweckmäßigkeit zu überzeugen.

Die Artikel 5 & 6 bilden den zweiten Hauptteil und stipulieren völlige und unbedingte Freizügigkeit der Personen für die Bürger der beiden kontrahierenden Staaten, den Heimfalls- und Abzugsrecht ist zwar schon durch die im Jahr 1847 abgeschlossene Uebereinkunft aufgehoben worden, dagegen soll diese noch einen Unterschied in der Behandlung von bewaglichen und unbeweglichen Eigentums fest, welcher nun in wenigen Punkten der gänzlichen beseitigt wird, so daß jetzt allen Personen die Verfügungsrecht sowohl hinsichtlich des beweglichen als auch des unbeweglichen Eigentums bestehen wird. Die Kommission hält dafür, daß auch mit Beziehung auf diesen Abschnitt das Requisit der Zweckmäßigkeit seine volle Bestätigung erhält.

Als dritter Teil erscheint der Artikel 7, welcher von den Konsulaten handelt, und hierfür die gewöhnlichen allgemeinen Bestimmungen aufstellt, über welche wir uns zu keinen besonderen Bemerkungen veranlaßt sehen.

Von großer Bedeutung ist hingegen der vierte Hauptteil, der sich auf die gegenseitigen Schiffahrtsverhältnisse bezieht und dessen Basis der Grundsatz bildet, daß die kontrahierenden Teile hinsichtlich gegenseitig für die Ein-, Aus- und Durchfuhr ihrer natürlichen und industriellen Erzeugnisse so begünstigen, wie die am meisten begünstigten Nationen, Nationen-Normen, Staaten und Gesellschaften, und daß sowohl das schweizerische Gebiet dem Eingang der Gegenstände, die aus den Vereinigten Staaten Amerikas kommen, als auch die amerikanischen Häfen den aus der Schweiz anlangenden Gegenständen offen sein sollen, beides natürlich unter

Verbot der protektionistischen Zollgesetzgebungen. Als Folge von diesen Bestimmungen ergibt sich, daß einerseits von keinem der Kontrahierenden den andern gegenüber höhere Zölle als gegenwärtig in Anwendung gebracht werden können, und daß andererseits Begünstigungen bezüglich des Handels, welche von dem einen der vertragschließenden Staaten gegenwärtig eingeräumt wurden, unmittelbar auf den Mitkontrahenten auch zu Teil werden sollen. In den Verträgen der Vereinigten Staaten mit andern Nationen – sagt die Botschaft des Bundesrates mit Beziehung auf letzteren Punkt – ist diese Klausel unter dem Vorbehalt gemacht worden, daß, wenn diese Begünstigung einer andern Nation freiwillig zugestanden würde, die Ausdehnung derselben auf den kontrahierenden Teil ohne Schadloshaltung stattfinden soll; wenn sie aber der Gegenstand einer Bedingung wäre, die Ausdehnung nur gegen eine angemessene Gegenleistung geschehen könne. — Ihre Mann hat eine besondere Rücksicht für die Schweiz auf diese Klausel verzichtet.

Die übrigen Bestimmungen dieses Abschnittes beziehen sich auf die Navigationsverhältnisse und weisen die Schweiz darauf an, sich für ihre Exportation entweder der Flagge der Union oder aber einer Nation zu bedienen, welche zu den am meisten begünstigten gehört. Am Schlusse des Abschnittes sind beiden Teilen Maßregeln im Interesse der öffentlichen Sittlichkeit, Sicherheit und Ordnung vorbehalten.

Bei dem bedeutendsten Absatz, den namentlich die natürlichen Erzeugnisse der nordamerikanischen Freistaaten in der Schweiz finden, sowie hinsichtlich der genauesten Lage-

Aktion der schweizerischen Industrie und der Warenlager Platz liegt es wohl auf der Hand, dass die obigen Bestimmungen im wechselseitigen Interesse beider kontrahierenden Parteien liegen und die Kommission bedauert sich, dass mit denselben wohl die Grundlage gewonnen ist, von der aus die kommerziellen und handelspolitischen Beziehungen beider Staaten zum allseitigen Wohle einer weiteren Entwicklung entgegengeführt werden können.

Was nun im Weiteren den fünften Theil, die Ausführung von Verbrechen, Art. 13 bis 17 betrifft, so hatte Ihre Kommission mit dem h. Bundesrathe gerne eine weitere Ausdehnung des Art. 14 gesehen. Allein sie hat sich durch die in der bundesräthlichen Botschaft angeführten Motive, auf welche sie verweisen wird, überzeugen lassen, dass für diesmal eine Abänderung nicht angezeigt ist, und es scheint ihr das, was etwa in dieser Beziehung noch zu wünschen übrig bleibt, wirklich nicht so wichtig und wesentlich zu sein, um deshalb den ganzen Vertrag in Frage zu stellen. Immerhin gibt die Kommission der Hoffnung Raum, dass schon die Ratifikationen, wie sie nun vorliegen, nicht ohne einen wohlthätigen Einfluss bleiben werden.

Die Schlussbestimmungen in den Artikeln 18 & 19 lassen wir unberührt, dagegen haben wir hier, um Ende unserer kurzen Betrachtung der speziellen Theile des Vertrags angekommen, noch die Anregung aufzunehmen, dass von Seite des h. Bundesrathes und seiner Bevollmächtigten das Mögliche geschehen ist, um dem Vertrag eine den schweizerischen Interessen möglichst entsprechende Gestaltung zu geben. Wenn nicht Alles, was man wünschen, erreicht werden konnte,

so muss hinzuzur bemerkt werden, dass auf von Seite der Chinesen Bevollmächtigten der nordamerikanischen Regierung Zugeständnisse im Interesse einer Verständigung zu machen sind.

Nach dem bisher Gesagten, kann uns nur zum Schlusse noch einige allgemeine Bemerkungen erlaubt.

Wenn schon die einzelnen Bestimmungen des Vertrages an sich geeignet sind, die Billigung der Bundesversammlung zu erhalten, – wenn der Vertrag in Betreff der Vortheile und Erleichterungen, die er den Bürgern der beiden kontrahirenden Staaten gewährt, als ein erfreuliches Ereigniss begrüsst werden muss, so ist es fast mehr noch die Art und Weise, wie er abgeschlossen wurde; so ist es im Hinblicke die Wahl der Unterhandlungen begleitenden Nebenumstände; so ist es endlich ganz besonders die Thatsache, dass eine grosse und freie Nation uns in demselben die Freundschaftshand bietet, was diesem Vertrage eine aber so tiefe Bedeutung als einen schon moralischen Werth giebt. Oder sollte es für die Schweiz, die so oft gastfreundete, so oft angegriffene, so oft mit unbewaffneten Zumuthungen behelligte Schweiz, nicht ein Ereigniss von schöner freundiger Bedeutung sein, dass sie von Seite eines Staates, der wie uns noch wenige mit ihr, von der Vorsehung dazu berufen scheint, der Ausgang fortschreitender Kultur und gesetzlicher Freiheit zu sein, und durch das Organ seiner verantwortlichen Staatsmänner Worte von freundschaftlicher Zuneigung und anerkennender Achtung gegeben wurden!

Wir schöpfen hieraus die Ueberzeugung, daß einerseits die Stellung, welche die Schweiz seit ihrer Konstituirung in der neuen politischen Völkerfamilie einnimmt, bei dem freien Volke Nordamerika's ihre Würdigung gefunden hat, und daß andererseits die Regierung der Union die Bedeutung der Beziehungen, welche beide Staaten mit einander anzuknüpfen, vollkommen anerkannt. Und in der That, bei den mannigfaltigen Anfragen der Kommerzial-, den Berührungen, bei der Verbindung, welche die Auswanderung vermittelt, bei der Uebereinstimmung endlich der politischen Ansichten und Institutionen, erscheint es als eine Wohlanständigkeit, daß beide Staaten sich anziehen, beide Theile streben, die Bande der Freundschaft zu befestigen und immer enger zu knüpfen. Vielfache Anknüpfungspunkte verbinden die alte Eidgenossenschaft mit der mächtig aufblühenden Republik der neuen Welt und diese stimmen kann nicht gleichgültig sein gegen die Schicksale des ältesten Bollwerks der Freiheit im Abendlande von Europa. —

Indem Ihre Kommission dem vom h. Bundesrathe gestellten Antragsabschlusse diese kleinere Bedeutung beilegen zu dürfen glaubt, und indem sie ferner von der Ueberzeugung ausgeht, daß die weitere Verfolgung des im Antrage ausgesprochenen Zweckes nur von segensreichen Folgen für die beiden betheiligten Staaten sein kann, fällt sie sich für verpflichtet, hier einige Mittel zu gedenken, die nach ihrer Ansicht geeignet sein dürften, die gegenseitigen Beziehungen zu erleichtern und die Anknüpfung beider

Staaten in ihrem Maße zu fördern; wir meinen eine gegenseitige diplomatische, wie auch konsularische Vertretung.

Die Schweiz hat es bis anhin für angemessen betrachtet, sich in Wien und Paris durch Geschäftsträger vertreten zu lassen. Ihre Kommission will uns nicht in Abrede stellen, daß diese Vertretung der Schweiz schon von mancherlei Nutzen gewesen ist. Allein in wie viel höherem Grade würde sich eine solche Vertretung zwischen der Schweiz und den Vereinigten Staaten wirksam gestalten, in wie viel höherem Grade ist sie uns geboten, durch die Interessen der Auswanderung und des Handels, wie durch Rücksichten der Politik! — Wir erhalten uns für einmal diesen Gedanken weiter zu verfolgen und in dieser Richtung einen bestimmten Antrag zu stellen; dabei geben wir aber die Hoffnung nicht auf, es werde sich der h. Bundesrath veranlaßt sehen, über diese Frage seine Prüfung walten zu lassen.

Und hiemit schließen wir nun, Sie, indem wir Ihnen den Antrag des Bundesrathes in seinem ganzen Umfang zur Annahme empfehlen. Möge aus diesem Freundschaftsvertrage eine schöne Zukunft für die gegenseitige Stellung beider Staaten hervorgehen; möge das geknüpfte Band festhalten im Sturme der Zeiten wie im Sonnenschein des Glücks, auf daß die sternbesäeten Banner der Union und das schweizerische Kreuz der Eidgenossenschaft stets neben einander leuchten als das Symbol der unbefleckbaren Freiheit!

Die Mitglieder der Kommission:
sign. Heyer im Hof.
" Bischoff.
" Anderegg.
" Buscetti.
" Ryffel.

Rec'd 18 Jan.y 51

Mr. Barbe.

No. 10.

Paris, December 31, 1850.

Sir; —

I have just received, through the Swiss Chargé d'Affaires near the French government, the accompanying documents from the Federal Council of the Swiss Confederation. As they belong properly to the Department I lose not a moments time in forwarding them to you.

I have the honor to be

Very Respectfully,

Your Obt. Svt.

A. Dudley Mann.

Hon. Daniel Webster.
Secretary of State.
Washington.

No. 10. A. Dudley Mann, Paris, 31st Aug. 1850.

Le Conseil fédéral Suisse a l'honneur d'informer
Monsieur Dudley Mann Agent spécial des Etats-Unis d'Amérique
près la Confédération suisse que l'Assemblée fédérale a par
décision du 17 Décembre courant approuvé dans tout son contenu
le Traité original d'Amitié et de Commerce négocié et signé le 25 Novembre
dernier par les Plénipotentiaires des Etats-Unis d'Amérique et ceux de
la Confédération. Le Conseil fédéral ayant été chargé de le
ratifier au nom de la Confédération, nous prions Monsieur Dudley-
Mann de bien vouloir faire auprès de son Gouvernement les
démarches nécessaires en vue d'obtenir son approbation ainsi
que l'échange des ratifications du dit Traité destiné à resserrer
les liens qui unissent les deux nations.

En joignant à la présente le décret par lequel l'Assemblée
fédérale a accordé son approbation à ce traité, nous saisissons
avec empressement cette occasion de réitérer à Monsieur Dudley-Mann
les assurances de notre haute considération.

Au nom du Conseil fédéral
Le Président de la Confédération.

Berne le 23 Décembre 1850.

J. Druey.

Le Chancelier de la Confédération
Schiesz.

Dudley-Mann, Agent-spécial
des Etats-Unis d'Amérique près la Confédération Suisse
Berne.

L'Assemblée fédérale suisse,

Ayant pris connaissance du Traité Général d'Amitié, d'établissements réciproques, de Commerce et d'Extradition des criminels, entre la Confédération suisse et les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, conclu en dix-neuf articles, sous réserve de ratification, à Berne, le 25 Novembre 1850, par les plénipotentiaires des parties;

Vu l'article 74 de la Constitution fédérale

Vu la proposition du Conseil fédéral,

Décrète

Art. 1

Le dit Traité est approuvé dans tout son contenu.

Art. 2

Le Conseil fédéral est chargé de le ratifier au nom de la Confédération suisse et de pourvoir à son exécution dès que les ratifications en auront été échangées.

Ainsi décrété par le Conseil national
Berne le 17 Décembre 1850.

Le Président
(Sig) Dr Kern
Le Secrétaire.
(Sig) Schiess.

Ainsi décrété par le Conseil des Etats suisses
Berne le 17 Décembre 1850.

Le Président
(Sig). Buttimann.
Le Secrétaire
Sig. N. von Flüe.

Pour Copie conforme
Le Chancelier de la Confédération

Schiess.

Recd 18 Aug 51.

Mr. Bartlett

Paris, August 2, 1851.

Sir, —

I herewith transmit to you the "Report of the Political Department of the Swiss Confederation for the year 1850;" two copies of which, forwarded to me by the author, were received yesterday. This Report was communicated to both Houses of the National Assembly of Switzerland on the 20th ultimo. I have marked the passages concerning the relations of that Republic with the United States, in order that you may, if you desire, refer to them with facility.

I also send to you with this, the new Swiss Constitution, as I presume a copy thereof will be acceptable for the Library of the Department.

I have the honour to be,

Your ob't. s'v't.,

A. Dudley Mann.

Hon. Daniel Webster.

Secretary of State.

Washington.

Recd 2 Feb Dear Mr Markoe.

No 12.

Berne, November 23, 1851.

Sir; —

Mr. Sargent reached Paris on the 5th instant, and immediately notified me of his arrival. By the return of the post, which brought me his note, I requested him, if not inconsistent with his duties, to come on to Switzerland where I had been abiding since the 23rd of August. With this request he promptly complied, and placed in my hands on the 14th the box and the despatches which you did me the honor to transmit by him. — On the 15th I presented to the President, Chief of the Department of Foreign Affairs, the ratified copy of the Treaty as also my authority to exchange the ratifications. ××

The subject of the amendments has been under consideration in the Federal (Executive) Council, and that body immediately appointed two of its members to bestow upon it all the attention which its importance deserves. It is not easy of arrangement solely on account of the Constitutional difficulty relative to the Israelites. The different

Hon. Daniel Webster,
Secretary of State,
Washington.

Cantons will perhaps have to be consulted before a decision is made by the Executive Department, and if that decision shall even be favorable, it will afterwards have to be submitted to both branches of the Federal Assembly for confirmation.

Under such circumstances I think it advisable that Mr. Sargent should return to Washington, as he is anxious to do, without additional delay.

The new Federal Assembly is to convene on the 1st of December to choose a Federal Council. It is generally believed that the present members, with a single exception, will be re-elected; and that therefore, the policy of the government, which is liberal, and judicious as relates to international questions, will not be changed.

Intending to quit Europe as soon as the object of my mission is completed, I shall leave no effort untried, that I can make without indelicacy, to hasten the exchange of the ratifications. If the amendments are acceded to, as I trust they will be, I shall convey with me to the State Department the Swiss ratified copy.

I commenced my N°4 – dated

September 26, 1850 - by informing you that, "Shortly af-
"ter the date of my N° 3. addressed to your predecessor, I
"transmitted to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, of the
"Swiss Confederation, an outline of the Convention which
"I conceived myself authorized to conclude by my In-
"structions of June 15." A copy of this outline, taken
from the original in the Swiss archives, I herewith for-
ward to you in order that it may, with your consent,
find a place in the files of the Department. It will
be seen that the stipulations proposed were with a few
unimportant variations the same as those ratified by
the President and Senate.

I may remark that I yielded with extreme reluctance to a departure from the first article, and I distinctly informed the Swiss Plenipotentiaries at the time of my doing so, that I could give them no assurance whatever that the article, as changed, would meet with the approval of either branch of our Treaty-making power.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c.

Very Respectfully,
Your Ob't. S'v't.
A. Dudley Mann.

No 12. A. Dudley Mann, Bonn 28 Novbr. 1857.

23d Jany. Mr Markoe

No. 13.

Berne, December 10, 1851.

Sir; —

Truth is outraged, justice wounded, morality shocked by the event of Paris of the 2nd. Christianity has not had as much cause for ages to weep for the depravity of humanity as the deeds of the Usurper and those of his remorseless companions in crime furnish.

"In the presence of God, and before the French "people represented by the National Assembly, I swear to remain "faithful to the democratic republic one and indivisible, and "to fulfil all the duties which the Constitution imposes on me."

"There must be nothing equivocal between "you and me. I am not an ambitious man who dreams "of the application of subversive theories. Reared in free insti- "tutes, in the school of misfortune, I will always remain faith- "ful to the duties which your suffrages and the will of the As- "sembly impose on me. If I were to be elected President "I would not shrink from any danger or any sacrifice to de- "fend society, so audaciously attacked; I would wholly de- "vote myself; without any after thought, to the strengthening of "a Republic prudent in its laws, honest in its intentions, great

Hon. Daniel Webster,
Secretary of State.
Washington.

"and strong in its acts. I should consider it a point of honor "to leave to my successor at the end of four years, the government "strengthened, liberty intact, a real progress accomplished."

Such was the solemn oath taken by Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, less about ten days than three years ago! Such were the deliberate promises contained in his celebrated address to the people of France, published twelve days before his election!

Article 45 of the Constitution provides that, "The President of the Republic is elected for four years and is re- "eligible only after an interval of four years. Neither can "there be elected after him the Vice-President, nor any relation "of the President in blood or alliance, to the sixth degree inclu- "sively." According to Article 51, "He cannot cede any por- "tion of the territory, nor dissolve nor prorogue the National As- "sembly, nor suspend in any manner the supremacy of the Constit- "ution and the Laws." Article 36 provides that, "The re- "presentatives of the people are inviolate. They cannot be "impeached, nor arrested, nor brought to trial at any time for "opinions they may have expressed in the National Assembly."

Thus at a glance the enormity of the deed of the usurper is distinctly seen. The oath, to all intents and purposes, was as obligatory in its character as that administered to the President of the United States when entering upon his discharge of his duties; and yet the palpable violation of it occasions

rejoicing at every Court which has been heard from on the Continent. Austria and Prussia hastened by telegraph the expression of their congratulations to the guilty betrayer of the trust reposed in him. This is in keeping with Royal integrity as displayed since the summer of 1848. The demoralization of truth is indulged and encouraged for the accomplishment of deeper: ate ulterior purposes. But it cannot end in good. A day of reckoning must come sooner or later, for guilty Monarchs and Usurpers.

The National Assembly was never acting in as good faith to the Republic as at the time its sittings were suspended. It was engaged in providing for the execution of the 45th Article of the Constitution. at least that was the subject under consideration the day before, when the entrance to its hall was closed. Entertaining the opinion, as it is now evident that it rightly did, that the Executive possessed no loneaty of purpose, it is truly wonderful that it declined to avail of the means at its disposal for repelling invasions upon its rights. Among other things Art. 32 of the Constitution provides that, "The National Assembly determines "upon the places of its sittings. It fixes the amount of the "military forces established for its safety, and disposes of them. It is stated that when the result of the vote, taken a few days prior to the 2nd, was announced, upon the proposition for the "questors"

to prepare the "military forces", the astute Thiers remarked:—
"Gentlemen, we have made the Empire!"

The purse is at present united with the sword in the interests of the usurper. It is represented by Achilles Fould, the Jew, who was called back to the Finance department the very day that the Constitution was violated. The Bank of France immediately opened a credit of 25,000,000 francs to the most government. This sum was intended to play an important part at the Bourse by creating an impression in the interior and abroad that Peace had confidence. The five per cents advanced on an hour from 89.10 to 96! — and it is currently reported, whose months are not sealed, that the Chief and his instrument pocketed the profits. The portion of the former will likely be appropriated to the purchase of "Champagne and Sausages" for his brute force, in order to inflame its ferocity and increase its devotion. The Dictator has decreed that for heroic performances in battling against resistance to his pretensions, military promotions and rewards shall be upon a scale quite as liberal as though the army were engaged with a foreign enemy!

From the Paris press we can learn nothing. It has been either struck down or closely muzzled, with the exception of the old organs of the Elysée which publish daily telegraphic reports from Prefects of Departments announcing perfect tranquility, with the very reverse as we have the means of asser-

teeming here, is the fact. Never was any country perhaps in so terrific a state of excitement commotion. The masses are reacting, reacting without stopping to calculate the odds — such odds as no people ever had to contend with before — the perfidious betrayer of their liberties. America under similar circumstances would do as much; they would be to a man united. They would suffer no President invading Congress Hall by military power, to see the sun rise on the morrow after the denunciation. They cannot fail then, to applaud at the top of their voices, the noble, resolute sons of Gaul who without weapons cover themselves against a brute force of 300,000 men armed cap-a-pie!

The prisons every where are full to overflowing. It is believed that about one third of the members of the Assembly have been arrested, — a number of them were certainly shot. — Eveque, the Washington of France as relates to purity of purpose, is confined at Ham. In his captivity freedom received a stab. The dastard who planned his surprise feared him as a wicked criminal fears the just penalty of the law. The Lover in ambition, but the Lover in nothing else, knew that there was a Burton in the metropolis prepared to save the Constitution or expire upon its ruins. In honesty — in sincerity — in firmness — in devotion to the cause of practical liberty, a more exalted man does not breathe than Eugene Carrigue.

The Federal Assembly of Switzerland convened on the 1st instant. On the 4th all the members of the Federal Council were re-elected by large majorities. This was, of course, an unequivocal approval, by the country, of the measures of the Administration. Those measures have had a salutary tendency in strengthening the Confederation of the Cantons. The workings of the new Constitution, adopted in 1848, are entirely favorable to the steady development of the national security and general weal. The Sonderbund (separate Union) notion has no longer an avowed advocate in the Republic. May we not hope that, with the example of its complete failure, the diverting of secession which became somewhat popular for a time in certain States of our own Union, will be viewed ever long with horror, even by those who were most clamorous in their promulgation.

The momentous event of Paris is the uppermost subject in all minds at this Metropolis. It may involve in its consequences the independence of the nation. If the Usurper succeeds he will, without doubt, form a coalition with the Northern Powers to place the Continent under military rule, and thus stifle every liberal sentiment as well here as elsewhere. In fact I conceive the attempt at the dismemberment of "old Helvetia" inevitable if the restoration of the Empire is perfected.

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With this and other matters, which I am assured admitted of no postponement, the Federal Council has been prevented from deliberating upon the "Amendments" to the Treaty. The members of this body inform me that the desire is stronger than ever to consummate the stipulations concluded, but that time will be required, in view of the Constitutional difficulty relative to the Israelites, to determine the manner of doing so legally. Never was there a more fraternal feeling entertained by the people of one country for those of another, than by the Swiss for the Americans.

The Ministerial journals of Europe are circulating an article, which I herewith transmit, purporting to be a reply to your Austro-Hungarian letter. I suspect that it is spurious and have so pronounced it in conversation. If it be, there is scarcely any punishment, capital excepted, too severe to reflect upon the author of the forgery, if an American, or upon the rabid abolition editors who have given it currency, knowing it to be such. It is indeed strange, in presence of the oft repeated professions of friendship of Great-Britain for the United States, that the "Globe" — the evening organ of Lord Palmerston — should have been the first paper to publish the document on this side of the Atlantic and that "Galignani" sustained by British patronage, should copy it the day following. Neither of these journals had the magnanimity to insert a paragraph

of the world renowned despatch to which they enforce their readers it is an answer. There is convincing proof to me that if the "contemplated eventualities" should be perfected on the Continent, England would be disposed to co-operate with the allies. — We should never forget that from the nature of our institutions, with the exception of Switzerland, we stand alone upon the earth; and think Heaven we are now strong enough to thus stand, whatever the combinations against us, if we continue faithful to ourselves.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Very Respectfully your Ob't. S'v't.

A. Dudley Mann.

Recd 3d Jany. Mr Markoe.

No. 14

Berne, December 15, 1851.

Sir;-

Shortly before the adjournment of the last Congress a Resolution paſsed the Senate requesting you to communicate to that body any information in your poſsesion relative to proposed changes in our Diplomatic establishment. In answer to this call you stated, as well as I recollect, that you were not then prepared to comply, but that you would endeavour to do so during next sesion.

About a year ago, in a hurried letter which I wrote to Mr. Markoe, of the Department, I casually adverted to the importance of affording all the rank at the disposal of the government to our functionaries abroad, in the Diplomatic service - in order the more succesfully to elevate our country to its just position in the esteem of the world. Since then I have bestowed additional reflection upon the subject, the result of which I take the liberty to submit to your consideration.

We have in Europe five Legations

Hon. Daniel Webster,
Secretary of State,
Washington.

of the first and nine of the third grade*, the annual aggregate salary to the incumbents of which - $9000 to each of the former and $4500 to each of the latter - including the five Secretaries, amounts to $95000. During the ten years which preceded the 4th of March last the sum appropriated, from time to time, in "outfits" and "infits" to the Representatives of these Legations was not less than $380,000. As far as I am enabled to form an estimate, in the absence of official statements, the Ministers at London received of this amount $45,000; at Paris + $38,250; at St. Petersburg $45,000; at Madrid $33,750; at Berlin, $33,750; - the Minister and Charge's at Vienna + $28,125; the Charge's at Naples $28,125; at Turin $27000; at Lisbon $22,500; at Brussels $16,875; at the Hague $16,875; at Copenhagen $22,500; at Stockholm $16,875; at Rome (Legation established in 1848) $10,125.

Thus it will be seen that the actual compensation of the Minister to Great Britain during the period designated was at the rate of $13,500 per annum; to France $12,825; to Russia $13,500; to Spain + $12,375; to Prussia $12,375; to the Minister and Charge to Austria $9,112; to the Charge to the Two Sicilies $7,312; to Sardinia $7,200; to Portugal $6,750; to Belgium $6,187;

*The first grade mission in Republics corresponds with the second grade in Monarchies.

to Holland $6,187; to Denmark $6,750; to Sweden $6,187; to the Roman States $7000. Total expenditure per annum $127,235, to which may be added $10,000 for the five Secretaries of Legation.

Now by an annual expenditure of a sum not exceeding this, I am quite confident that we could create an Establishment eminently calculated to realise the just wants and reasonable expectations of the Union. The raising of the third grade Legations to the first grade – attaching to each a Secretary – and the utter abandonment of the "out-fit" system, would assuredly enhance our national character in the esteem of the European world, as it would advance our public morality and material prosperity.

It is the true policy of Republics to reward their public servants liberally, but not extravagantly. They should be furnished abroad as well as at home with the means of living comfortably, but the government should afford them no encouragement to emulate the luxurious habits of Royalty and its stipendiaries. In order to avoid extremes in the way of remuneration, and to equalize salaries with a view to the probable importance of the services to be performed and to the cost of living, it appears to me that $15,000 per annum

would be a proper allowance for a Minister to Great Britain and $2000 for a Secretary; $12,000 for a Minister to France and $1750 for a Secretary; $10,000 for a Minister to Spain and $1750 for a Secretary; $9,000 for a Minister to Russia and $1750 for a Secretary; $8,000 for a Minister to Prussia, and $1500 for a Secretary; $8,000 for a Minister to Austria and $1500 for a Secretary; $6,000 for a Minister to the Two-Sicilies and $1250 for a Secretary; $6,000 for a Minister to Sardinia and $1250 for a Secretary; $6,000 for a Minister to Portugal and $1250 for a Secretary; $6,000 for a Minister to Belgium and $1250 for a Secretary; $6,000 for a Minister to Holland and $1250 for a Secretary; $6000 for a Minister to Denmark and $1250 for a Secretary; $6000 for a Minister to Sweden and $1250 for a Secretary; $6,000 for a Minister to Rome and $1250 for a Secretary; - Total $130,250.- Difference in favor of the proposed change $6,975.

This amount would be sufficient to establish a Legation at Berne - giving a Minister $5500 and a Secretary $1250. There are weighty considerations in behalf of the creation by our government of a regular Mission to this Republic. I will mention one merely. Our trade is larger with the inhabitants of Switzerland, in proportion to the number, than with those of any other European nation, Great-

Britain excepted. The consumption of our products on an average amounts to about $4.000.000 per annum, by a population of 2,500,000. Even this large consumption is capable of being extended by judicious management. We take of Swiss products about $3.000,000 per annum.

Permit me now to make a few remarks concerning mifsions of the third grade. A Chargé, however well qualified to serve his country, cannot exercise the same degree of influence with the government to which he is accredited as if his mifsion were of the first grade. As his credentials are addrefsed to the Secretary of the Foreign Department his presentation to the Chief of the State is a matter of courtesy, not of necefsity, as in the case of a full Minister. He may request an audience but he cannot demand one. At the most fastidious Courts the mifsion of Chargé is viewed with so much indifference that it is difficult for him to obtain admittance to the Royal circle. This is ~~not~~ a matter of humiliation to himself ~~but~~ and of serious inconvenience to his country, for if he have any important object to accomplish with the Cabinet, the good will of the sovereign is always indispensable to his success. Again, if he receive an invitation to a diplomatic dinner or

other entertainment he is certain to be in a continual state of perplesity because of the inferiority of his position. He finds the honored places filled by Ministers from petty states, while he, the representative of a great nation, is occupying an obscure corner. ett his entrance he is announced as: "Le Chargé d'etffaires des Etats Unis" while the Minister of Baden, for instance, is announced as: "Son Excellence le Ministre du Grand Duché de Bade!" But it is not in Royal salons or diplomatic interviews alone that the rank of Chargé affects his laudable pride and his usefulness to his government. It is in the estimate which is placed upon his country by the inhabitants of the realm in which he abides. They look upon him as one who has no higher duties to perform than to take care of the archives of the Legation and authenticate passports. They expect more from a nation which enjoys their sympathies to a greater degree than any other, and they are amazed that we should not remodel an establishment which imparts so little lustre to our fame. I may remark, without manifesting a desire to copy her in any thing officially, that Great Britain has not, as far as I am advised, a solitary Chargé on the Continent. Even in the small Grand Duchy of Tuscany, whose incorporation into Austria is con-

templated, England is represented by a Minister Plenipotentiary. It is true that even one large European Power and several small States are represented at Washington by Chargés, but this should exercise no influence in preventing us from sending to them full Ministers. Great Britain acts upon this judicious principle. She has a Minister Plenipotentiary here while Switzerland has no representative of any grade at London.

Nor do I think that the condition of the Union is bettered by the privilege indulged by our Diplomatists abroad of appointing Attachés to their mission. If the government is morally responsible for the conduct of Attachés, it ought at least to exercise the right of appointing them. But with a capable Secretary to each Legation there can be no use whatever for the assistance of this class of would-be diplomats, bearing the most odious title that was ever sounded in republican ears. An Attaché, in the European sense, is an idler without ability, a babbler without discretion, who has studiously taken care to fortify his mind against the penetration of one generous or ennobling sentiment; one who, having no legitimate employment, desires official position. A fawner upon Royalty, nobility and "distinguished" aristocracy - one who knows nothing of the

worlds wants and is indifferent to its sufferings. If there are Americans who aspire to such a career,- and I have had evidences of it - in tenderness to them I hope the government will interpose to thwart their purposes.

I may further suggest that a Minister should be required by law or otherwise to have his Legation kept open from nine in the morning until three in the afternoon, except Sundays and holydays. It is the custom now to inscribe upon the door of the office "open from 12 until 2" an imitation of the established usage by the missions of Potentates and to the serious inconvenience of our travelling countrymen and others. There is no reason why a Clerk abroad should not earn his salary as faithfully as a Clerk at home. But unfortunately there are "Secretaries" who become so inflated by their association with sprigs of Royalty and nobility, as to forget that they are in the service of a republican country, and who employ foreigners to perform their duties, thus making their office a perfect sinecure. Against such outrages the government should provide in a decisive manner.

The abandonment of the system of outfits appears to me to be imperatively demanded in the interest of official integrity and political rectitude. This

system admits of so much abuse that a very incompe=
tent Minister may receive for a years service $20.000,
while a well-qualified one, supposing him to continue
at his post four years, would receive less than $12000 for
the same length of time. I believe there are instances
where individuals received in the space of five years,
out-fits and in-fits to the amount of from $25000 to
$30.000; while numerous cases have occurred in which
$11,500 were bestowed in this manner upon representa=
tives who did not sojourn six months at the Metropo=
lis of the Monarch to whom they were accredited. I
do not wish to be understood as casting the slightest
reproach upon the individuals who respectively enjoyed
these large sums. It is the principle, under whose ad=
ministration they were so fortunate, which I condemn
and which I conceive to be flagrantly wrong. I believe
I am warranted in stating that it does not exist in any
European power or state in a form so objectionable. —
In the earlier years of our history there may have been
seemingly a justification for its adoption. The Courts
of Europe were then at an immense distance, measu=
red by time, from our own Capital, and the fatigue of
travel, the expense of getting to them and returning was
enormous. But at present the most distant of the

European Courts may be reached in 17 or 18 days from the State Department, and at a cost - including the necessary personal outlays of the voyage - of $350.

I have the honor to be, Sir, Yr. Yr. Yr.

Very Respectfully

Your Ob't Sv't

A. Dudley Mann.

No. 14. A. Dudley Mann, Berne, 3rd January, 1852.

No. 30. Jany. 6th Marboe.

No. 15.

Paris, January 3, 1852.

Sir; -

I have the honor to transmit, herewith, a Note, dated December 12, 1851, which I received from the Swiss Federal Council on the 15th. - a few minutes after I despatched my No. 14. It will be seen that additional time is required by the Executive Department to deliberate upon the amendments to the Treaty, and that probably in the mean-time a proposition will be communicated to me by the Swiss Plenipotentiaries to forward to Washington for the consideration of the President. From the circumstance of the delay I concluded to avail of the permission which you so obligingly gave me, in case one should occur, to visit Paris. During my absence from Berne, I shall continue to correspond regularly with the Swiss government.

I was the more inclined to come here and abide, temporarily, because I was persuaded that the eyes of America were turned with inordinate curiosity toward France, and that at a period so momentous, reliable information, imparted even through other than the established channels

Hon. Daniel Webster,
Secretary of State,
Washington.

30.

of communication, would not be wholly unacceptable to the Department.

I translated a few days since that part of the President's Message which explains the foreign policy of our government and sent a copy of it to the Swiss Federal Council. I am not only proud but delighted to see the President state in language so distinct, "that while we are not disposed to intermeddle in "the internal affairs of foreign countries we are anxious "to see the same forbearance on the part of other nations "whose forms of government are different from our own". This is making an earnest move in the direction of the point which duty to our institutions will, sooner or later, compel us to designate. The shrewd statesman of the North, the present director-in-chief of the political destinies of Europe, will not be at a loss to place a proper construction upon the sentiment quoted. He will understand that it means: "if we do not intervene, you must not".

† There is perhaps not a government in the universe, except that of America, which ardently desires the preservation of the independence of Switzerland, and should that Republic be assailed in the honest performance of its international obligations, I am encouraged to hope, from the noble impulses by which he was

animated when he wrote the sentence referred to, that the President will be prepared to go still farther and make the emphatic declaration, that our purpose is resolute not to see it become the prey of remorseless tyrants.

It should ever be borne in mind, that in 1848, while the inconsiderate Socialists of France were scheming and the impracticable Professors of Germany dreaming, the utilitarians of old Helvetia, taking our system for a model, adopted a Constitution which completely severed the chains forged for their country by the Congress of Vienna. Switzerland furnishes a brilliant example to Europe of orderly government upon Washingtonian principles, and she is consequently the terror and the despised of the unfeeling monsters, who have no other security for their iron rule than that which proceeds from military repression. She is worthy of our affection: She is worthy of our favor: Yea, should she ever need them in a life or death struggle, she is worthy of our sword and our purse. There may be imperfections in her system. Alas! what system the offspring of humanity was ever perfect? We drew largely upon her experience when forming the articles of our Confederation. She reimbursed herself in 1848 by emulating the wise provisions of our Constitution. xx

It is believed that the Sovereigns of France (for such in reality is Louis Napoleon) Russia

Prussia, Spain, the Pontifical States and the Two Sicilies are already in perfect accord with respect to the manner in which the Continent shall hereafter be governed. The plan was agreed upon when the Czar resolved to invade Hungary and Louis Napoleon Rome. It was to be consummated as soon as an auspicious hour arrived. False-swearing, false-promising, false-acting were indispensable to the maturing of it. Faithfully have these unhallowed conditions been performed. From the 14th of May 1848 — the day the Emperor of Russia issued his celebrated proclamation of neutrality in the concerns of adjacent countries — until the present time, Truth seems to have been as utterly disregarded at many of the European Capitals as if it had taken its leave of the earth. There may have been periods since the Christian era when the rulers of the people of Europe were more deeply steeped in the crimes attendant upon excessive Court profligacy, but there never was one when Truth was so little respected by Potentates, would-be Potentates and their stipendiaries, as during the last three years. It has been contemned, derided, mocked. Infamous must be that cause which cannot be sustained without its abandonment. To suppose that the triumph of such a cause would be other than temporary, were to suppose that the brightest of Heaven's luminaries to mankind would be totally extinguished.

The ancients duly estimated the sublimity of Truth; they scarcely placed too high a value upon it in indulging the belief that it was "the body of the Almighty" since it was omnipotent for the creation of good and the suppression of evil. The pillar upon which religion, law and justice rest, there would indeed be nothing worth living for were it to cease to prevail. A blow therefore, deliberately aimed at it, however elevated the position from whence it proceeds and from whatever quarter of the globe, should be promptly resented by every person who recognizes its salutary beauties.

Throughout the vast length and breadth of our own land, no one who swears falsely can obtain admittance to any circle claiming respectability. The abhorrence for the crime is such, that he who commits it, is not only confined in a house of correction, but is ever afterwards loathed and avoided by upright individuals. He can never, whatever his atonement, regain the confidence which he forfeited. — The same considerations which weigh with well-intentioned individuals should, in my opinion weigh with well-intentioned governments in their international intercourse. If in the circle of the heads of powers or states there be one who has palpably perjured himself and that in a manner so aggravated as to shock our senses, self-respect, a just appreciation of all that we

hold most precious, should preclude us from continuing or establishing relations with him.

We should be but feebly justified in sanctioning an outrage upon Truth, even if it were certain that a decided expression of our mortification, at its humiliation by the Executive of a great State, would lead to unpleasant consequences. It is not the least part of our mission, if we have such a mission as I fancy is assigned us, to defend Truth whenever and wherever assailed by any member of the family of nations; to fearlessly rebuke and hold up to universal contempt such usurpers and despots as have the temerity to invade its sanctuary. - I could not, nor I would not, as a citizen of the United States permit myself to be presented to the Chief of a civilized power who had notoriously broken his oath and falsified the voluntary promises which pledged his honor for their observance. Much less would I, were I the representative of my country near the government which had its origin in his infamy, wait upon him officially and countenance his prostitution by a formal bow and an assenting smile. I should have the consciousness of knowing that I was a worse man after having performed so ignoble a ceremony. And I would conceive it to be derogatory to the character of the Union to commit it in any manner, approvingly, to such an achievement of guilt and hypocrisy. It is proper to

state that at the time I write I know nothing of the course pursued by our Minister since the so-called Election.

I am aware that it has been our uniform policy, except in the instance of the Republic of Rome, to acknowledge de facto governments, and to preserve relations when once established; unless a breach of good faith, adverse to our welfare is committed. From this policy I do not wish to see the government depart, except in cases like that which will render December 2, 1851, ever memorable as a day without parallel in the calender of criminal intent and purpose. It is for the perjury and the falsehoods so obvious to our sight, perpetrated by Louis Napoleon, that I would wish to see such a demonstration made by our country as would torture the soul of a fiend, if a fiend have a soul. I would arraign him at the bar of international justice and publicly condemn him to the eternal execrations of humanity. I would make a mark upon him as indelible as that which was inflicted upon the criminal of old; a mark that would cause the good of every land to rejoice and the bad to pause in their wicked machinations. As there is no precedent in baseness for his deed, I would make a precedent of him for the benefit of co-temporaries and posterity.

Nor can the result of the "Yes" or "No" manifestation consecrate the wrong which attaches itself to

perjury. If every citizen of France approved the crime, it would not be the less a crime, nor less injurious to the principles which we cherish. We value Truth above all things. Our national honor is of virgin purity. America has never proved false to any promise - faithless to any engagement. How could she when Truth has always been her polar star. Truth, of which Washington was a living personification, won her independence and liberty. Truth has made her the equal of any power on earth in strength - the superior in morality. And Truth - apparently entrusted to her safe-keeping by that Power of powers which never acts but in wisdom - must, ultimately, under her auspices prostrate all forms of government founded in or sustained by fraud.

If any thing could approximate in sinfulness of conception and ferocity of execution the Coup d'Etat it were the monstrous deceptions and other fraudulent acts consequent upon the mock Election. Under the guise of universal suffrage the usurpation was to be legitimatized. 7,000,000 of affirmative votes, as I learnt from a good source before I left Berne and was informed at various places on my way hither, were demanded by the Usurper from the first, and 454,340 more than 7,000,000 are reported by his supple stipendiaries to have been deposited in their hands. This number was considered ample to dignify his enormities and intimidate anew the patriots who resisted his pretensions. As far as

authenticity is concerned it might as well have been announced before as after the 21st of December. — Most of the Prefects and other Departmental officers were admirably fitted for the trusts confided to them. The first step from the path of rectitude is usually the fatal one. He who consents to enlist under the banner of a robber chief is soon prepared to obey all his orders. "Mischief is ever swift to enter the thoughts of desperate men." Thus it was with the functionaries of the "Palace of the Elysée." They performed services, a recital of which, six weeks ago, would probably have stunned their own senses; and now they come by hundreds and thousands to claim their promised reward. The Metropolis, presenting the aspect of a great military fête, is suddenly made surpassingly brillant by the blaze of red ribbands of the freshly decorated Chevaliers de la Legion d'Honneur.

It would be attaching to a sham proceeding a degree of importance which it does not merit were I to attempt to narrate the means and the artifices to which recourse was had to render it effective. I will however mention a few of the more glaring: No person is permitted to print in France without a license from the government. In many of the Departments and in several of the arrondissements of Paris "No" tickets could not be obtained. The printers were told that if they dared to issue them their licenses would be forthwith revoked. If anyone

had the courage to attempt to write "No" he was arrested and thrown into prison. The number of "Yes" tickets seems to have been provided for each arrondisement in precise accordance with the instructions of the Prefet of the Department to which it belonged. There is strong presumptive evidence that the exact vote of every Department, and in fact of every arrondisement, had been agreed upon before the Election. The plan of operation was systematized here. In the manufacturing districts, with one or two exceptions, the "Yes" was almost unanimous. This was to indicate that the Coup d'Etat was popular with the workmen and that they properly valued universal suffrage! In a few legitimist districts there was a "No" majority. It was thus made to appear to the republicans and socialists that the strongest opposition which the Usurper encountered was that of the old monarchists and that himself, the persecuted, the wronged, was the darling of freedoms votaries! The press, except that in his interest was muzzled - the people gagged. It was represented to the more ignorant that his act was one of self-defence: That but for the fidelity of the army the National Assembly would have had him guillotined the next day if he resisted or sent to Ham if he yielded. — In short, the whole affair of the Election resembled the trial of a notorious offender against law, by a jury packed for his acquittal. It was even more

atrocious. It was substantially that of perjury employing forgery to endorse its character as upright and honorable. And this proceeding is to be palmed upon Christendom as the solemn-unbought, unterrified expression of a nation's will!

The performance of a duty is so much more ennobling than the advancement of an interest, that in the opinions and views which I have expressed with reference to the former, I have carefully abstained from introducing the topic of the latter. Let me more distinctly repeat here, that I advocate a suspension of diplomatic intercourse with Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, because, by his own horrid act, he has placed himself below the standard by which the respectability of men, in every relation of life, is ascertained, and because I conceive it to be flagrantly unjust in principle to approve nationally that which we severely chastise individually. — But apart from considerations of duty it is our unmistakeable policy to take high ground against the outrages of the Usurper. If we expect to enjoy the friendship of the true patriots and republicans of Europe we must show them by a fearless demonstration that we deserve it. In the day of their imprisonment, prostration, and adversity what thrills of joy would it not afford them to suddenly behold a streak of light in the western hemisphere. The victims of that noble cause which is our cause, they

would again hope if they saw us act. They would regard America as an angel administering to sorrow: They would invoke the blessings of Heaven on the venerated heads of our eminent statesmen if their voices should be raised or their pens employed against their unfeeling oppressors. They would hail such an occurrence as the dawn of the morning of their deliverance; for they would perceive weapons uplifted as formidable as the fabled Club of Hercules. Their cause once in the ascendant they would benefit by the errors of the past, and in gratitude to us emulate the precepts of our practical republican brethren.

+Our strength is not underrated abroad. Why should we underrate it ourselves? We can now shape the political fortunes of Europe. In a little while if we remain passive spectators to the terrific scenes so ruthlessly enacted, Europe may shape ours! Shall we flee from the ferocious blood-hound of despotism which seeks to devour us, or turn and strangle him while we have strength? Unless we give republicans some encouragement to persevere they will by-and-by despair and absolutists will become more confident and if possible more exacting. Then the Continental combination, embracing all the small states, with Switzerland dismembered and subjugated, will perhaps be directed against us. The government of Great-Britain will not formally join the alliance, but it will not resist its

purposes. As far as we are concerned, I am disposed to believe that it will readily find an excuse in its antipathy to Republics, if its Colonial interests and ambition for aggrandizement do not furnish a special one, to co-operate with the coalition. It behooves us therefore to take timely precaution to avert the danger to our peaceful repose consequent upon the condition of affairs on this side of the Atlantic. I can imagine none so effective as that which I have proposed. No inconvenience would be occasioned by it to American residents in France. They are perfectly secure under our Convention of the year 1800. It is there agreed, Art. 8, "that in case a war should break out between the two nations, which God forbid, the term of six months after the declaration of war shall be allowed to the merchants and other citizens and inhabitants respectively, on one side and on the other, during which time they shall be at liberty to withdraw themselves with their effects and moveables, which they shall be at liberty to carry, send away or sell, as they please, without the least obstruction; nor shall their effects, much less their persons be seized during such term of six months; on the contrary, passports which shall be necessary for their return shall be given to them for their vessels and the effects which they shall be willing to send away or carry with them; and such pass-ports shall be a safe-conduct against all insults and prizes which privateers

may attempt against their persons and effects. And if any thing be taken from them, or any injury done to them or their effects, by one of the parties, their citizens or inhabitants, within the term above prescribed, full satisfaction shall be made to them on that account."

It may be pleaded with much force, that where there is no respect for Truth there can be no certainty that a Treaty stipulation will be observed. But there is a paramount reason in the present instance for a compliance with the existing obligations. There are vastly more Frenchmen in America than Americans in France, and the number is rapidly augmenting by the embarcations under the supervision and at the cost of the government, for California. Besides we have half a dozen or more Consuls in France - the one at the Metropolis eminently qualified for his post - to guard our rights and interests, as secured by Treaty, just as they are guarded in the German States with which we have most intercourse.

Louis Napoleon is shortly to go to the Tuileries. I trust he will not die by the hand of an assassin nor have I fears that such will be his end. It may seldom thus falls who does not possess redeeming qualities of character, for conspirs of meriting punishment he carefully avoids exposure to danger. Cowardice is the companion of guilt, and its instincts, I venture to predict will protect

from a violent death the Tyrant of France, as long as he exercises authority over the army.

Let us as philanthropists and patriots turn the sad events of the last month to the most profitable account. Let us without calculating consequences resolutely rebuke the unprecedented crime of the 2nd December, in order that political integrity may receive fresh courage to persevere. Let us, as the surest means of perpetuating our institutions leave an example of devotion to public morality on record that will cause our children to cherish our memories as we cherish the memories of our departed fathers.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Very Respectfully,

Your Ob't Sv't.

A. Dudley Mann.

No. 15. A. Dudley Mann, Paris 3d Jan.y, 1852.

Paris 3d

Recu 23 d Janv.
Mr Marcou.

Monsieur l'Agent Spécial,

Le Conseil fédéral Suisse a pris connaissance du Traité Général d'Amitié, d'Etablissements réciproques, de Commerce et d'Extradition des criminels entre les Etats Unis d'Amérique et la Confédération Suisse, conclu le 25. Novembre 1850, tel qu'il a été ratifié le 12. Mars 1851, par le Président des dits Etats Unis ensuite de délibération du Senat, traité remis par Votre Excellence au Président de la Confédération Suisse le 15. Novembre dernier en demandant l'échange des ratifications.

Nous avons vu avec beaucoup de satisfaction que les deux Gouvernements soient tombés d'accord sur la plupart des articles qui avaient été convenus entre leurs Plénipotentiaires et ratifiés par l'Assemblée fédérale Suisse, accord qui ne peut que maintenir et resserer de plus en plus les liens d'amitié qui existent si heureusement entre l'Union américaine et la Confédération Suisse; mais les modifications apportées par le Gouvernement des

A Son Excellence
Monsieur H. Dudley Mann,
Agent Spécial des Etats Unis
d'Amérique près la Confédération
Suisse
à Berne.

Etats. Unis d'Amérique à quelques articles de la Convention sont telles, qu'avant de pouvoir prendre une détermination définitive sur l'affaire en question, le Conseil fédéral devra vous faire part de quelques observations et propositions que le Cabinet de Washington ne manquera sûrement pas de prendre en considération favorable, puisqu'elles sont dans les intentions réciproques des parties contractantes.

En attendant les communications ultérieures que nous aurons l'honneur de vous faire, nous saisissons avec empressement cette occasion pour vous offrir l'assurance réitérée de notre haute considération.

Au nom du Conseil fédéral suisse
Le Président de la Confédération:

12. Décembre
851.

J. Munzinger

Le Chancelier de la Confédération:

Schiess.

Mr Marcoe.

No. 16.

Paris, January 4, 1852.

Sir, —

After the departure of my despatch of yesterday I carefully re-examined our Treaties with France, and I found that the one of the year 1800 was no longer in force. I regret, therefore, that I made an extract from it; and I seize the earliest moment to correct the mistake into which I was led. Our interests would be safe here, however, during a suspension of diplomatic intercourse, just as those of France would be safe in the United States.

We have intelligence to-day from Vienna that the Constitution of March 4, 1849, of Austria had been formally abolished by Imperial Decree, and that in like manner the trial by jury was abrogated.

The difficulties of the position of the Usurper hourly become more apparent. My own opinion is that he cannot sustain himself long, without physical and pecuniary aid from abroad. The people are more and more terrified at his enormities. His Conseil, it is said, began to hesitate in carrying out his reckless measures of finance. It is asserted in private circles that the floating public debt exceeds 500,000,000 francs! To augment this considerably will be to destroy the national credit and to cause the bankers to tighten their purse-strings. Unpaid armies have no loyalty: Soldiers are never content without employment. Louis Philippe understood this perfectly when he sprung, and prosecuted at a heavy cost,

Hon. Daniel Webster
Secretary of State,
Washington.

the war in Algeria. After the capture of Ab-del-Ka-der he soon fell.

The Emperor has just caused the Statue to Liberty on the Place Bourbon, to be demolished. This as a matter of course excites much sensation, and even in quarters where there was tacit adhesion to the coup d'etat. But adhesion amounts to nothing in France: It is a characteristic of the people to make the most out of a bad affair, and it is consequently never genuine. Louis Napoleon was among the first to give in his adhesion to the Republic and to the Constitution. The adhesion of the prominent men of France to the usurpation is about as valueless as was his, but less binding because it is not under the restraint of a solemn oath.

I have the honor to be, Sir, &c. &c.

Very Respectfully,

Your Ob't. S'v't.

A. Dudley Mann.

Rec'd A. Dudley Mann, Paris, 4 Jan'y 1862.

Recd 4. March Mr Marsh

No 17.

Paris, February 5. 1852.

Sir;

I have nothing definitive yet to report from Berne concerning the Treaty; but I am daily expecting information from the Federal Council upon the subject.

No positive demonstration has yet been made against Switzerland; Austria, however, is strenuously endeavoring to force a quarrel upon her by repeated unjust exactions. — Switzerland can make no concessions to the absolutists. She will fight before consenting to renounce the right of asylum. Her policy in this respect is fully defined in the following paragraph: —

"Switzerland will not permit her
"soil to serve as the centre of a propaganda, nor to be
"employed for schemes which may cause disquietude
"to neighboring states. Strong in this position, she
"will know how to resist with the energy which the
"sentiment of a good cause inspires, any demand which
"may not be within the pale of her duties — any attack
"upon her rights. If Switzerland do not provoke, she

The Hon. Daniel Webster,
Secretary of State,
Washington.

"is resolved not to shrink before menaces."

The Usurper, notwithstanding Switzerland protected him in his exile, and was prepared to draw the sword from its scabbard rather than comply with the demand of Louis Philippe, to exclude him from her territory, is, it is believed well disposed to co-operate in the crusade of autocracy against the liberties of that Republic. He has not manifested any sympathy for Switzerland since his Election in December 1848. When he made the tour of Lyons, Besançon and Strassburg in 1850, he endeavored through his representative at Berne to prevail upon the Federal Council to send a deputation to congratulate him in the name of the Republic. This was promptly declined to his great disappointment and mortification. I have all the Protocols upon the subject (kindly furnished me by the Swiss Executive) which I will deposit in the Department when I return to Washington.

Shortly after Louis Napoleon usurped the government of France, he instructed his representative at Berne to call upon the President of Switzerland, and carefully explain the motives which influenced him to resort to such a procedure. The interview was an embarrasing one to the Minister. He entered into a detailed account of the affair, which it was

evident he did not believe himself, and would occasionally pause for an approving look; but no look of the kind was manifested in the face of the plain, inflexible old republican. After completing his story, he rose and departed but without receiving a word of reply to the excuses made for the subversion of the Constitution. This, it is said, has occasioned the increased malignity of the Despot against Switzerland, and he will perhaps make an occasion, as soon as he considers himself more firmly established in authority, to cause his resentment to be felt.

Sardinia is likely to recede from the liberal course which she apparently marked out for herself. There is scarcely a doubt but that her Sovereign is well disposed to unite with the autocratic powers in their measures of repression.

It is now quite certain that Louis Napoleon, since the <u>coup d'état</u>, made advances to the members of the Orleans family, and equally so that they were promptly and indignantly repelled. This decided him to decree the sale of their estates in France. He feared, and not, perhaps, without sufficient reason, that the fallen Princes of that House would conspire for the overthrow of his fraudulently obtained authority, and self-preservation required that he should, at

far as was in his power, deprive them of the pecuniary means of success. The act is more openly denounced than any of the numerous startling ones that he has committed. It is asserted that it is far from meeting with approval in the army. Indeed there is positive evidence of this in the fact that persons do not express themselves in a whisper, as to its monstrosity, in the presence of the military and the gendarmerie. The executors of Louis Philippe have sent an able protest to the government against the confiscation, exposing the falsehoods contained in the decree. In their chagrin the Napoleonians have revived the old story of the illegitimate birth of the late King, and it is mentioned that Pierre Bonaparte has been despatched to Italy to search for evidence to establish the fact. The commotion in men's minds may be compared to the silent intestine commotion of the volcano previous to its eruption.

Retributive justice has to some extent already overtaken M. de Morny, the prime agent in the affair of December 2. The Usurper has dismissed him from his confidence, and although he is provided with a seat, for appearances sake, in the Senate, this instrument of crime is loathed by the chief who employed him. He is succeeded in the De-

partment of the Interior by M. de Persigny, who had been employed on Special Missions to Berlin and elsewhere in the North, and who is supposed to have performed signal services in perfecting, with Metternich and other co-adjutors, the plan of Constitution forced upon the nation, and the autocratic alliance. He is about six and thirty years of age, without judgment, without discretion, and is more odious, if possible, to the public than his predecessor. — I may here observe that all the recent Ministers were dismissed at the same time; but that the press was not allowed to announce more than two as resigning together: and I will also remark that even the fawning Constitutionnel, whose principal editor was decorated as an officer of the Legion of Honor three or four weeks ago, for services in behalf of the usurpation, is no longer implicitly trusted to speak of the measures of the government. Its articles must first be submitted to a censorship.

Revelations are constantly transpiring. Every day confirms more and more the opinions which I expressed in my N°15 relative to the most Election. In its conception, execution, and termination, it was the most gigantic fraud ever practised upon an enlightened nation. But so far it has succeeded, and success, in the dictatorial sense, is synonymous with right. The Election

is to take place for the "legislative body" on the 29th instant, and preparatory regulations for thwarting a fair expression of the popular will, were published on the 3rd. In addition to this, the manufacturers of printing-presses, printing-types, lithographic materials and copying machines are forbidden, under severe penalties, from disposing of the products of their industry, until they furnish the name of the individual applying to purchase, to the Chief of the newly created Police Department, and obtain from him a permit! Every decree issued by Louis Napoleon and a menial press gives publicity to several daily - distinctly indicates that he is playing a reckless game in which it is obvious to himself the chances are more than equal that he must lose. He begins to find that it is easier to promise than to accomplish, and he is now hastening the meeting of the two houses, in order that he may be, to some extent, relieved of the insupportable responsibility which he assumed. The history of the eventful times in which we live, will, I trust, abound with salutary instruction to posterity, and with none more valuable than that power or place achieved by crime or duplicity has but a temporary duration.

I learn from a source which I am disposed to believe reliable, that prior to his glaring commission of the awful deed of perjury, Louis Napoleon

was palpably guilty of a stupendous forgery. It is stated that he managed by false papers to overdraw his account to the amount of something like 6.000.000 francs; and that on the 1st December the fraud was detected and instantly communicated to the more prominent opposition members of the National Assembly. It was arranged by them that on the 2nd, the investigation of the transaction should be commenced. In the meantime, intelligence of the discovery was conveyed to the Elysée (about 9 o'clock P. M.) and as the only hope left to its incumbent of preventing exposure and consequent ignominious punishment, the <u>coup d'état</u>, which had been long contemplated, was immediately resolved upon. Investigation was stifled by the dissolution of the National Assembly and the subsidizing of the press. The deficit occasioned by the robbery, it is added, was covered by a part of the forced loan of 25,000,000 from the bank.

Whatever you may hear to the contrary, you may rely upon it, that this government is not inclined to a diminition of the army. It is at this very moment engaged in increasing the number of troops, which it contemplates augmenting 150,000. Neither is there the slightest value to be attached to any declaration which it may make that its policy is pacific, or that it entertains sentiments of good will toward the United

States. It is a Russian government throughout - indeed worse than Russian - and will be at no loss for a cause of war against a liberal nation, when a prospect for gain presents itself.

It is asserted by many of our statesmen, with more boldness than correctness, it seems to me, that "the people of France are incapable of self-government." My own observation, somewhat minute for the last five years, both in the metropolis and in the country, certainly induces me to entertain an utterly different opinion of the matter. I have been present at a number of exciting elections in the United States, Switzerland and France, and I have no hesitation in stating that in the latter country the voters exercised (when the authorities did all they could to excite the majority to disorderly acts) a degree of moderation which contrasted favorably with those of either the two former. Freemen, in enjoying the inestimable right of suffrage never behaved more temperately than did Frenchmen from May 1848 until May 1850, when the Electoral law was changed. Their deportment in going to, at, and returning from the polls was so circumspect, as to impart additional dignity to popular institutions. - In April 1850 I was invited to the Hôtel de Ville to witness the proclaiming of the result of an election, the first in which reaction avowedly arrayed itself against democracy. -

About 250,000 ballots had been deposited, of which the friends of the Republic had an overwhelming majority. When the fact was officially proclaimed to the assembled thousands, no intoxicating delight, no wild enthusiasm was manifested by the triumphant party, and no demonstrations of ill-will or dissatisfaction by the defeated one. Each retired peacefully from the scene to resume its ordinary pursuits. A spectacle more sublime was rarely ever presented to human sight: And yet it furnished a faithless President and a faithless majority of the National Assembly with a special pretext for restricting universal suffrage! — The people of France so far from being "incapable of self-government" exercised during the existence of the Constitution a forbearance towards their functionaries, who constantly intrigued for the subversion of its provisions, which, for the preservation of the pristine purity of our institutions, I flatter myself our countrymen would be unwilling to exercise under similar circumstances. That by unwise counsels those of Paris were led astray and committed horrid excesses in June 1848 cannot be denied. Every thing connected with government at that time was in a state of transition, and the commonweal should not have been endangered by physical resistance to authority. To avoid chaos it was a paramount consideration with the tempo-

rary Executive power to maintain tranquility, notwithstanding the alarming evidences of disaffection to the Republic among the members on the right of the Constituent Assembly, until the new system should be matured and adopted. But we have seen rebellion raise its head in more than one state in the Union against laws made in accordance with the Constitution, and have seen it similarly suppressed. Cavaignac did that in the absence of a Constitution which Washington, Jackson and Fillmore were prepared to do, in defence of the laws made in pursuance of one.

It is assuredly not the fault of Frenchmen if the confidence which they bestowed upon Louis Napoleon was misplaced. The best of impulses — those of gratitude — influenced them to elevate him to the first place within their gift. He bore a name which charmed them as names have not unfrequently charmed the Americans. This name, however, was far less dear, because of the brilliant victories achieved under it, than for the fancied cruel exile and untimely death of the mighty genius who gave it celebrity. Moreover, they were assured by Louis Napoleon and his deceitful satellites, day after day and in every possible manner, up to the unfortunate one which signified their choice, that he was not a man who dreamed of subversive theories. That

reared, as he had been in free countries, in the school of misfortune, he would always remain faithful to the duties which the suffrages of the people and the will of the National Assembly might impose on him." The French people trusted promises thus solemnly made. This was their error. It was practically the error of the warm bosom restoring to life the adder; and, ending, alas! as fatally! — Nor did the votaries of popular government contribute in the slightest degree to provoke the usurpation. On the contrary they resisted it as became patriots and many of them yielded as became martyrs to an overpowering armed force. The Elysée from the first day its portals were re-opened, excluded their entrance to its halls, while it was a nursery for conspirators and the receptacle of notorious traitors.

I was dining with a reigning Prince in June 1848 when his first Minister entered and announced to him that the insurrection in Paris had been suppressed. Addressing himself to me directly afterwards, the Sovereign remarked: "The French people are incapable of self-government." This opinion, uttered by Royal lips, did not sound strangely in my ears; but I must confess that it astounds me when pronounced by my own countrymen. — What! are we, who have grown in less than three quarters of a century, from the oppressed and ir-

significant colonies of a Crown to a height of grandeur which reflects credit upon the family of nations, prepared to admit that the system of self-government is so incomplete as to be unavailable to other countries which detest tyranny? Such an admission would indicate that we considered the durable benign workings of popular institutions in our own land as an unsolved problem. The form of government that is really good for one portion of the Caucasian race will eventually be found good for all. That form I believe to be ours. Conceived in honesty and consummated by wisdom I have an abiding confidence that its blessings to mankind will be as boundless as the blessings bestowed by the Sun's rays.

Those republicans who so freely and so thoughtlessly assert that "the French people are incapable of self government" should undertake to show whether any other form of government is better adapted to their condition. All monarchical forms, whether absolute or constitutional, have been both fairly and unfairly tried, and have signally failed. Military rule will not answer, unless physical resistance to tyrannous acts can be provoked half a dozen times annually. The army, except it have occasional employment, becomes fatigued with its inglorious calling and naturally fraternizes

with the masses from which it was drawn and to which it must return. A regiment cannot be safely trusted if it remain at a station longer than three or four months. It is only reliable as long as faces are new to it; and this accounts for the incessant movement of troops from one garrison to another.

It is generally acknowledged, as a political truism, that landed aristocracies are the indispensable bulwarks of monarchies, and that an extended sub-division of the soil is necessary for the proper development of Republics. France has comparatively no such aristocracy. The land within her limits, in cultivation is divided into one hundred millions of lots, which are owned by six millions of citizens! There is an inordinate desire in all laboring classes to acquire real estate, however small the quantity. The humblest laborer is ambitious to be the proprietor of a plot of ground. He is so impatient to absolve his relation of servitude to his employer, and to have a spot he can call his own that usually in the first instance he purchases but a few square poles. Subsequently from his earnings he buys another and another lot. It is not unfrequent to see a single yeoman owning ten or twelve small pieces of ground, no two of which adjoin. This interest in the soil gives him independence of character and causes him to appreciate

justly his natural rights. His increased intelligence will not permit him to subscribe to the doctrine that the priesthood is infallible or that kings reign by right Divine. He indulges rational thought and espresses his sentiments without restraint. Thus, there is less obsequiousness, less deference to titles, place, and wealth in France than in any other country in which I have sojourned abroad, Switzerland excepted. There the subdivision of landed property is upon as extended a scale as it is here.

In book-learning the yeomanry of France is not, in the aggregate, so far advanced as that of the United States; but in a just perception of the fine arts and of all that is calculated to smooth the rugged path of life, it has no superior of its class in Christendom. To please and be pleased, to amuse and be amused, to instruct and be instructed, are a Frenchman's adorning characteristics. He is a creature of strong affections, and his existence would be valueless unless he could concentrate them upon one object or another. He conceives that he has a nobler destiny than to make himself the slave of mere material interests.

I write of the rational millions — not of the vicious or artificial few. The honest handiwork of nature is distinct in the integrity of the one: The contaminating influence of ~~arbitrary rule and~~ court profligacy

in the other.

A few words more: Beware of Louis Napoleon. As his antecedents prove, he strikes without giving notice. Louisiana and California - indeed the conquest of America - may become his watchwords! He must engage in a foreign war, and that soon, or his fall is inevitable. Great Britain is not the power upon which he seriously meditates an attack. He knows that she will so far yield as to form an entente cordiale, if not an intimate alliance with the Continent. The activity at Brest and Cherbourg and the immense addition to the army mean something. The rabid stipendiaries of the Tuileries intimate that the old world and the new may be involved in a state of belligerence. The officer whispers to the soldier, and it is communicated from regiment to regiment: "We conquered Algeria and we may achieve similar victories in another part of the globe!"

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Very Respectfully,

Your O'b't S'v't.

A. Dudley Mann.

No. 17. A. Dudley Mann, Paris 5 Feb.y 1852.

Lever 9. March;

No. 17.

Paris, February 19, 1852.

Sir; -

Switzerland is more seriously menaced than ever by the autocratic chieftains. Of her enemies Louis Napoleon is now the most exacting and the most vindictive. He has the temerity to require that the free press of that country shall cease to animadvert upon his despotic acts; that the great palladium of old Helvetia's liberty shall be as tightly muzzled, as concerns his enemities, as the press which sends forth its half dozen sheets in this metropolis to tantalize the people with the iron yoke which has been forged for them. To such insolent demands Switzerland has no replies to give. She is for peace; for peace at any price, but the price of dishonor. She has shown this in her untiring exertions for the maintenance of good neighborhood: To avoid war she has done all that international law, however rigidly interpreted, could ask her to do. As a votary of her principles, I rejoice that she has been so faithful to her duties. The consciousness of the manner in

= Hon. Daniel Webster

Secretary of State

Washington.

which she has discharged all her obligations to adjacent states will buoy her up in the darkest hours of the struggle in which she is likely soon to be involved. The affections of every generous heart will be enlisted for her triumph.

In 1848 Switzerland afforded an asylum for no less than 10,000 political refugees. This number she has reduced to 270, only 30 of which are Frenchmen. Over these she exercises a sufficient control to prevent the planning of expeditions for esterior purposes. She paid out of her national treasury, to say nothing of the Cantonal and private contributions, during the years 1849 and 1850, for the benefit of those within her limits who had been exiled from their homes, the sum of 1,553,385 francs - about $310,717. This fact is established by an official statement furnished me some time ago by the government and which I herewith transmit. I may also remark, as highly creditable to the Swiss Government, that it has never surrendered to the remorseless vengeance of tyrants a solitary refugee.

It is more than probable that France, Austria and Prussia urged forward by Russia will shortly address notes to the Federal Council, de-

manding a return of Switzerland to the old Diet rule which existed prior to the adoption of the Constitution of 1848. This would be nothing short of a declaration of war, and would be so regarded and so received. Rather than be deprived of the blessings which she enjoys under our form of government and be turned back by dictation from abroad to the Constitution which she voluntarily abrogated, she is resolved to take her chances for success in the field, even if all those powers should be arrayed against her. Dismemberment and subjugation would be as unobjectionable as the restoration of a system which made her the constant dupe of surrounding ruling knaves without giving her simple power to resist their machinations and arrogance.

I cannot contemplate, as within the range of possibilities, the downfall of Switzerland. I, who know her so well, who have had so much evidence of the rectitude of her intentions, believe that Despots cannot bring her down to their ignominious level from the towering pedestal upon which she reposes. I have, some how or other, an abiding confidence that the God of battles will be with her again as He was in the days of William Tell. In the calamitous event

however of her being conquered, absolutism would secure a stronghold from which it could never be rooted. It would convert her mountains and passes into fortresses and arsenals from which it would send forth its legions, armed cap-à-pié, to crush any uprising of the friends of popular institutions thenceforth and probably forever. If Switzerland falls, the deathknell of liberty in Europe will have been tolled.

A coup-de-main it is believed will be attempted shortly at the Tuileries. The more grave the situation of Louis Napoleon becomes, the more impatient is he to be proclaimed Emperor. As such, if he cannot rule, he desires to fall. This has been the dream of his inglorious life. It is said that M. de Persigny has intimated that the event cannot be safely delayed sixty days, and that affairs are at present in as favorable a condition for its accomplishment as they probably ever will be. The army will perform the deed if it be performed, and it is apparent to every attentive observer that its fidelity to the Usurper is not upon the increase. The spoils of victory alone can prevent disaffection, for a lengthened period, in its ranks.

I am more and more confirmed in

the apprehensions which I have taken occasion to express to you that Louis Napoleon and his advisers meditate a war, sooner or later, with the United States. Mr. de Persigny who has an intimate knowledge of the sentiments of the three northern powers, and who, in fact, represents their principles, speaks habitually, I am told, in the most unkind terms of our country and the "baneful" influence which its institutions exercise upon regal governments. Those powers would doubtless delight in seeing France involve us in hostilities, and they would back her when engaged in them, as far as they had the ability. + Whatever may be the war in which an imbecile government may engage France, such is the love of country and the love of glory of Frenchmen that it would at once assume the character of a national war. The Czar understands this perfectly and he perceives that if Louis Napoleon should draw the sword against America, that however such a procedure might terminate, it could not fail to strengthen immensely absolutism in France. — I sincerely belive that the Northern powers will tacitly assent to the annexation of Belgium and a part of Switzerland, if she be conquered, to France, if Louis Napoleon will agree to attempt an invasion of some of the more exposed points of the United States. ++

The French officers for the most part are wholly ignorant of the power of the Union for defensive warfare, and they too urge such views to his consideration. Whom the Gods would destroy they first make mad", and it may occur that the obstinate autocrat of the Tuileries, intoxicated with the exercise of power and flattered by his despotic allies, will be ambitious enough to undertake an expedition in the direction of the Gulf of Mexico or the West coast of the Pacific. ct well-informed correspondent of one of the London papers, in this city, stated in a letter a few days ago, that a descent on California (San Francisco) would as soon be made by the government as upon London, if it promised more gain to the army and navy.

I have expressed my views to you upon this subject with extreme reluctance, because I imagine they are different from those of most rational thinkers. But I know that the Tuileries must have war, or go down, and war on a grander scale than it can be prosecuted any where on the Continent. — England is actively engaged in providing for eventualities, with reference to her own coast, while there is a manifest disposition, I will not say amounting to humiliation, in Parliament and in the Ministry to remove every cause

which could contribute to provoke hostilities. – I do not think that England will fight for Belgium even though the demolition of the Lion at Waterloo be threatened. I am quite certain that she will not fight for Switzerland. – Moreover; the government of the Empire is to be strictly emulated by the "nephew". The success, for so long a time of the Emperor at home was mainly attributable to unprovoked aggression and unscrupulous rapine abroad. Europe is not, as it was then, a suitable field for offensive operations. Autocrats have an identity of political interest from St. Petersburg to Lisbon: A new theatre for war, for glory, and for pecuniary acquisition, must be opened beyond the Continent.

It is a mistake to suppose that the French as a nation are great admirers of Americans. Some of them, the legitimists and Napoleonians will tell you, that, "but for our aid you never would have achieved your independence, and that after having achieved it, you could not perhaps have maintained it, but for the cession which we made to you of Louisiana for a mere nominal price"; an idea which has been disseminated by M. Thiers in his history of the Consulate. – The Orleanists complain that we cheated them in negotiation, and afterwards indelicately boasted of our shrewd diplomacy.

The Republicans intimate that our sympathies for strug-
gling patriots in Europe are upon our tongues and mere-
ly:- That we covet wealth in order to make princely
displays; That our domiciliated residents in Paris are
in general the most aristocratic, the most fawning, the
most ostentatious of all the inhabitants of the metropo-
lis, whether native or foreign. That they have as inor-
dinate a passion for dashing equipages, dazzling liveries,
and are as anxious to bask in the smiles of inflated des-
pots as the most obsequious courtiers in the days of
Louis XIV.

Thus, I learn from an intelligent Pa-
risian, an ardent friend of our country, is the estimate
in which we are held. I wish, indeed that it were other-
wise. † I am mortified that the bearing of our country-
men in the old world, is not such as to teach, by exam-
ple, the beauties of our republican form of government;
that there should have been so deplorable a departure
from the simplicity of habits and customs which distin-
guished us in the days of Franklin and Jefferson. In
endeavoring to imitate Court splendor our residents a-
broad contribute to fortify Court principles and to sanc-
tify Court profligacy. †† They desert the standard which
it is their duty to uphold and thus not only derogate

from the esteem in which they would otherwise be held, but also from the just reputation of the Union to which they are indebted for the fortunes and the consequent ignoble influence they exercise.

And here let me enquire if it would not reflect more truly our national character if our representatives abroad were required by the government to dispense with the fantastic livery which Potentates make their servants appear in at foreign Courts, and adopt the dress ordinarily worn by the President and Heads of Departments. It might be objected that any other than a gilded coat would not insure admittance to the presence of a Sovereign, or be acceptable to his government upon State occasions. In reply we have only to say that foreign Ministers are at liberty to appear in any apparel which they may choose in their intercourse with the President and that we have a right to indulge in similar privileges. The representative of a Sovereign is a slave subject and must be designated by his masters mark: The representative of a Republic a sovereign freeman at liberty to apparel himself in such a manner as will best comport with the simplicity of the form of government from which his office is derived. Nor should the Union on any account allow its noble emblem to be

so dishonored as to be stuck upon the door of its agents carriages or upon the cockade of their servant's hats. The sky-soaring bird of Jove should never so low descend from his "pride of place."

The rumor which has been circulated for the last week that the Emperors of Russia had remonstrated against many of the decrees of the Tuileries is not entitled, in my opinion, to any credit. I am disposed to believe that it was a mere ruse of the government, intended to operate favorably on the liberal party.

I learn from an undoubted source that more than 60,000 copies of the spirited Note of the Duke of Nemours and the Prince of Joinville have been distributed in France, notwithstanding the vigilance of the Police. It is probable that several hundred thousands written copies of the laconic and indignant reply of the Duchess of Orleans to Louis Napoleon will be disseminated. She says:

"Monsieur: As I do not acknowledge your right to plunder my family, neither do I acknowledge your right to assign to me a donation in the name of France. I refuse the dowry."

"Helene d'Orleans."

Roger (du Nord), Berryer and ma.

my other distinguished members of the National Assembly have declined acceding to requests to become candidates for the "Corps Legislatif". They seize the occasion to express in a letter directed to one of their friends the reasons by which they were actuated. Thousands of written copies of this letter are then sent in a sealed envelope, in every direction. The following extracts from that of Roger, (du Nord) the intimate friend of the Prince de Joinville, will convey to you an idea of the opinions expressed in each:- — "The outrage committed on the 2nd December 1851 - the majesty of the laws audaciously violated - a noble army abased to the rôle of the praetorian cohorts during the worst days of the Roman Empire, dragging into prison its most illustrious chiefs - our friends in exile - all public liberties trodden under foot; are all these motives not sufficiently powerful for me to observe an absolute abstention from any act which might lead to an acknowledgement or even to a tacit approbation of the degrading rule to which our country is subjected?..... Who would dare give an oath to a power established upon the overthrow of the protecting principles of property upon the ruin of the laws and of all the liberties which have been obtained at such sacrifices since 1789? This oath would have to be observed under pain of being confounded with those

who from their grasping ambition had the base courage to swear at the National Tribune, in the face of the country and of Europe, to preserve that which they had resolved to destroy."—Louis Napoleon is aware of the existence of this letter and yet he has not the resolution to arrest its intrepid author, lest it might provoke a mutiny in the army! This forcibly explains, to such as are acquainted with the circumstances, the precarious tenure of his position. If a single regiment shall raise the standard of "de Joinville and the restoration of the Constitution" the expulsion of the Goths and Vandals is quite certain.

War-speedy war-or flight-precipitate flight-are the only alternatives left to the Nero of the Tuileries. The victims of his guilt, incarcerated in prison, number more than 100,000! The agonizing groans from the dungeons, the wife's lamentations and the child's wailings, are awakening hour by hour an outraged nation from the stupor into which it was thrown. Anon it must arise and in the majesty of right it will burst its fetters, as the strong man of old did the bands of the Philistines.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Very Respectfully, Your Obt Svt.

A. Dudley Mann.

Dépenses

faites par la Confédération Suisse pour les Réfugiés politiques, en 1849 et 1850.

		Arg.t d. Suisse £ R	Arg.t de France F. C.
1849			
1° Pour les Réfugiés Italiens.		26,000 . .	36,617
2° Pour les Réfugiés Allemands:			
a) Payé aux Cantons pour entretien	£ 183, 000.		
b) Reste à leur payer en 1850.	„ 20, 000.	209.000 . .	294,370
c) Autres frais.	„ 6, 000		
1850.			
3° Pour entretien des Réfugiés en 1850		„ 30,000 . .	42,253
4° Subsides de voyage aux Réfugiés pour émigrer en Amérique, en Angleterre ou pour rentrer dans leur pays (lorsqu'ils ne sont pas compromis),		54.000 . .	76,070
1849 & 1850			
5° Commissaires Fédéraux, Experts & autres Agents, frais d'administration,		18,000 . .	25,400
6° Frais pour la garde de la frontière Nord-Est, à l'occasion de l'invasion des Réfugiés en Suisse et de leurs tentatives contre l'Allemagne,		„ 765,000 . .	1,078,875 .
Total, Argent de Suisse		1,102,000 . .	
approximativement Argent de France			1,553,585

No 22 Mr March Mr Mason.

No. 18.

Paris, March 4. 1852.

Sir;-

The second Note of the French Government to the Swiss Federal Council upon the subject of the refugees, despatched to Berne about ten days since, has not yet been answered, nor is it likely that it will be. I learn from an official source that it reiterates the demand, in more energetic terms, that Switzerland shall expel from her territory such Frenchmen as may at any time be designated by the French government. This is so arrogant a demand, so flagrant an assault upon the right of asylum, that it will not be complied with. It remains for the Tuileries now to decide. Switzerland has yielded all that she can yield, consistent with honor, for the preservation of peace, as I informed you in my last - and she is accordingly preparing herself for the worst.

The military movements in the direction of Lyons are reputed to be warlike. This, I

Hon. Daniel Webster,
Secretary of State
Washington.

No 22

fear is ominous. Geneva will assuredly be the first point assailed in the event of an invasion.

The result of the recent Election in Paris cannot be otherwise than stunning to the autocrat of France. A formidable protest has thus been entered against the usurpation. Stifled as public opinion was, with all the stratagems that could be resorted to, in order to swell the vote of the government candidates, it appears that about 204,000 of the 334,000 Electors are dissatisfied with the existing rule! — A great triumph has been obtained in the Election of Cavaignac. The government did not dare to throw him out, as it has thrown out Carnot and others. It is believed that he will not take his seat. In my next I shall perhaps be enabled to furnish you with authentic information as to the course he will pursue.

I have the honor to be, Sir, &c. &c.

Very Respectfully,

Your Ob't. S'v't.

A. Dudley McGill.

No. 18. A. Dudley Mann, Paris 4 March, 1852.

d 3d April. Mr Marcoa.

N° 19.

Paris, March 18, 1852.

Sir;-

Louis Napoleon has receded from the untenable position which he assumed in relation to Switzerland. The affair is at present as good as adjusted, and on terms sustaining the inflexible integrity of that Republic. For the first time since the Coup d'Etat the Federal Council is permitted to breathe freely, and I shall, in consequence repair to Berne next week to urge to a completion ~~of~~ my duties there. This intention I have already announced to the Swiss Plenipotentiaries.

Austria continues much inclined to assail the independence of Switzerland, but she has no Navy and she fears to make a demonstration unless the French Autocrat will co-operate with her. It is intimated that the Germanic Diet will shortly address a Note to the Swiss Government upon the subject of the restoration of the Constitution which was abrogated in 1848. But I do not conceive that

Hon. Daniel Webster.
Secretary of State
Washington.

this is likely to occur. That body will have quite a sufficiency of employment in regulating German matters, so as to prop up the numerous Thrones over which it exercises a sort of guardianship under the direction of Austria and Prussia. It has just despatched a Commissioner to Bremen to make arrangements preparatory to the subversion of the liberal Constitution of that little State.

Herewith I transmit you a report of the Swiss Government to the Swiss Chargé d'affaires at this Metropolis on the question of the refugees. It shows that Switzerland has been faithful to her obligations in her intercourse with her neighbors, and may be useful to the Department in case the subject should ever assume an aspect of a belligerent nature. The reasons set forth in this document contributed in a great measure to modify the temper and ~~change the policy~~ of the Government of the Tuileries with regard to the Helvetic Confederation.

As relates to France there is nothing in the occurrences of the last two weeks calculated to increase confidence in the durability of the ruling power. I may venture to assure you that ~~Louis Napoleon was never less popular in Paris than~~

at present. The Special Election of Sunday, in which his candidate, the most popular individual he could name was defeated, according to the showing of his own functionaries, by upwards of 3500 votes (of 29,958 poll-ed) in a district composed of bourgeoisie, explains to him very clearly the estimation in which he is held, by that class which he has unceasingly endeavored to purchase in his interest. His numerous decrees, some of them too silly to have originated in a rational mind, render him the object of general derision, alienating from him many who are identified with his political for-tunes. The race which he is running in despotism seems to be more speedy than was that of Caligula, and scarcely less remorseless. Within the last week about one thousand persons residing in the Depart-ment of the lower Alps were torn from their families and their homes to be transported from Toulon as pris-oners for having resisted as patriots the subversion of the Constitution. Nearly as large a number have arrived here during the same time, from the interior on their way to Brest and Cherbourg, to be banished for a like resistance.

As public opinion becomes more man-ifest the journals become more bold. The "Presse" con-

tains an article this morning written in so independent a manner compared with any thing that has appeared in the papers since the 2nd December, that I think it worth sending to you.

Mr. Guizot commenced a pamphlet which he wrote and published about three years ago in London with the question: "What is the source of the evils of France" and he answered "Democracy". If democracy be one of the evils of earth, then was Mr. Guizot right in his conclusion, for France is assuredly too democratic to be restrained in the performance of her purposes, for a lengthened period, by Crowned Princes or Usurpers. She wants a Constitution similar to those of the most democratic States of the Union, and in my opinion will adopt one such at a future day. The people will be satisfied with nothing short of the right to elect their President every two years, their Senators as frequently, their representatives and municipal officers annually. This would render democracy governable and cure the evils of which Mr. Guizot supposes it to be the germ. Nothing else can ever produce public contentment.

Of the salutary workings of universal suffrage in France I had serious doubts in 1848.

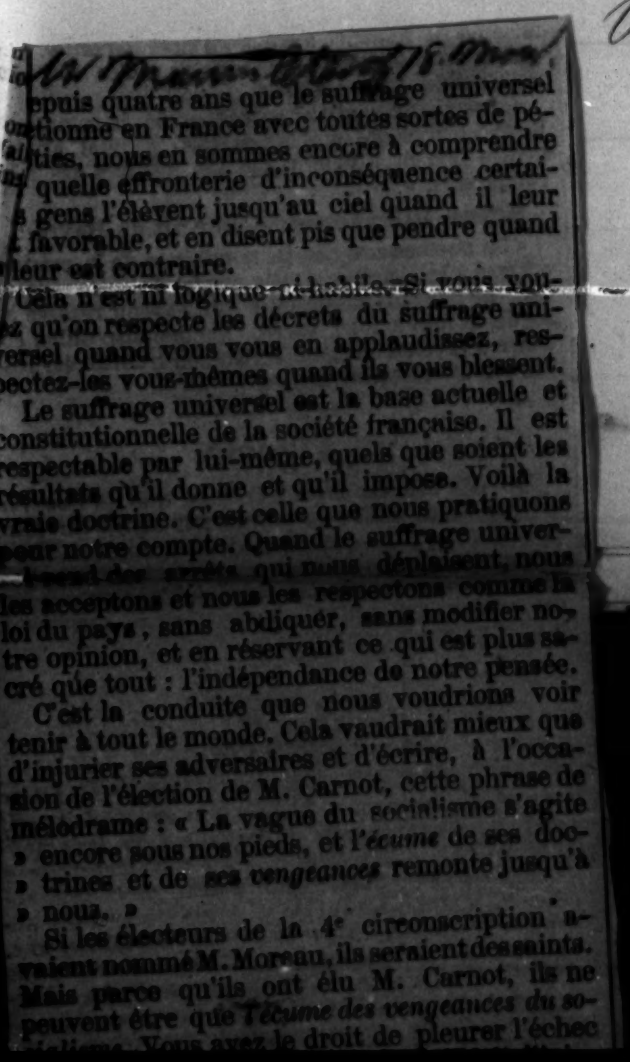
ct closer acquaintance with French character has completely dispelled those doubts. ct distinguished Orleanist admitted to me a short time ago, that every shade of Monarchists united to defeat Cavaignac for the Presidency in 1848, for said he "we knew that in his Election the Republic would be established upon a basis that could never be shaken." Cavaignac has a grand rôle yet to play. The manner in which he will perform it will be worthy of his pure heart and in keeping with his just fame. I may here remark that I am warranted in asserting that the statements contained in some of the letters written from this metropolis to the New-York press that he had given in his adhesion to Louis Napoleon, are without any foundation whatever, in truth. Of the course which this noble advocate of practical liberty will pursue with respect to the taking of the seat to which he has been elected, without any solicitation on his part, in the legislative body. I am not prepared to speak definitively. It maybe such as to make the Tuileries quake.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Very Respectfully,

Your Obt Svt.

A. Dudley Mann.



Le Matin — Mercredi 15 Mai

Depuis quatre ans que le suffrage universel fonctionne en France avec toutes sortes de péripéties, nous en sommes encore à comprendre quelle effronterie d'inconséquence certains gens l'élèvent jusqu'au ciel quand il leur est favorable, et en disent pis que pendre quand il leur est contraire.

Cela n'est ni logique ni loyal. Si vous voulez qu'on respecte les décrets du suffrage universel quand vous vous en applaudissez, respectez-les vous-mêmes quand ils vous blessent.

Le suffrage universel est la base actuelle et constitutionnelle de la société française. Il est respectable par lui-même, quels que soient les résultats qu'il donne et qu'il impose. Voilà la vraie doctrine. C'est celle que nous pratiquons pour notre compte. Quand le suffrage universel fait des arrêts qui nous déplaisent, nous les acceptons et nous les respectons comme la loi du pays, sans abdiquer, sans modifier notre opinion, et en réservant ce qui est plus sacré que tout : l'indépendance de notre pensée.

C'est la conduite que nous voudrions voir tenir à tout le monde. Cela vaudrait mieux que d'injurier ses adversaires et d'écrire, à l'occasion de l'élection de M. Carnot, cette phrase de mélodrame : « La vague du socialisme s'agite » encore sous nos pieds, et l'*écume* de ses doc» trines et de ses *vengeances* remonte jusqu'à » nous. »

Si les électeurs de la 4e circonscription avaient nommé M. Moreau, ils seraient des saints. Mais parce qu'ils ont élu M. Carnot, ils ne peuvent être que *l'écume des vengeances du so*cialisme. Vous avez le droit de pleurer l'échec

les acceptons et nous les respectons [illegible] loi du pays, sans abdiquer, sans modifier notre opinion, et en réservant ce qui est plus sacré que tout : l'indépendance de notre pensée.

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Si les électeurs de la 4e circonscription avaient nommé M. Moreau, ils seraient des saints. Mais parce qu'ils ont élu M. Carnot, ils ne peuvent être que l'*écume des vengeances du socialisme*. Vous avez le droit de pleurer l'échec de M. Moreau, vous n'avez pas le droit d'injurier les électeurs de M. Carnot, exerçant à leur guise, et dans la plénitude de leur souveraineté, un droit constitutionnel.

Nous disons injurier. Car on sait ce que, dans un certain monde, on appelle *socialisme*. Ce mot, qui en est encore à demander une définition exacte, et qui embrasse, dans ses vastes et multiples acceptions, les idées les plus diverses et les plus contradictoires, est devenu une espèce de formule au moyen de laquelle on évoque, pour l'édification des bonnes ames, les fantômes les plus lugubres et les plus effrayans. Les moindres équivalens de l'épithète de *socialiste*, sont celles de *pillard* et de *partageux*. Qu'en pensent les honorables électeurs de la 4e circonscription ?

S'il nous appartenait de donner un conseil au gouvernement, nous lui donnerions celui de ne point prêter l'oreille à ces divagations. La quatrième circonscription a nommé un candidat qui n'était pas le candidat officiel ; voilà le fait. Ou cette élection n'a pas d'importance, et il n'y a pas à s'en occuper, mais alors on ne conçoit pas tout le bruit qu'on en fait ; ou elle en a, et alors il faut la prendre pour ce qu'elle est, pour un avertissement, et en tenir compte.

Le meilleur moyen pour les gouvernemens de se consolider : c'est de s'appuyer sur le sol mouvant de l'opinion.

ÉM. HUBAINE.

Tuesday, March 18.

No. 19. A. Dudley Mann, Paris, 18th March 1852.

Berne, le 13. Février 1852.

Le Conseil fédéral Suisse

à

Monsieur le Colonel Barman, Chargé d'Affaires de la Confédération à Paris.

Monsieur,

Les accusations incessantes dirigées contre la Suisse au sujet de la présence et des prétendues menées des réfugiés politiques en Suisse, nous font un devoir de vous communiquer un rapport sur cette affaire. Nous supposons d'avance que vous connaissez déjà ce que contient à ce sujet le Rapport du Conseil fédéral à l'Assemblée fédérale sur sa gestion pendant l'année 1850 sous le titre. Département politique" comme nous nous référons expressément ici aussi au Rapport spécial imprimé du 28 Février 1851 sur l'état dans lequel se trouvait alors l'affaire des réfugiés, de sorte que nous n'avons uniquement qu'à relater ce qui s'est passé depuis lors à cet égard.

Ce fut précisément à cette époque (fin Février 1851) que cette affaire entra dans une nouvelle phase. Le nombre des réfugiés ayant diminué et le Gouvernement français offrant de les faire transporter à ses frais en Angleterre ou en Amérique, nous jugeâmes que le moment était arrivé de supprimer la répartition des réfugiés entre quelques Cantons, mesure nécessitée par les circonstances et mentionnée dans le précédent rapport; réservant toutefois notre haute surveillance et les droits désignés par l'art. 57 de la Constitution fédérale, nous laissâmes aux dits Cantons le soin de décider si et dans quelle mesure ils jugeaient à propos d'accorder un séjour ultérieur aux réfugiés. Par cette disposition, les Cantons furent placés dans l'alternative ou de ne pas accorder le séjour ultérieur, ou de ne l'accorder que moyennant des cautions égales de la part des réfugiés. Cette circonstance et l'offre de la France mentionnée ci-dessus, eurent pour conséquence une diminution considérable des réfugiés. Vers la fin de Juin, les Cantons furent invités par circulaire à transmettre un nouvel état des réfugiés qui se trouvaient encore

sur leur territoire. Le Contrôle général basé sur les données des Cantons constate un nombre de 235 réfugiés répartis dans 17 Cantons. Relativement à leur origine, ils se trouvent dans les proportions suivantes, savoir:

93. Badois,
10. Bavarois,
11. Autrichiens,
30. Prussiens,
9. Wurtembergeois,
24. Saxons,
5. Hessois,
12. Polonais,
17. Français,
24. Italiens.

Ce nombre qui peut avoir diminué dès lors par le départ de quelques uns, doit néanmoins être encore à peu près exact. Il résulte donc de là que depuis le dernier rapport, le nombre des réfugiés s'est réduit de plus de la moitié. Cette année aussi, suivant le même mode de procéder, nous avons surveillé autant qu'il dépendait de nous la conduite des réfugiés, et lorsque des plaintes ont été portées contre quelqu'un d'entre eux nous avons fait procéder à des enquêtes exactes en partie par l'examen des rapports, en partie par l'audition de témoins et au besoin, nous avons même fait séquestrer et examiner leurs papiers. Toutes les fois que de telles enquêtes ont constaté l'objet des plaintes, l'expulsion des coupables ou toute autre mesure convenable a eu lieu; mais si l'enquête n'amenait à aucun résultat, le réfugié respectif a été protégé ultérieurement dans son asile. De cette manière, nous croyons avoir toujours et complétement concilié l'asile accordé aux réfugiés avec nos obligations internationales. On ne doit pas perdre de vue qu'assez souvent des gouvernements étrangers complétement induits en erreur par des rapports qu'ils recevaient sur la présence ou la conduite des réfugiés, ont élevé des plaintes que l'enquête la plus scrupuleuse a fait reconnaître comme absolument dénuées de fondement. Nous pourrions en citer des exemples frappants. Au surplus, nous croyons devoir mentionner qu'à

l'exception du gouvernement du Grand-Duché de Baden qui, vu la proximité de son territoire et le nombre le plus considérable de réfugiés badois, s'est trouvé quelques fois dans le cas de porter plainte contre tel d'entre eux et de demander leur internement plus loin de la frontière ou leur renvoi, il n'est parvenu presqu'aucune réclamation de la part d'autres Etats de l'Allemagne. C'est ainsi que ni la Prusse, ni la Bavière, ni le Wurtemberg, ni la Saxe, ni la Hesse n'ont adressé une réclamation ou une demande quelconque ayant trait à l'affaire des réfugiés.

L'Autriche dont l'attention s'était portée sur un réfugié domicilié à Zurich et passant pour être un agent des démagogues à Londres, demanda en Juin que cet individu fût soumis à une surveillance plus sévère et si possible renvoyé de la Suisse. Toutefois ses papiers ayant été saisis et examinés, il résulta de cette enquête que les présomptions n'étaient pas fondées et que celui qui en était l'objet avait au contraire refusé toute participation aux menées politiques de ses correspondants. La Direction de la police de Zurich donna en outre l'attestation qu'il vivait autant que possible retiré des autres réfugiés et se livrait avec la plus grande assiduité à des études de médecine, lesquelles une fois terminées, il quitterait immédiatement la Suisse. Dans ces circonstances, il n'existait assurément aucun motif de lui refuser l'asile consacré à l'achèvement de ses études, s'il n'y avait pas davantage de sujet d'alarme pour un autre Etat quelconque. Depuis cette époque il n'est parvenu aucune réclamation de la part de l'Autriche.

D'ailleurs les plaintes élevées par cet Etat au printemps de 1851. à l'égard du Canton du Tessin ont été prises en due considération, puis qu'on délégua à cette époque un Commissaire fédéral avec mission de s'assurer s'il avait été donné suite aux arrêtés antérieurs des autorités fédérales concernant les réfugiés italiens et de prendre les mesures convenables en cas de besoin. Ce Commissaire a accompli son mandat avec circonspection et énergie et a réglé cette affaire de telle sorte qu'après l'exécution des mesures qu'il avait ordonnées à son départ, il n'y a plus eu aucune réclamation.

Nous passerons maintenant aux réfugiés français, en nous référant

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ici avant tout au rapport du 28. Février 1851. La présence prolongée de quelques-uns d'entre eux prouvait toujours que les bruits relatifs à de grandes masses de réfugiés séjournant à Genève et y conspirant étaient entièrement dénués de fondement ou en tous cas fort exagérés, bien qu'on dût admettre comme possible que dans une ville si populeuse et centre d'un si grand mouvement de circulation, située à la frontière de trois Etats, un certain nombre d'individus fût y séjourner quelque temps sans être munis de papiers de légitimation suffisants. A l'appui de ce que nous avançons nous citerons particulièrement le fait suivant. Comme nous avions insisté sur une spécification plus précise des réclamations qui avaient été faites, la Légation de France nous communiqua une liste de 50 - 60 réfugiés français, soi-disant séjournant à Genève, avec l'indication de leur domicile: Une communication semblable était d'autant plus précieuse qu'elle fournissait les moyens de procéder à des recherches en bonne forme. Les perquisitions ayant été faites de maison en maison eurent pour résultat de constater que les déclarations étaient entièrement inexactes, en ce que les personnes signalées ne furent nulle part trouvées, ou que c'étaient des étrangers munis de papiers de légitimation. Il ne s'en trouva que quelques-uns qu'on pouvait considérer comme réfugiés politiques, mais qui n'étaient pas français. Une seconde liste réduite eut le même sort. On vit par là à quel point les autorités françaises avaient été mal servies par des agents sur lesquels on ne pouvait compter.

Nous avons déjà fait voir combien le nombre des réfugiés français en général était restreint, et nous n'avons sans doute pas besoin d'ajouter qu'il ne nous a été fourni aucune preuve quelconque au sujet de menées ou de conspirations, car nous n'aurions pas manqué d'intervenir de notre chef, même sans y être provoqués. Il ne faut d'ailleurs pas oublier que la Légation française ne demanda alors pas l'expulsion, mais l'internement des réfugiés qui se trouvaient réellement ou soi-disant à Genève et dans le Canton de Vaud; demande à laquelle il a été satisfait autant que faire se pouvait. Cette mesure d'internement eut pour effet de provoquer en Mars 1851 une protestation publique de 17 réfugiés français qui bravèrent l'autorité fédérale. Un décret du 24. Mars les expulsa de la Suisse et cette décision fut exécutée autant que possible. La plupart durent quitter

la Suisse dans le courant de l'été et il est formellement constaté qu'ils sont partis pour l'Angleterre ou l'Amérique en passant par la Belgique. Quelques autres réussirent, il est vrai, à s'éloigner clandestinement de leur séjour, en sorte qu'on ne peut prouver avec certitude si et combien de temps ils ont encore séjourné en Suisse; quoiqu'il en soit, la police reçut l'ordre de chercher à les découvrir. Tel était l'état des choses au commencement de Décembre 1851, c'est-à-dire que tout ce dont on pouvait se plaindre, consistait en ce que quelques rares réfugiés qui avaient été renvoyés non point pour cause de menées politiques, mais pour avoir bravé l'autorité fédérale, pouvaient se trouver encore en Suisse, mais en tout cas dans la plus profonde retraite et cachés aux yeux de tous. Il n'était depuis longtemps plus question de réclamations ou autres demandes. A la suite des événements du 2 Décembre, sept réfugiés français dont 5 ont déjà été renvoyés, se trouvèrent à Lausanne où ils rédigèrent et firent imprimer un appel insurrectionnel invitant le peuple français à prendre les armes. Bien qu'il soit évident que cette démarche ne fût pas le résultat d'un complôt prémédité, mais de l'impression subite des grands événements du jour, et que cet appel ne fût pas publié et demeura ainsi à l'état de projet, nous n'en résolûmes pas moins, dès que nous en eûmes connaissance, d'ordonner l'expulsion de ceux qui l'avaient signé, avant que la France en eût fait la demande. Cette décision a aussi été exécutée en grande partie, en ce que cinq des signataires ont quitté la Suisse et que les deux autres qui ne sont pas encore découverts, ont été signalés aux recherches de la police. Il a donc été satisfait spontanément à tout ce qu'on pouvait demander. De plus, il est notoire que sous l'impression des derniers événements, un certain nombre d'étrangers se sont réunis à Genève pour se consulter sur la question de savoir s'ils y prendraient part; mais ce qu'on n'ignore pas non plus, c'est que le chef de la police s'est opposé énergiquement à ces tendances et a interdit toute entreprise de ce genre organisée sur territoire Suisse. On dit aussi que plusieurs réfugiés ont pénétré en France par Anglefort et ont été en partie arrêtés. Nous ne possédons aucune preuve authentique à cet égard, et nous ne savons pas si les personnes qui sont entrées en France, venant en tout cas de la Savoye et non de la Suisse, s'étaient préalablement réunies aussi dans ce dernier pays; mais à supposer qu'il en fût ainsi, ce serait une

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souveraine injustice de vouloir en faire un sujet de reproche à la Suisse, car comment pourrait-on empêcher une réunion momentanée d'étrangers dans des villes frontières populeuses, notamment sous l'impression et à l'occasion de si graves événements. Dans de telles conjonctures il peut y avoir partout des illégalités pour lesquelles on ne saurait équitablement rendre responsables ni les autorités ni le peuple. C'est ainsi qu'à la dite époque dans maint Département de la France, en dépit du bon vouloir des autorités, et de moyens militaires et de police imposants, il y a eu des mouvements insurrectionnels, sans que pour cela il vienne à la pensée de personne d'en déclarer l'Etat responsable.

Depuis Décembre 1851, il ne s'est absolument rien passé en Suisse qui ait été de nature à inquiéter en quoi que ce soit la France ou un autre Etat; aussi n'est-il parvenu d'aucune part une réclamation ou une plainte quelconque, si ce n'est que la Légation française a retiré les papiers de légitimation à un Français nommé Michel dont elle a demandé le renvoi. Les informations recueillies à cet égard ayant constaté qu'en sa qualité d'étranger il a gravement abusé de la presse Suisse et que sa conduite ne justifierait en aucune manière l'asile qui lui était accordé, il a été renvoyé de la Suisse.

Voilà où en est l'affaire des réfugiés en Suisse. Tout homme impartial pourra se convaincre que les bruits et les accusations qui sont répandus et fomentés à ce sujet sont dénués de fondement et que l'autorité fédérale se fait constamment un devoir de réprimer tout abus de l'asile, spontanément ou ensuite de réclamation.

En terminant, nous avons encore à vous informer que nous avons nommé et délégué deux Commissaires fédéraux dans les personnes de Monsieur le Dr. Kern, Président du Gouvernement du Canton de Thurgovie et Monsieur Trog, Président du Tribunal à Olten, Canton de Soleure, avec mission de pourvoir dans les Cantons où ils le jugeront nécessaire, à ce que les arrêtés sur la police des étrangers soient exécutés sans restriction et énergiquement ainsi que de s'opposer à une nouvelle concentration de réfugiés et de prévenir autant que possible les abus en matière d'asile.

En vous invitant, dans l'intérêt de la vérité, à faire usage du présent rapport partout où vous le jugerez convenable, nous saisissons cette occasion &c &c

(Suivent les signatures.)

Rec'd 6. April.

No. 20.

Paris, March 22, 1852.

Sir; —

While I do not wish to see a dollar of our national treasure expended unnecessarily it is, in my opinion, imperative upon us to hold ourselves in readiness for the interruption of the peace which we enjoy.

Since I wrote my No. 19 I have received information, from an unquestionable authority, that the government of the Tuileries regards it as an object of paramount importance to prevent the re-action of America upon Europe. This sentiment is also indulged at all the despotic Courts.

As two lions cannot inhabit the same forest so two principles, as antagonistic as those of democracy and autocracy, cannot exist in harmony in the same universe. Thus tyrants reason who rely upon bayonets; and they reason rightly. The one or the other principle must eventually rule the earth.

About three years ago, upon the occasion of the diminution of the students in his Universities to three hundred, the Emperor of Russia declared that "Order and Civilization are incompatible." Upon this doctrine Louis Napoleon is disposed to act; and, accordingly, he is striking at the literary and scientific

Hon. Daniel Webster.
Secretary of State.
Washington.

institutions of France with a view to their prostration.

The Emperor never was at a loss for a cause to commence hostilities. His nephew is endeavoring to walk in his footsteps. Within twelve days of the meeting of the Legislature the Ministers publishes the budget for 1852. This budget increases the Navy estimates 12,000,000 francs and the War estimates 7,000,000: I mean for those departments.

While Europe is continually arming, and most of the rulers natural enemies of our system, it seems to me that it is not the part of wisdom for us to stand with folded arms. We should strengthen our Steam Navy as the most effective mode of preserving peace. People should see that we are prepared, or prepairing, for them, in the event of their commencing belligerent operations.

I implore you not to place implicit confidence in any pledge of friendship that this government may make to you. I know it hates us as it hates truth and light. I derive my knowledge of the fact from reliable individuals who are in frequent communication with it. On this account alone, if its worth had ever been perfectly legitimate, I would regard its downfall as a measure fraught with inestimable blessings to humanity.

It is proper I should acquaint you that I have not seen Mr. Rives, our Minister, for more than two years, and that I never go to the Legation. The opinions and views

which I have transmitted to you from time to time in relation to European affairs, I have expressed to no one else.

Mr. Thiers has just written from London to a friend in this city, stating that he is now confident that Louis Napoleon must fall, and that soon. His opinion, in such a case, is considered valuable.

I have the honor to be, Sir, &c. &c.

Very Respectfully,

Your Ob't. Serv't.

A. Dudley Mann.

No. 20. A. D. Mann. Paris - 22 March, 1852. Rec

Recd 18. May. Mr Markoe.

No. 21.

Berne, April 20, 1852.

Sir; —

The day after I transmitted my No. 20, when I was quite prepared to leave Paris, I was suddenly prostrated by a violent attack of la grippe which confined me to my apartment ten days. As soon as my health was so far re-established as to render it prudent, in the opinion of my physician, for me to travel I proceeded to this capital, where I arrived on the 16th inst. On the 17th and 18th I had interviews with the President of the Republic, and on the 19th I was informed by the Plenipotentiaries who were appointed by the Federal Council to examine the amendments to the Treaty, that they would be ready in a short time to make a report upon the subject. This report I am anxiously awaiting.

Austria, I learn, continues to manifest a desire to establish a military cordon, in conjunction with France and the adjoining German states, around Switzerland, with a view to suspend commercial intercourse between Swiss inhabitants and the inhabitants of other countries. Should such a measure be consummated it would operate most injuriously to our material interests, — cutting off a market for $4,000,000 worth of our products annually. The government of the Tuileries at present, as far as its sentiments can be

Hon. Daniel Webster,
Secretary of State,
Washington.

ascertained, is not disposed to unite in this disgraceful project of starving a nation into submission. Louis Napoleon is, perhaps, more inclined to attempt to crush his old protector at a blow than to enter into a combination against her, which the French army would consider disreputable.

Supplies arriving from the United States for Switzerland at French, Belgian, Dutch, and German ports could readily be prevented from reaching their destination without recourse to a military cordon. To guard against such an occurrence Switzerland is taking steps to place herself in speedy communication with Genoa. The National Assembly at its approaching session will, it is believed, authorize the construction of a rail-road from the manufacturing cities of Bale and Zurich, through Berne and Geneva, to connect with the line of Sardinia to the Mediterranean. The route was surveyed a year or more ago by Mr. Stephenson, the eminent English engineer. —

In order to be prepared for that which may transpire — as also that which is certain to transpire — it is evidently our policy to renew, with additional stipulations and a modification of existing ones, our Treaty with Sardinia for a term of ten or twelve years. If possible we ought, at once, to commit that kingdom against the cordon scheme, as far at least as concerns our own products. We should secure for them the unconditional privilege to pass from Genoa to the Swiss frontier, without their

being subjected to detention, or to transit charges other than those necessary for defraying the cost of control. Sardinia would likely consent to such a stipulation, inasmuch as it would be calculated to bestow signal benefits upon her commercial empire and also to afford lucrative employment to her great rail-way line. The object might be attained, with a few other slight amendments, by striking out of the Treaty now in force the following clause: —

"But if peculiar circumstances or considerations "should render the re-establishment of transit duties necessary on the "said articles of commerce directed to any one point of the Sardinian "frontier, the Sardinian government, in reserving to itself the full right "to establish such duty, engages to notify to the government of the "United States such determination six months before any such transit "duty shall be exacted." — Art. XIV.

To encourage steam navigation from the United States to Sardinian ports I think we ought to endeavor to negotiate a stipulation, permitting Sardinian vessels propelled by steam to trade with us free of tonnage duties for a similar privilege to our steamers in their intercourse with Sardinia.

I can scarcely hope that Victor Emanuel will be able to resist the advances of the autocratic alliance to enter its embraces. It is, therefore, the more imperative upon us to secure, without unnecessary delay, the unconditional right of transit across his kingdom, before the event happens; or, at any rate, to make the effort.

It gives me pleasure to assure you that just at this moment there is no grave exterior question before this government. Louis Napoleon, very reluctantly, withdrew his demands relative to the surveillance which he wished to exercise over Frenchmen abiding in Switzerland, after the Federal Council exposed the absurdity of them.

The Canton of Berne, which contains nearly a fifth of the population of Switzerland, was for several weeks prior to Sunday last in an unprecedented state of political excitement. The Constitution of this Canton while it provides for the election of its public functionaries once in every four years provides likewise that upon the presentation, at any time, to the government of a declaration, signed by 8000 voters, to the effect that its actions objectionable the people shall have the liberty of deciding whether, or not, the officers shall be changed before their regular term of service expires. In accordance with this provision the question came up for a decision on the 18th, when the government was sustained by a majority of nearly 7,000 out of 83,000 votes. This result has had the effect to vastly increase the confidence of the conservative party, embracing the ci-devant patricians, in the rectitude of popular intention and popular opinion; and that too, where the press and speech are full as free as in any state of the American Union. The government is believed to be in a considerable minority, yet the majority had too much magnanimity to take advantage

of the clause in the Constitution authorizing new elections. The occurrence furnishes incontrovertible testimony that the people of the most populous district of the centre of Europe may be safely trusted in the presence of truth and light, with the management of their own affairs.

I have the honor to be, Sir, &c. &c.

Very Respectfully,

Your Ob't. S'v't.

A. Dudley Mann.

No. 21. A. Dudley Mann. Berne 20 April 18

18 on 28. June

No. 22.

Berne, June 5. 1852.

Sir,-

I have just had a conference with the Swiss Plenipotentiaries upon the subject of the exchange of the ratifications of the Treaty - the first formal one that I have been enabled to obtain.

Two days previous to this conference an outline of substitutes for the first and twelfth articles, as also an additional clause to the fifth, were enclosed to me by order of the Federal Council for the purpose of ascertaining my opinion whether they would be acceptable to the President or not. Upon an examination of them they appeared so palpably objectionable that I informed the plenipotentiaries I would be reluctant to transmit them to Washington for your consideration.

My duties extend no farther, as I apprized the Federal Council at the time I received the appointment for the purpose, than to merely exchange the ratifications of the Treaty. This exchange I might have demanded some time since, and in

=Hon. Daniel Webster,
Secretary of State,
Washington.

case of non-compliance on the part of the Swiss govern-
ment terminated my functions. But I did not feel
myself warranted to resort to such a procedure. In-
ternational comity forbade it. Moreover, in the in-
stance of Switzerland there were weighty reasons why
every indulgence consistent with propriety should be
afforded. The coup d'état in France, occurring on-
ly 18 days after the arrival of Mr. Sargent from the
Department, foreshadowed the peril to which she was
to be submitted, and consequently, with the threaten-
ing attitude of another of her powerful neighbors, has
since occupied almost exclusively the attention of her
prominent statesmen. The few days repose which
she enjoyed after the adjustment of the French affair
was suddenly interrupted by a new and startling agi-
tation of the Neuchâtel question. The King of Prus-
sia availed himself of the recent visit of the Emperor
of Russia to influence the other four powers through
their representatives at London to acknowledge his So-
vereignty over this Canton.

The four autocratic powers, as
you will have perhaps learned through other chan-
nels, perceive, or affect to perceive great danger to
their security, in the first Article of the Treaty. Un-

der its stipulations they assert that the enemies of Continental "order" will proceed to our country, become naturalized, return to Switzerland under the protection of the United States and prepare expeditions against adjacent States. Such representations have been made to the Federal Council and a dictatorial rather than a persuasive tone exercised to arrest the adoption of the article mentioned. Despots are terrified at the thought of our securing a foothold in the centre of Europe, even on the simple basis of reciprocal privileges to reside or trade; although Russia, Austria and Prussia have stipulations in force guaranteeing similar privileges to us! Another conference will probably be held next week; the result of which I will immediately communicate to you. If the Treaty shall be lost the circumstance will be a deplorable one to Switzerland. The moral cord will have been severed that was to have bound her to her natural ally. — The Federal Assembly is to convene on the 1st Monday of next month. It may be that the Federal Council will not act conclusively upon the "amendments" until it advises with that body. xx

I avail myself of this occasion to express to you my impression, in fact, my positive belief, that the naval expedition to Japan has served to cool

the lust of the Tuileries for California gold. The corres-
pondent of the Journal de Genève, one of the most reliable
correspondents for Foreign papers, asserts in a late letter
that this expedition might be intended for Japan, but in
the present condition of things in France, it was more like-
ly intended to meet 'eventualities' on the west coast of the
Pacific. Louis Napoleon, I dare say, interprets its mis-
sion to be two-fold. In the Pacific and in the Gulf,
while the ferocious enemies of our system are in the ascen-
dant in Europe, we cannot be too strongly fortified. On
the northern part of our sea-board we have nothing to
apprehend, nor will our commerce be in peril in any Eu-
ropean Sea while California and Louisiana are proper-
ly guarded.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Very Respectfully,

Your Obt Svt.

A. Dudley Mann.

Rec'd July 4th Mr Markoe.

No. 23.

Berne, June 12, 1852.

Sir; -

I have the honor to transmit here-with a copy of the Protocol, with a translation thereof, signed by the Plenipotentiaries of Great-Britain, Austria, France, Prussia and Russia at the Foreign Office in London on the 24th of May last, in relation to the Swiss Canton of Neuchâtel. This document was confidentially communicated to me this afternoon from a high official source, but with the understanding that I was at liberty to send it to my government.

I am assured upon the best authority that Switzerland is resolved, whatever may be the consequences, to resist the object contemplated in the Protocol. No note has yet been received from the King of Prussia on the subject. Nor is it certain, as far as a knowledge of his intentions has transpired, that he will make even a peaceful demonstration at present. Should he despatch a note to the Federal Council he would receive a respectful reply but a categorical refusal to recognize his claim to sovereignty over the member

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Secretary of State,
Washington.

of the Confederation mentioned. Should he resort to arms he would be met by arms.

Foreseeing that if Continental reaction should consummate its other purposes, the Neuchatel question would afford a pretext to the military powers for involving Switzerland in war, I devoted a considerable part of a despatch in the autumn of 1850 to an examination of the question. To the opinions which I at that time expressed concerning the claims of Frederic William IV, I have now nothing to add.

In the event of the commencement of hostilities the chances would seem to be adverse to Helvetia, but the Swiss think otherwise. They confidently believe that they cannot fall in the defence of a just cause, whatever the odds against them, and they would repair to the field with their favorite motto—"one for all and all for one"—inscribed on their banner, with an enthusiasm unsurpassed. If Neuchâtel were to be struck from the galaxy of the twenty-two stars which compose the Confederation, the Constitution would be subverted to all intents and purposes. That this should be desired by the rulers of the four Continental powers is natural enough; because this example of good government upon the vox populi principle, and the general prosperity

resulting from it which the Swiss so signally furnish, cause the people in adjacent realms to be discontented with the burdens which they support, thus endangering the security of thrones. But that Great Britain should have taken the lead in a measure eminently calculated to effect such an object – so obviously unjust and illiberal – will occasion surprise with all who have not closely studied her policy and her practice. I believe that the "nobility and gentry" of England to whichever party belonging with comparatively few exceptions are full as much disposed to arrest the march of mind, as relates to political ameliorations, as the Czar himself. Of this there is now unquestionable evidence. ~~The Earl of Derby~~ Lord Stanley, as the organ of the Tories, in reply to interrogatories by Lord John Russel, stated as a justification for his instrumentality in perfecting the protocol, that "it was the first official act that committed the head of the French nation to the settlement of 1815." — Lord Palmerston, while the liberal world gave the Whigs credit for sympathizing with Hungary, held this language to Lord Ponsonby, Ambassador to Austria, in a despatch, dated August 1, 1849: "In such a case (that of the success of the Magyars) the separation of Hungary from the Austrian Crown would so weaken the Austrian Em-

"pire, as an element in the balance of power, as to produce
"very unfortunate effects upon the general interests of Eu-
"rope"; and for that reason, as well as from the sincere
"and long-standing regard which the British govern-
"ment and nation entertain for Austria, such a dismem-
"berment of the Austrian Empire would be regarded by
"Her Majesty's government as a great political calamity."

The European law that would place Neuchatel under the dominion of the King of Prussia would reconstruct the Throne of France and place upon it the Count de Chambord. This law, only recognized by rulers as a convenience - violated to protect the strong and enforced to crush the weak - contains provisions utterly adverse to the authority of one of the parties to the protocol. By the Treaty of Vienna Napoleon Bonaparte and his family are excluded in perpetuity from the supreme power in France; and the high contracting parties mutually bound themselves to maintain that exclusion in full vigor and if it should become necessary by force of arms. But so far from executing this provision four of the high contracting parties have legalized the usurpation and dignified the violation of the covenant by recognizing Louis Napoleon as "supreme power in France."

The protocol may be regarded as the establishment of a cordial alliance between the five powers, and from its tenor, liberty, justice and truth have nothing to expect but insidious and remorseless enemies. The Constitutionnel, the then organ of the Elysée exclaimed upon the advent of the Derby ministry that the Tories 'would be faithful to their traditions.'

The protocol concerning Neuchâtel creates a new European question as between the rulers and the ruled. If Prussia persists, as I have already remarked, war is inevitable. Switzerland, in her mountains, her passes and her valleys is not a state to be despised. Sir Stratford Canning, reporting from here to Lord Palmerston upon the suppression of the Sonderbund, was amazed at the power which she exerted in the field. He said in his despatch of Dec. 27. 1847:-

"I am anxious to recall your Lord-
"ship's attention to a few remarkable facts brought out
"by the late brief but eventful campaign."

"After more than thirty years of peace,
"undisturbed by any invasion from without, and after
"nearly half a century of abstinence from any general armed demonstration, we have seen the Swiss Diet raise in
"a few weeks an effective army of 104,000 men, supported

"by 204 pieces of artillery in the field."

"We have seen this army so ably
"and judiciously managed by a Genevese officer as to
"reduce the whole of the adverse party to an uncondition-
"al surrender in the course of a few days."

"Four-fifths of this armament have
"been since disbanded without confusion and the whole
"collective force is to all appearances on the point of losing
"itself once more in the mass of a peaceful population."

It may be added that nearly a
"fourth part of that population sent no contingent to
"the Federal army."

It will be recollected that Sir Stratford Canning was Special Minister of England to Switzerland at the time of writing the above.

In the event of hostilities, besides the formidable force which Switzerland could bring into the field, the republicans of every land would come by thousands to enroll themselves under her banner with a view of carrying the war beyond the Swiss frontier and of upsetting inflated autocracy.

I presume, from what I have seen in the papers, that by this time Congress has provided for the establishment of a Legation here. I shall

rejoice if such is the case. It is of primary importance, considering the present state of affairs that the Chargé should reach his destination with the least possible delay. I wish indeed that he could arrive before my departure for I am anxious to place him in intimate relations with the Executive Department at once, in order that he may be kept advised of all that is passing at a time so momentous. xx

I am to have another conference, and I would fain hope the last, on the 15th, with the Swiss Plenipotentiaries relative to the Treaty.

I have the honor to be, Sir, Yr. &c.

Very Respectfully,

Your Ob't S'v't.

A. Dudley Mann.

N°. 23. A. D. Mann. Berne. 12 June. 1852

Protocol (No. 1) of a conference held at the Foreign Office on the 24th of May 1852.

Present: The Plenipotentiaries of Austria, France, Great-Britain, Prussia and Russia.

The principal Secretary of State of Her Britannic Majesty, upon the demand of the Russian Minister called upon the Representatives of Austria, France, and Russia to examine, in concert with himself, into the means of restoring the Principality of Neuchâtel to the position defined by the Treaty concluded at Vienna, on the 9th of June 1815, which sanctions the annexation of said territory to the Helvetic Confederation as a Canton, but recognises at the same time certain anterior rights of sovereignty of His Majesty the King of Prussia, the exercise of which is at present suspended.

The Prussian Minister, in demanding the support of the four other Great Powers, for an amicable adjustment of the question, declared that, if they proceeded to the signing of a Protocol in which

the rights of his Sovereign were solemnly re-asserted and which established in principle the overtures which were to be made in common to the Swiss Confederation, the existence of such a document would dispense His Majesty the King of Prussia with the necessity of enforcing the said rights by the employment of other measures. He added that the agreement thus entered into between Austria, France, Great-Britain and Russia would not imply the necessity of immediate action on their part, but would give them on the contrary leisure to concert anew upon the opportunity and form of negotiations with the Helvetic Confederation.

The Undersigned Plenipotentiaries fully appreciate the sentiments of moderation which caused His Majesty the King of Prussia to have recourse, in the present instance to diplomatic intervention for the attainment of the object contemplated, and they unanimously recognized the rights His Majesty possesses over the Principality of Neuchâtel and the county of Valentin, according to the tenor of the Articles XXIII and LXXVI of the Treaty of Vienna, and which co-existed from 1815 to 1848 along with those that Article LXXV of the same Act confers upon Switzerland.

They have consequently expres-

sed, in the name of their Governments, the desire of responding to the appeal which His Majesty the King of Prussia made to them for their co-operation, by agreeing that the four Powers will come to an understanding as soon as possible and adopt the most proper measures to cause the Helvetic Confederation to respect the international stipulations in virtue of which the Principality of Neuchâtel was admitted, under the guaranty of Europe, as a Canton, into the Swiss Confederation.

(Signed) Kubeck

A. Walewski

Malmesbury

Bunsen

Brunnow.

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Rec. July 9th

No. 24.

Berne, June 21, 1852.

Sir; -

Since the date of my last I have had a conference and several interviews with the Swiss Plenipotentiaries relative to the Treaty, but without arriving at any conclusion. I have now, in the kindliest manner, notified to the Federal Council that I could not possibly prolong my stay at this metropolis beyond the 10th of July. An earlier day I could not with propriety designate, inasmuch as the Federal Assembly is to convene in a week from next Monday. I am thus enabled to decide upon the 13th - three days being required to perform the journey to Paris - as the period for the termination of my services.

The question engendered by the protocol, perfected and signed at the British Foreign Office, increases in gravity. Indications are not wanting that it contains the germ of an European war. Louis Napoleon - guided by no principle of political morality and bound by no obligation imposed by treaty - having succeeded in obtaining a formal recognition of his authority

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Secretary of State
Washington.

as the "supreme power in France" by the parties to the Vienna Treaty, may array himself in direct opposition to the object contemplated by the protocol. His Minister here stated to the President of the Confederation last week that notwithstanding France had signed the paper in common with the other four powers, she nevertheless "reserved to herself free action in the affair." It is quite certain that no government of France, whatever its complexion, could ever permit a lengthened occupation by Prussian troops of any part of the Canton of Neuchâtel, and it is equally certain that without such occupation the sovereignty of Frederic William could not be sustained.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Very Respectfully,

Your Ob't S'v't

A. Dudley Mann.

No. 24. A. D. Mann. Berne. 21 June. 1852.

Rec'd July 30 53 × (2)

N°. 25.

Paris, July 15, 1852.

Sir;-

The accompanying letter, with its appendage - received on the 9th. instant - will fully explain to you the nature of the amendments desired by the Swiss Federal Council, to the "amendments" of the Senate, in articles I and V of the Convention concluded at Berne on the 25th of November 1850. My own opinions and views upon the subject seem not therefore to be called for.

See Vol. 34, Regular Confidential Documents - Senate - 32d Cong.

I cannot refrain however from observing that the Senate's amendment of article V defeated the object contemplated by that article, as far as landed property might be involved. In expunging the words "and real estate", the usual clause in our Treaties should have been added, concerning the droit d'aubaine, in cases of real estate. This was evidently an oversight, as we have ever found it to be our interest to contract such stipulations with foreign emigrating states.

Hon. Daniel Webster,
Secretary of State
Washington.

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As the occasion is so suitable I will remark that in negotiating, originally, article V, I had before me a precedent, almost word for word, for said article, in article XI of our Treaty with New-Grenada of December 12, 1846. It reads as follows: —

"The citizens of each of the contracting parties shall have power to dispose of their personal goods or real estate within the jurisdiction of the other, by sale, testament, donation, or otherwise, and their representatives, being citizens of the other party, shall succeed to their said personal goods or real estate, whether by testament or ab intestato, and they may take possession thereof, either by themselves or others acting for them, and dispose of the same at their will, paying such dues only as the inhabitants of the country, wherein said goods are shall be subject to pay in like cases."

In order if possible that the important stipulations contained in the other articles should not be lost, I prevailed with the Swiss Plenipotentiaries to change the period fixed for the exchanging of the ratifications, and to designate Washington City as the place where such exchange

shall be effected. In this manner, I hope all obstacles to the consummation of the Convention will be eventually overcome. The door is open to the Executive for the suggestion of modifications if the amendments should not meet with his approval.

+ In accordance with the intimation conveyed in my No. 24 I ceased to receive compensation for my services on the 13th instant. Should you have occasion to address me during my stay on this side of the Atlantic, our Despatch Agent at London will, as usual, forward whatever may be transmitted for me to his care. xx

I have the honor to be, Sir, &c. &c.

Very Respectfully,

Your Ob't S'v't.

A. Ludley Mann.

No. 25. A. D. Mann. Paris - 15 July. 1852.

Rec'd 2nd October.

Dis.t 13.t Dcer. 52.

A. D. Mann.
Sept 2.

Paris, September 2, 1852.

Sir; —

Perceiving in July last, shortly after I returned from Berne, that it was peculiarly in my interest to visit Russia, as soon as I could arrange for my departure, and after a temporary sojourn in that Empire to proceed via Constantinople, Athens, Naples, Rome, Florence, Genoa, Turin, Marseilles, Barcelona, Madrid, Lisbon and Southampton to New-York, I caused my Passport to be verified in the following manner: —

"Vu à la Legation des Etats Unis à Paris le 26 Juillet, 1852 — Bon pour la Belgique, la Hollande, le Hanovre, les villes Anséatiques, le Danemarck, la Suède, la Russie, la Turquie, la Grèce, Naples, Rome, la Toscane, la Sardaigne, l'Autriche, l'Espagne, et le Portugal."

After obtaining the visé of the Department of Foreign Affairs for France, and that of Russia, which was promptly accorded, (notwithstanding that Kingdom was not named as one of the countries which I was authorized to visit) I called at the Legation of the Emperor of all the Russias, during the hours appropriated for such purposes, and presented my Passport for

Hon. Daniel Webster,
Secretary of State,
Washington.

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verification. The acting representative of his Imperial Majesty informed me that foreigners were not permitted to enter Russia, but that in some instances, where applicants procured a certificate of character from the Minister of the country to which they belonged, such permission had been granted. — I then put the question in direct terms, "Am I to understand you as denying me the privilege as an American citizen, or rather citizen of the United States of America, bearing the Passport of the United States of America, signed by their Secretary of State and the seal of their State Department affixed thereto, both duly authenticated by the Legations of the United States of America in this metropolis, and their authenticity subsequently established by the Department of Foreign Affairs of France, — of entering the Russian Empire?" He replied, in substance, "My orders are explicit from St. Petersburg upon the subject and I have no discretionary power, except the condition which I have mentioned be satisfactorily complied with, and even this condition is accepted only where the nature of the business calling the person into Russia is fully explained." I stated to him that such restrictions upon citizens of the United States of America appeared to me to be a most palpable violation of the first Article of the existing Convention between the two countries and directly opposed to the spirit of reciprocity generally manifested in the

language employed in said Convention; and that I could not, without derogating from my self-respect and the respect due to the nation of which I had the honor of being a citizen, ask an endorsement of character from a subordinate authority of that nation when my Passport was made out and signed by the Head of the Department of State and authenticated in the necessary form, nor would I under any circumstances communicate the nature of the business which rendered it important for me to visit His Imperial Majesty's realms. Seeing upon a closer examination, that my Passport was that of a Bearer of Despatches he observed that the comity of nations perhaps required that as such, he should grant me the visa. I answered that I had no despatches for Russia; that I was merely a private citizen; and that I never accepted any thing as a favor which I conceived belonged to me as a right. He then stated that the rule had been established at St. Petersburg in the autumn of 1848; that it extended to all foreign States; that France had protested against it at the time, but that Russia replied she could well afford to deprive herself of the benefits which she derived from the entrance of French citizens into her dominions.

Conceiving that my just rights, as secured by Treaty, have been wantonly violated, and to the irreparable detriment of my interests, I make this communication to you in order that my

grievances may be formally submitted to the Executive of the Union. If upon an investigation of the subject it shall be found that His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of all the Russias, has violated his contract with the United States, I will expect my government to demand from him an indemnity of not less than $100,000 (one hundred thousand dollars) as a remuneration for the injuries which my interests have sustained.

I may add, that my Passport bears upon it the visa of every Continental Power and State, except Austria and Switzerland, (neither of which I desired) and that it was given respectively, as I am induced to believe, without the slightest hesitation. Thus I have the pleasure of beholding, in every civilized but that of Russia, the exercise of good faith in the fulfilment of treaty engagements with us.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Very Respectfully,

Your Ob't. Serv't.,

A. Dudley Mann.